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QUEEN ELIZABETH.

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ACTA REGIA:

OR,

An ACCOUNT of the

TREATIES, LETTERS and INSTRUMENTS

Between the Monarchs of *England* and Foreign Powers, publiſh'd in Mr. *Rymer*'s *FOEDERA*, which are the Baſis of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and contain thoſe Authorities which rectify the Miſtakes that moſt of our Writers have committed for want of ſuch a Collection of Records.

Tranſlated from the *French* of M. RAPIN, as publiſh'd by M. LE CLERC.

With the Heads of the Kings and Queens, curiouſly engrav'd by Mr. *Vandergucht*.

VOL. IV.

Beginning with the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and Ending with the Death of King *James* I. and the Marriage Treaty of Prince *Charles* to *Henrietta Maria* of *France*.

To which is added an APPENDIX.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DARBY, A. BETTESWORTH, F. FAYRAM, J. OSBORN and T. LONGMAN, J. PEMBERTON, C. RIVINGTON, J. HOOKE, F. CLAY, J. BATLEY, and E. SYMON. M.DCC.XXVII.

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The LIFE of

Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS,

Tranſlated from a Letter prefix'd to the Ninth Volume of his Hiſtory of *England*, publiſh'd ſince his Death.

The Writer of this Letter thinks it impoſſible, but that in a Work ſo long as Mr. RAPIN's *Hiſtory of* England, *the Author of it muſt be ſuppos'd to draw his own Picture better than any other Hand cou'd have done it: but as the Publick wou'd expect to have ſome Account of Mr.* RAPIN's Life, *and of his* Family, *it was that which determin'd the* Letter-Writer *to ſet about it; and he ſolemnly declares that the Particulars he has given under thoſe two Articles, are founded upon the niceſt Information, and ſuch as Mr.* DE RAPIN's *Family are ready to juſtify. After having premis'd this, he proceeds as follows.*

MANY of Mr. DE RAPIN's Anceſtors and Relations were eminent in the Profeſſions both of the Sword and Gown. The RAPINS are originally from *Savoy*, where the Family has ſubſiſted

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Time out of Mind *, and enjoy'd ſeveral honourable Employments †. As to their perſonal Qualities, I am not therewith acquainted, ſo that I cannot be poſitive whether it was from a prudent Precaution, or to perpetuate an ill-grounded Pique, that a Biſhop of St. *John de Maurienne* caus'd the following Inſcription to be engrav'd in the Epiſcopal Palace, where it is ſtill to be ſeen, *viz. Caveant Succeſſores noſtri à familia Rapinorum*, i. e. May our Succeſſors be on their Guard againſt the Family of the *Rapins*. On the other hand, this Family aſcribes the decay of its external Luſtre to nothing but the Attachment which it always manifeſted to the Laws of Honour and Juſtice. And this was the plain meaning of the Author of the following Verſes, which I do not inſert here for their Elegance.

Pour n'avoir ſans beſoin ſu prendre,
On voit tomber cette Maiſon:
Si l'Effet eut ſuivi ſon nom,
Elle auroit dequoi ſe défendre.

But in order to draw cloſer to Mr. DE RAPIN, I come firſt to four Brothers of that Name who ſettled in *France* in the Reign of *Francis* I.

ONE of them a Clergyman, was Almoner to Queen *Catherine de Medicis*, who demanded

* IT appears from the Titles of this Family, that it took the Character of Nobility in 1250. The Branches which are in *Savoy* pretend to have Proofs far more antient, but of this nothing can be ſaid.

† ALL that we know of this in general is, that ſome have been at ſeveral times Syndics of the Nobility of their Country. Others have been deputed from the ſame Nobility to go in their Name, and perform Homage to their Sovereign the Duke of *Savoy*.

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him of the Duke of *Savoy*. Beſides the Benefices he enjoy'd in his own Country, he had the Title of the King's Orator; but I know not what that means.

HIS Brothers, of whom there was but one that left any Children, were all three Soldiers, and of the Proteſtant Religion; and 'tis ſtrongly conjectur'd that they were forc'd to abandon their Country for the ſake of profeſſing it.

THE eldeſt had a Regiment of Foot, and was Governour of *Montauban*, with an Authority over the Governours of the neighbouring Places. His Name is to be found among thoſe of the Viſcounts who commanded the Troops of the Reformed in the Southern parts of *France*. And there are Letters yet extant which ſhew how well he was known to King *Henry* IV. the Princes of *Conde*, both *Lewis* and *Henry*, the Admiral *de Chaſtillon*, and many other Perſons of the firſt Rank.

ALL that we know of one of the Brothers nam'd *Peter*, is, that there was a Commiſſion of Captain of Horſe, which, according to all Circumſtances, cou'd only be his: but of this we cannot be certain, becauſe there's no Name expreſs'd in it.

PHILIBERT, another Brother, was Gentleman to the Prince of *Conde*, and afterwards his *Major-Domo* *. He had as great a Character for War †, as Capacity for Buſi-

* THAT is to ſay, he was one that gave Orders in the Prince's Houſe, in the ſtrongeſt Conſtruction of the Term, and not what we now underſtand by Steward.

† *Bello ſtrenuus*, ſtout in War, ſays *Thuanus*, lib. 32.

neſs **, but both prov'd fatal to him; for they drew the Hatred of the Catholicks upon him, and in particular of †† the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, which caus'd his Head to be ſtruck off, at the very time that he came by Order of the King to cauſe the Edict of the Peace of 1568 to be regiſter'd.

THE *French* Hiſtorians ſpeak of theſe two Brothers more than once. Father *Daniel* is the only one that does not mention them *, and he

** RAPIN was in vaſt Eſteem among thoſe of his Party. The Conſpirators of *Tholouſe* choſe him to treat in their Name with *Fourque-vaux*; which is a Proof that he was a Man of a good Headpiece, as well as a clever Soldier. The Annals of *Tholouſe*, *Anno* 1568.

THE Conference hinted at in this Paſſage, was held to ſee if there was no room for an Accommodation between the two Parties; but it came to nothing, and the Negotiators broke up more exaſperated than ever. Not long after, there happen'd in the City a Battle that laſted ſeveral Days, in which the Proteſtants who were very numerous there, tho far inferior to the Catholicks, loſt above 3000 Men, and were at laſt drove out of the City: in memory whereof a ſolemn Proceſſion was inſtituted. When Peace was reſtor'd, the Proteſtants complain'd of that Proceſſion as a Thing which renew'd the Remembrance of the Troubles, and the ſame was prohibited for the future. Yet it was ſtill continued, only upon ſome Pretext it was adjourn'd from the 12th of *May* to the 17th.

†† *Homo bellis ſuperioribus——clarus ob idq; Tholoſanis inviſus*, i. e. A Man famous in former Wars, and therefore hated by the Inhabitants of *Tholouſe*. *Thuanus*, Lib. 32.

* IT might be alledg'd that there are no Proofs of it. But ſince Meſſieurs *de Thou* and *Mezeray*, with whom few Writers are to compare for Integrity, ſpeak of it, it muſt be infer'd either that there were Proofs ſubſiſting in their Time, or that they were authoriz'd from the notoriouſneſs of the Fact. Nor is there any room to doubt of it, ſince *M. de la Faille*, in the Annals of *Tholouſe*, of which City he was Syndic, tho he declares that the

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he passes over the cruel Execution I have just now been speaking of, with a profound Silence. One does not see the reason of it at first; for in short he cannot say that this Sentence, however unjust we suppose it, was only a private Affair, which by consequence he was at liberty to neglect if he pleas'd; because on the contrary 'tis evident that such an Event, render'd memorable by its Circumstances and Consequences †, ought necessarily to have a place in History. But when we consider the matter well, it appears that this able Man has made an artful use of this Omission, in order to reap two Advantages from it; the one to extinguish as far as possible the Memory of a Rage which is a Scandal to the Catholicks; the other, to render the Protestants odious, when he comes to treat of the Ravages committed by the Admiral's Army some time after, in the Country round about *Tholouse*. Nevertheless he had not all the Liberty which he wish'd for in this latter respect; and he was oblig'd to express himself only in general Terms, because he cou'd not enter into the Particulars, without discovering the Connection which there was betwixt those Disorders and the Death of *Rapin*, which was the Cause thereof, as well as

the Arret against *Rapin* is not to be found, (it having undoubtedly been torn out of the Registers for the Honour of the Parliament) gives more particulars of it than all that wrote before him.

† THIS Execution of *Rapin* made a great Noise, and the Prince not without reason complain'd of it to the King and Queen, who also express'd a great Resentment upon that account against the Parliament of *Tholouse*, by Letters which they wrote to them on that Subject. [*Annals of Tholouse*, in the place above quoted.]

LET the Reader judge if any thing like this wou'd have happen'd for a private Affair.

the Fact that juſtify'd them *. But what *Daniel* glances over ſo ſlightly, *Meſſieurs de Thou* and *Mezeray* expreſs with a juſt Scope, and place in a true point of Light. *Mezeray* who is a little more particular, and who tells us that there were at that time in *Tholouſe* 8000 Regular Troops, which added to the great number of Inhabitants, depriv'd the Reformed of the leaſt Proſpect of taking it, ſays expreſly that the Hugonots——ſet fire to all the Lands and Houſes of the Counſellors, and that the Soldiers wrote upon the Ruins with the ſmoking Coals, *RAPIN*'s *REVENGE*.

PETER de Rapin, Baron of *Mauvers*, the Son of *Philibert*, was Governour of *Mas-Granier*, one of the Places of Security granted to the Reform'd of *Guienne*. He bore Arms from his Youth, and attended King *Henry* IV. in all his Expeditions. During the greateſt part of that time he did not receive one Penny of his Income, ſo that he was often in very great

* *Incenſis Oppidanorum & Senatorum, præcipue circa urbem, prædiis, quod eos a publica quiete maximè omnium abhorrere dicerent Proteſtantes, recenti adhuc ob oculos obverſante* Rapini, *ante biennium a Rege & Condeo, ut Edicti pacificatorii promulgationem urgeret, in urbem miſſi, & immani perfidia ignominioſo ſupplicio affecti, memoria; cujus indignam necem illi, inauditis & jure belli inconceſſis, vaſtationibus ultum ſe iri teſtabantur.*

i. e. The Manours of the Townſmen and Senators, eſpecially about the City, being burnt, becauſe the Proteſtants ſaid they were the greateſt Enemies to the publick Tranquillity; for the Proteſtants had ſtill before their Eyes the baſe betraying and ignominious Puniſhment of *Rapin*, who was ſent into the City two Years before, by the King and *Conde*, to urge the promulgation of the pacific Edict; whoſe unworthy Death they ſwore to revenge by Devaſtations till then unheard of, and not allow'd by the Laws of War. *Thuanus* Lib. 42.

Streights,

Streights, to which many others were reduc'd for the very ſame Reaſon. Nay, the King himſelf was hard put to it, as one may judge by the Anſwer he made to Mr. *de Rapin*, who having loſt a Horſe, beg'd him to give him wherewithal to buy another; *I wou'd*, ſaid the King, *with all my Heart, but ſee I have only three Shirts to my Back.* But what Mr. *de Rapin* ſuffer'd by the Religious Wars, was not confin'd to what paſs'd in the Army. He ſaw his Houſe burnt or pull'd down three times in his Life, and all he had, plunder'd. 'Tis true, that the laſt time, he had the Damage made good to him as far as was poſſible, and in a manner which cou'd not but be very agreeable to him: for the Catholick Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood who had a Value and Friendſhip for him, met together, and reſolv'd to contribute as much as was requiſite for cultivating and ſowing his Lands; and at the end of eight Months when the Troubles were over, he found a Harveſt ready for the Sickle, and all his Eſtate, except his Houſe, in as good a Condition as the moſt careful Proprietor cou'd poſſibly have kept it. Upon another occaſion he had a Pleaſure which had not the leaſt bitter T'wang with it, and that was when, upon a Report that he was dead, he read a Letter from Queen *Mary de Medicis* to his Family, declaring how much ſhe regretted him. His Wife was the Daughter of M. *de Lupè* Lord of *Maravat*, Captain of a Company of 50 Men, Governour of *Mauvezin*, a place of Security, and a Major General.

HE had a very numerous Iſſue, but none of his Children had a greater ſhare of the Affection of his Parents than his ſecond Son *James*

Sieur de Thoyras †, the Father of *Paul de Rapin* our Hiſtorian. This *James* was preferr'd by his Father above all the younger Brothers, and the Mother gave him the Reverſion of that part of the Eſtate of *John de la Ferriere Vidame de Chartres* (who had been one of the Chiefs of the Proteſtants of *France*) to which ſhe had a right by her Mother. He was deſign'd for the War as well as his Brother; but his Mother who deſir'd to have him nearer her Perſon, prevail'd with the Father to put him to Learning. After he had gone thro' the neceſſary Studies, he was admitted Advocate in the Chamber of the Edict * at *Caſtres*; and contrary to the Cuſtom of the Country, where none but Gentlemen follow that Profeſſion, he exercis'd the Functions thereof at *Caſtres*, *Caſtelnaudari* and *Tholouſe*, above 50 Years, and even to his Death, including the 4 Years he ſpent at *Paris*, to which City he repair'd upon the News that M. *Peliſſon* his Brother-in-Law was arreſted with M. *Fouquet*. Nothing was tranſacted in this famous Affair without his knowledge, and he did very great Service there in divers reſpects. He was one of the three that had a hand in the *Factum*, towards which he furniſh'd every thing we find there relating to the Roman Law. I ſaw in *France* a Letter which M. *Fouquet* wrote to him from the *Baſtille*, wherein he thanks him for it in Terms of the greateſt Affection. All that knew him, of whom many are ſtill living, always gave him

† 'Tis the name of a Village which belongs to the Family.

* The Chambers *de l'Edit.* or of the Edict of *Nantes*, were Courts of Judicature erected in ſeveral Towns of *France*, in behalf of the Hugonots, the Judges whereof were half of the Reformed, and half of the Roman Catholick Religion.

the

the Character of one of the Prime Advocates of his Time, and assure us that few equall'd him in Impartiality and Integrity. His Wife *Jane de Pelliſſon*, Sister to the famous *George* and *Paul Pelliſſon*, whose Memories are still recent, after having been confin'd for a good while to a Convent at *Geneva* by the King's Order, for refusing to turn Catholick, dy'd there in 1705. Her Father and Grandfather were Counsellors in the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, and in the Chamber of the Edict at *Caſtres*. *Raymond Pelliſſon* her Great Grandfather, after having been Master of the Requests, and Ambassador in *Portugal*, was at last Chief President of the Senate of *Chamberry*, and Commandant in *Savoy*, while it was in the possession of *France*. I say nothing of a very extraordinary Affair which happen'd to him, and of which several Authors † treat very largely, nor of his Descendants abovementioned, because I cou'd not do it without copying from the Supplement to *Morery*, printed at *Amſterdam* in 1716. This Family, from which many illustrious Persons * are descended, is originally *Engliſh* ‡, and comes from the Person who was Attorney General to the Prince of *Wales*, at the time that he was in *Guienne*.

I come now to Mr. DE RAPIN, who is properly the Subject of this Letter. *Paul de* RAPIN, *Sieur de* THOYRAS, a younger Son of *James*, was born at *Caſtres* ** the 25th of

† *PAPON*'s Collection of Arrets, *Book* 19. *Art.* 9. The admirable Stories of *Simon Goulart*, Tom. 1. p. 6.

* SEE *Borel*'s Inquiry into the antient State of the *French* Tongue, or the *Gauls* Dictionary.

‡ *BOREL* in the same place, p. 377.

** A Town in *Languedoc*.

March

March 1661. He began to learn *Latin* under a Preceptor in his Father's Houſe, after which he was ſent to *Puylaurens*, and from thence to *Saumur*. At this laſt place, when he was about 17 Years of Age, he happen'd to have a quarrel with one of his Friends upon a very ſlight occaſion, and they appointed a place of meeting for a Duel. But whether they ſpent a great deal of time in procuring their Swords, which, being Scholars they did not commonly wear, or whether the Duel was long, Night came on while they were at it, and then Mr. DE RAPIN's Sword broke near the Hilt without his knowing it: But his Enemy who perceiv'd it firſt, had the Generoſity to tell him of it, upon which the Duel ended; and after embracing each other, they return'd together into the Town. Some Months after, he had another Affair with a Man much older than himſelf, who gave him a rude puſh as he was taking the Air, in a Paſſage which was narrow and difficult. Mr. DE RAPIN fell upon him, but there were ſeveral People juſt by who ſoon parted them. He ran to fetch his Sword, and return'd immediately to the place; but his Man was gone, nor cou'd he find him, notwithſtanding all the Pains he took to purſue him for ſeveral Days. Some time after, he heard that the Man was gone to *Paris*, whither Mr. DE RAPIN follow'd him; but he was no ſooner arriv'd, than he was arreſted by a Guard of the Marſhals of *France*. This Incident, which he did not expect, thinking his Deſign perfectly ſecret, becauſe he had not imparted it to any living Soul, was owing to the Information which M. *Pelliſſon* his Uncle receiv'd from *Saumur* it ſelf, from whence he had an account of what People ſuſpected of his Ne-

Nephew's Journey, which might have ill Conſequence, and of the very place where he might probably be heard of. M. *Pelliſſon* fearing that the Conſequence wou'd be a Duel or a Skirmiſh, which wou'd be reckon'd the ſame thing, and which, however it ended, wou'd be the Ruin of his Nephew, gave Advice of this Affair to Meſſieurs the Marſhals of *France*; while Mr. DE RAPIN, who was yet very young, as it were threw himſelf in their way, by going to lodge at his Uncle's. The Marſhals, after having heard the Parties, condemn'd the Aggreſſor to lie in Priſon at *Fort l'Eveque*, till Mr. DE RAPIN conſented to his Enlargement, which happen'd about a Month after, upon the Requeſt of the Prince *de Furſtemberg*, Biſhop of *Strasburg*, who was then at *Paris*. Mean time, the very next Day after the paſſing of this Sentence, the Priſoner's Brother, who was reckon'd one of the beſt Swordſmen in the place, meeting Mr. DE RAPIN in the Street, accoſted him with a Challenge to renew the Quarrel; upon which Mr. DE RAPIN drew his Sword, and wounded him before any body came to part them: but this Adventure was kept private by the Advice of Friends on both ſides, leſt the Marſhals ſhou'd know it, and be provok'd.

IN the beginning of the Year 1679, Mr. DE RAPIN return'd to his Father, with a deſign to apply himſelf ſeriouſly to the Study of the Law. But before he had made any Progreſs, he was oblig'd with abundance of other young Gentlemen to commence Advocate, upon News that an Edict was going to be publiſh'd, that no Man ſhou'd have a Doctor's Degree till he had ſtudy'd 5 Years in ſome Univerſity.

THIS

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THIS ſame Year the Chambers of the Edict were ſuppreſs'd, which oblig'd Mr. DE RAPIN's Family to remove to *Tholouſe*. Some time after, Mr. DE RAPIN perceiving the ill State of the Reformed, and that it was like to grow worſe and worſe every Day, deſir'd his Father's leave to quit the Profeſſion of Advocate for that of Arms. His Father, without abſolutely denying his Requeſt, return'd him ſuch an Anſwer as ſerv'd to delay the Time. Not that he thought the Demand unreaſonable and ill grounded, but he was afraid leſt this new kind of Life, in which Ambition is more excited than in any other, might expoſe his Son to a very ſtrong Temptation, when he ſaw by what happen'd every day, that it wou'd not be poſſible for him to attain to any thing ever ſo inconſiderable as long as he preſerv'd his Religion; whereas if this Obſtacle was once remov'd, he might hope to advance himſelf as well as another. The ſtate of uncertainty which he found himſelf in by that means, conſiderably abated his Zeal for the Study of the Law. However he pleaded one Cauſe in quality of Advocate; but he ſtop'd there, and apply'd himſelf more than he had hitherto done, to the reading of good Authors in Mathematicks and Muſick, in which he acquir'd very great Skill.

IN 1685 his Father dy'd, and in two Months after, the Edict of *Nantes* was revok'd. Upon which Mr. DE RAPIN retir'd with his Mother and Brother into the Country. But as the Perſecution was at the height not long after, he departed with his youngeſt Brother for *England*, where they arriv'd in *March* 1686.

THERE

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THERE came ſoon after to *London* a *French* Abbat of diſtinguiſh'd quality, and a Friend of M. *Pelliſſon*, who often viſited Mr. DE RAPIN, and introduc'd him to M. *Barillon* Ambaſſador of *France*, from whom Mr. DE RAPIN receiv'd a great many Civilities. Theſe Gentlemen wou'd fain have perſuaded him to go and wait upon the King, to whom they offer'd to introduce him, and aſſur'd him of a very gracious Reception. Mr. DE RAPIN, who cou'd not ſee what Foundation he had to pretend to this Honour, and who was alſo apprehenſive that a Propoſal ſeemingly ſo advantageous might tend to his Prejudice, excus'd himſelf in the beſt manner he cou'd. This Adventure made him reflect ſeriouſly on the then State of his Affairs, being perpetually haraſs'd upon the Score of his Religion, ſometimes by the Marquis *de Seiſſac*, and ſome other *French* Catholicks who were then at *London*, but eſpecially by this Abbat, who tho he carry'd it extremely courteous and civil to him, always turn'd the Converſation to points of Controverſy. Perceiving therefore that it was not poſſible for him to make a good Defence, eſpecially *extempore*, againſt a Man who had all thoſe things *ad unguem*, and who treated them with a vaſt deal of Art, he thought fit to return into the Country from whence he came to ſee the Abbat, and did not take his leave of him. He was ſenſible that he did not obſerve the Rules of good Manners in this reſpect; but he rather choſe to be guilty of this Error, than to remain any longer ſo expos'd as he was.

AT that time there was nothing for him to hope for in *England*, ſo that he made no very long ſtay there; but going over to *Holland*, where

where he had Relations, he liſted himſelf in a Company of *French* Voluntiers that was at *Utrecht*, under Command of Mr. DE RAPIN his Couſin German.

THIS ſame Year M. *Pelliſſon* publiſh'd his *Reflections upon the Differences of Religion*, and ſent them to Mr. DE RAPIN, charging him to give him his Opinion of that Treatiſe, which he did, and with great Judgment, as M. *Pelliſſon* himſelf ſays, corrected his Expreſſions in many places; but nothing of it has been found among his Papers. Not that I think it either loſt or miſlaid; I rather believe that from a diffidence of his own Judgment he never took a Copy of it, as thinking that what he was capable of writing on that Subject was not worth preſerving.

HE was ſtill in the Company of *French* Voluntiers, when they went over to *England* with the Prince of *Orange*. But in 1689, my Lord *Kingſton* gave him the Poſt of Enſign in the firſt Company of his Regiment, with which he went over to *Ireland*. At the Siege of *Carrickfergus*, which commenc'd juſt after his Arrival, he had the good Fortune to acquire the Eſteem of the Officers of the Regiment, and eſpecially of his Lieutenant Colonel *Fielding*, who before that Year was expir'd, procur'd him a Lieutenant's Commiſſion.

THIS was a diſagreeable Campaign, becauſe the Army was in want of the very neceſſaries of Life; which gave occaſion to a Scene that Mr. DE RAPIN us'd to remember with Pleaſure. He was one Evening with ſome of his Comrades, who agreed upon as frolickſome a Carrouſal perhaps as one ſhall hear of. A Major paſſing that way, one of thoſe that nothing made uneaſy but the want of

of his Bottle, and hearing them laugh and toſs Jokes and Healths about in Plenty, went into their Tent, and ſaid he was come to be merry with them. He was receiv'd with great Acclamations, the Company proteſting that what they had was at his ſervice. Compliments being over, he had his Eyes upon a great Bowl of Liquor that ſtood in the middle, every one of the Company having a Glaſs or Cup in his hand; but he ſoon perceiv'd it was pure Element, upon which he went out abruptly, wondring how Water-drinkers cou'd be ſo jovial, and very much mortify'd that he had furniſh'd the young Fellows with freſh matter for Laughter.

IN the beginning of 1690, the Regiment in which Mr. DE RAPIN ſerv'd, was given to Lieutenant General *Douglas*, who upon the Recommendation of three *French* Colonels of the Army, gave him a handſomer Reception than all the other Subaltern Officers, and afterwards put great Truſt in him.

AFTER the Battle of the *Boyne*, at which Mr. DE RAPIN was preſent, General *Douglas* was detach'd with his own Regiment, and 12 others Horſe and Foot, to go and make a Diverſion on the ſide of *Athlone*, and if poſſible to take poſſeſſion of that City; and he appointed Mr. DE RAPIN, and M. *Carles*, afterwards Lieutenant General in *Portugal*, to execute the Office of Quarter-Maſter General of his little Army. The Siege not ſucceeding becauſe there was a ſtrong Gariſon in the Town, General *Douglas* was recall'd. Mr. DE RAPIN who was ſent before to receive Orders, arriving at the Head of the Column, there found the King, who ſtop'd him, and ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions, to which Mr.

DE

DE RAPIN gave ſuch Anſwers as ſerv'd very much to take off ſome ill Impreſſions which had been made upon that Prince, relating to *Douglas*'s Conduct. At the Attack of *Limerick* Mr. DE RAPIN was ſhot in the Shoulder, and next Day the Siege was rais'd; ſo that he was oblig'd to ride 4 Miles on Horſeback in very great Pain. He was carry'd off with the other wounded Men, among whom was his Brother who was ſhot in the Body. Conſequently he loſt his Regiment, which march'd towards the North. But he heard not long after, that General *Douglas* had procur'd a Company for him, and caus'd him to be admitted in his Abſence. 'Twas the ſame Company whereof he had been Enſign, and which had ſtill the ſame Lieutenant; which made Mr. DE RAPIN very uneaſy.

NEXT Year, *Douglas* had Orders to go to *Flanders*. Mr. DE RAPIN, whom he wou'd fain have had with him, as his Aid de Camp, not being in a condition to attend him, becauſe his Wound was a long time a curing, adviſ'd him to take another, to whom the General ſoon gave a Company in the *Scots* Guards, of which he was now made Colonel. The Campaign began in *Ireland* with the taking of *Baltimore*, where Mr. DE RAPIN had the Pleaſure to do ſervice to a poor Family in Affliction and in Priſon, which he had known the Year before. He was afterwards at the Siege of *Athlone*, and at the Attack which was made in croſſing the River that runs at the Foot of the Rampart of that which is the ſtrongeſt part of the City; one of the boldeſt Actions that ever was known, and which ſucceeded in the opinion of many, contrary to the Expectation of the General Officers. There were

left in the place two Regiments of different Nations commanded by Lieutenant Colonels who did not underſtand each other's Language, and were both very jealous of their Prerogatives, which might have been the cauſe of Broils. By good Luck there happen'd to be in one of the Regiments, (not that to which Mr. DE RAPIN belong'd) a Captain, a Man of great Senſe, a particular Friend of Mr. DE RAPIN, and who was as much eſteem'd by his commanding Officer as Mr. DE RAPIN was by his; and as often as any Incident aroſe, that was likely to breed Trouble, theſe two Officers, who were not prejudic'd by any Paſſion, agreed between themſelves what was proper to be done, and each gave his Advice always with happy Succeſs.

AFTER this, Mr. DE RAPIN was ſent to ſeveral Gariſons ſucceſſively, and among others to *Kilkenny*, where he often viſited the Biſhop, who ſeem'd to be delighted with his Converſation. This Correſpondence wou'd have been very agreeable to Mr. DE RAPIN, if he cou'd have enjoy'd it in quiet, but the ſharp Quarrels, which broke out every now and then between the Mayor of the Town, and the Officers, ſcarce allow'd him any Reſt. He often made it his Buſineſs to pacify them, and it was very much owing to him that they did not proceed to Extremity. Mean time, the Fear he was in that things wou'd at laſt be puſh'd beyond all Remedy, made him with Joy embrace an Opportunity which offer'd to go and command two Companies in another place. Some time after he join'd his Regiment again at *Kinſale*, where he contract-

ed a ſtrict Friendſhip with Sir *James Waller*, who commanded there.

TOWARDS the Cloſe of 1693, he receiv'd an Order to come to *England*, without ſpecifying for what; but a Letter, which he had at the ſame time from M. *de Belcaſtel*, acquainted him, that he was to be Governour to the Earl of *Portland*'s Son, the late Duke of that Name. He cou'd not deviſe how this came to paſs, ſince he never dream'd of any ſuch thing, and it was not till ſome time after that he came to know that it was my Lord *Galloway* who had recommended him. He repair'd therefore to *London*, and enter'd upon the Employment. This put a Period to whatever Hopes he could have of arriving at thoſe Preferments in the Army, which ſeveral of his Friends, who were not ſo forward as he, attain'd to; and all the Recompence he receiv'd, was leave to reſign his Company to his Brother, who dy'd in 1719, after having been preferr'd to be Lieutenant Colonel in a Regiment of *Engliſh* Dragoons. Indeed ſome time after, the King granted him a Penſion of a hundred Pounds a Year, *till he ſhou'd make better Proviſion for him*, which never happen'd; and after that Prince's Death his Penſion was ſtopp'd, and inſtead thereof he had a Poſt given him, which brought him in but a very moderate Income.

HIS new Employment often oblig'd him to travel to *Holland*, and alſo to *France*, while my Lord *Portland* was Ambaſſador there, till the young Lord fix'd himſelf for ſome time at the *Hague*, where he made his Exerciſes. It was during that time, *viz.* in 1699, that Mr. DE RAPIN happily marry'd *Mariana Teſtart*, of

of whom I ſay nothing becauſe ſhe is living. This however did not hinder him from taking care of his noble Pupil, and accompanying him in his Travels, which they began thro' *Germany*, where they ſtay'd a while at ſeveral Courts, and eſpecially at *Vienna*. From thence they proceeded to *Italy* thro' *Tirol*, where they ſaw the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, then a Priſoner, who gave a Letter to Mr. DE RAPIN for the Cardinal *d' Eſtrees*, who was then at *Venice*.

AT his Return, his Employment being at an end, he went home to his Family, which during his Abſence liv'd at the *Hague*, where he ſpent ſome Years. All that time he improv'd his Leiſure as far as the common Duties of Life wou'd permit him, in reſuming the Study of the Art of Fortification, and eſpecially of Hiſtory; which engag'd him to draw up a great many general and particular Tables of Genealogy and Chronology. But what he thought moſt agreeable, and equally inſtructive, was to be preſent at the Aſſemblies of a Society which is ſtill ſubſiſting, and to the Erection of which he reckon'd it an Honour to have contributed, wherein many Perſons of Learning and Merit argued upon ſuch Subjects as occurr'd, and gave their Opinion upon the Queſtions commonly propos'd. Mean time, as he ſaw his Family increaſing, he reſolv'd to ſacrifice the Delights he met with at the *Hague* to the Welfare of his Children, and to retire to a Country where it was cheaper Living. With this View, in 1707 he remov'd to *Wezel*, in the Duchy of *Cleves* in *Germany*, where he found a great number of *French* Refugees, and among them many Officers, Men

of Quality, with whom he always liv'd very well; and there he was receiv'd as favourably as he cou'd wiſh by Perſons of the higheſt Rank, who had the principal ſhare in the Government of the Country, and who, upon all occaſion, gave him Teſtimonies of their Good-Will.

THE manner of Living at *Wezel*, different in many things from that of the *Hague*, was ſuch, that he was more Maſter of his Time than he had been yet, having all the Leiſure almoſt that he cou'd wiſh, to ſtudy the Hiſtory of *England*, and the Nature of its Government. This was a greater Deſign than appears perhaps at firſt View, for it engag'd him not only to read all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, but alſo thoſe of other Nations who have had any Commerce or Controverſy with the *Engliſh*, in order to get Lights from them, and to ſatisfy himſelf of the Truth of the Facts, by confronting the Authors with one another. It wou'd have coſt him a vaſt deal of Pains to have ſucceeded in it, or rather in all probability he wou'd never have attain'd to it, if he had not firſt of all qualify'd himſelf to read all the Books that he was oblig'd to conſult, in their Original Language. But beſides the *Latin* and *Greek* which he had learnt at the College, and in which he afterwards improv'd himſelf, he underſtood the *Italian* and the *Spaniſh*, not to reckon the *Dutch* and *German*, which were indeed not ſo well known to him as the others. As for the *Engliſh*, which was more neceſſary to him than all the reſt, he apply'd himſelf for it with particular Diligence.

AT

AT that time he happen'd to be one Day with the Count *de Lottum*, Veldt Marſhal of *Pruſſia*, Governour of the Duchy of *Cleves*, where, in diſcourſing of the Affairs of *England*, there was a great Talk about *Torys* and *Whigs*. Mr. DE RAPIN did not think that what was ſaid of them, ſhew'd that they had a very diſtinct knowledge of thoſe two Parties. This put him upon a thought of reducing the Remarks which he had made upon this Subject into Order; which he did in a Treatiſe entituled, *A Diſſertation upon* WHIGS *and* TORYS. This Work perhaps wou'd never have ſeen the Light, if an opportunity had not preſented to ſhew it to Sir *Andrew Fountaine* (late Vice Chamberlain to her Royal Highneſs thePrinceſs of *Wales*, now our moſt Gracious Queen, and ſince Warden of the Mint) who having had a Kindneſs and Friendſhip of ſome Years ſtanding for Mr. DE RAPIN, ſpent ſome Days with him at *Wezel*. This Gentleman who is very curious in all the polite parts of Literature, judg'd that this Piece was worthy to be publiſh'd, and carry'd it himſelf to the *Hague* to get it printed; which was in the Year 1717*.

I ſhou'd in the next place ſpeak of Mr. DE RAPIN'S *Hiſtory of* England, which was the great Buſineſs of the Reſidue of his Life; but he tells us himſelf how he was engag'd to write it, how diſagreeable the Task was at his firſt ſetting out, and by what Helps he was encourag'd to continue it, and even to form a more extenſive Plan of it than that which he projected at

* 'Twas ſo well approv'd of, that it has been tranſlated into *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Daniſh*, and twice into *High Dutch*.

firſt: Thoſe Helps were what he little expected, I mean, *The Collection of the publick Acts of* England. I ſhall not ſtand to obſerve, that in order to take in all the Light which thoſe Acts were capable of giving him, he was oblig'd to read and examine 17 Volumes in Folio, a long and tireſome Work, from which, however, he firſt of all made ſuch Extracts as are of very great importance to Hiſtory †. This will undoubtedly be allow'd, if it be conſider'd that the Collection of the *Fœdera* was not expos'd to Sale, and that it lies in very few Hands. But I am perſuaded that tho it were as common as it is ſcarce, yet the Extracts of it wou'd be very uſeful, not only becauſe they contain in a very little Compaſs all that is remarkable in a Work which is extremely voluminous, but chiefly for this reaſon, becauſe Books of this ſort are ſcarce ever conſulted without ſome particular View, and becauſe it often coſts a great deal of Time and Pains to find out what lies diſpers'd in ſo many large Volumes; whereas 'tis quickly found in thoſe Extracts, where every Subject is rang'd under it's proper Title or Head.

I know not that Mr. DE RAPIN has wrote any thing beſides what I have mention'd, except it be Remarks on ſeveral Hiſtories.

THO he was of a very ſtrong Conſtitution, the earneſt and conſtant Pains which he took for 17 Years in compoſing his Hiſtory, entirely impair'd his Health. About 3 Years before his Death, he was waſted, and often attack'd with violent Pains in his Stomach. He might have

† THESE are the Extracts which make up the 4 Volumes of ACTA REGIA.

hop'd

hop'd for a Remedy if he had dropp'd or diſcontinued his Work, and if he cou'd have indulg'd himſelf for a while in ſome ſort of Recreation. He was convinc'd of this, but he cou'd not prevail on himſelf to take that Diverſion which was neceſſary. All that he cou'd gratify himſelf in, was not to riſe till ſix o' Clock, after which it was impoſſible for him to ſleep, or to lie in his Bed. As to any Pleaſure he took, which was generally in walking abroad, he was ſoon tir'd of it, and unleſs his Ailments were very great indeed, he return'd to his Work, which, tho the Cauſe of his Illneſs, was properly his ſole Delight. At laſt a violent Fever, attended with an Oppreſſion on his Lungs, carry'd him off in a Week's time, on the 16th of *May* 1725.

HE left behind him one Son and ſix Daughters.

FROM what I have ſaid hitherto, it plainly appears that Mr. DE RAPIN was naturally ſerious. While he was in the Service, that Frame of Mind which led him to court the Converſation of Men who had a Taſte for Reaſoning, prejudic'd him in the Opinion of ſeveral of his Comrades, and even of ſome of his Superiors, who wou'd have had him bear a part in all their Diverſions. But, on the other hand, it gain'd him the Eſteem and Friendſhip of many Perſons of Merit, who were in very conſiderable Poſts. However, it muſt not be imagin'd that he was an Enemy to Mirth. He cou'd laugh upon occaſion, tho not ſo often, nor to that Exceſs as many Men do. He alſo wrote ſeveral little pieces in Proſe and Verſe, in which there was a great flow of Gaiety: but as the Subjects were comic or ludicrous

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ludicrous, and as he only gave himſelf that Amuſement for a little Merriment with his Friends, he never thought it worth while to reviſe them; and I very much queſtion whether one of thoſe Pieces is to be found among his Writings. What I have ſaid of his Attachment to Study, and to his Labours, muſt alſo be underſtood with this Reſtriction, that it never hinder'd him from laying every Work aſide, when he had an opportunity to do any body a Service, or to reconcile the Quarrels of his Friends or Acquaintance, tho they were ſometimes of very long Diſcuſſion.

I have now done what lay in my Power to diſcover Mr. DE RAPIN's Character. I am ſenſible indeed that in order to have a complete Idea of him, it were neceſſary to examine him alſo by his Writings: But this is what I ſhall not undertake. 'Tis the Buſineſs of the Publick to declare what was his Opinion of things, and to determine what Evidence he has therein given of his good Senſe; whether he has diſcover'd a due Diſcernment in his manner of accounting for the Motives of the Facts which he relates, and eſpecially whether he has been candid enough to obſerve an entire Impartiality, ſo eſſential to a good Hiſtory.

THIS laſt Article of Inquiry wou'd ſoon be reſolv'd to the Diſadvantage of Mr. DE RAPIN, if an Accuſation, which ſome have thought fit to draw up againſt him, was to be taken wholly upon Truſt. I do not propoſe to write his Apology, yet as 'tis the only Objection made againſt him that ever came to my Knowledge, I will juſt touch upon it,

without entring into the Ground of the Affair which has been ſufficiently taken to pieces by Mr. DE RAPIN. I know nothing more of the Charge againſt him than what I read of it in the *Journal des Savans*, for the Month of *June* 1726, of the *Amſterdam* Edition, where I found what follows.

" MR. *Jebb* has lately publiſh'd a Collec-
" tion of Pieces for and againſt *Mary* Queen of
" *Scots*—In the Preface * he takes notice of an
" unfair Aſſertion of the late Mr. DE RAPIN
" THOYRAS, who, in his new *Hiſtory of* Eng-
" land, ſays, that the Proteſtation of the Earls
" of *Argyle* and *Huntley*, charging the Earl of
" *Murray* with having a Hand in the Conſpi-
" racy for the Murder of *Henry* King of *Scot-*
" *land*, the Husband of Queen *Mary Steuart*, is
" a mere Forgery; tho this Proteſtation, ſays
" he, was given in to Queen *Elizabeth's* Com-
" miſſioners at *York*, and was own'd by the
" Earl of *Murray* and the other Deputies of
" *Scotland*.

To this I anſwer, firſt of all, that till Mr. *Jebb* has produc'd good Vouchers for what he advances, which have not yet appear'd to the World, it will be prov'd to him that this Proteſtation was ſo far from being given in at *York*, that there was not a word ſaid about it. That's enough to overthrow this Author's Pretenſion entirely. But to give ſtill clearer Demonſtration how ill 'tis founded, and that he may not have the leaſt Colour for ſaying there is a trivial Miſtake in the Name, but that the thing is true in the main, I am wil-

* The Reader will find this Charge in the Preface to the *Hiſtory of her Life and Reign*, printed at *London* in 8v°.

ling

ling to go farther than he does. He makes no mention of a ſecond Conference, which was held at *Hampton-Court* ſome time after that of *York*, and I ſay that neither in this was there any mention of ſuch Proteſtation. 'Tis true, that *Camden* ſpeaking of the ſecond Conference, ſays, *The Queen* (of *Scotland*) *aſſerted, that it cou'd be prov'd that the Earl of* Murray *had been the principal Contriver of the King's Death.* I cou'd make ſeveral Remarks upon this Paſſage, but I omit them becauſe they relate to Hiſtory, and ſhall content myſelf with this only, which is deciſive, *viz.* That in all this which paſs'd at *Hampton-Court*, whatever we muſt think of the reſt, the Proteſtation of the two Earls was never ſo much as talk'd of, tho 'tis the only thing that Mr. *Jebb* wou'd fain bring upon the Carpet there. After this, let any one judge how 'twas poſſible that an Act, which ſo far from having been produc'd, was not ſo much as quoted, cou'd have been acknowledg'd by the Earl of *Murray*, and the other *Scots* Deputies, and he will agree that Mr. *Jebb* has been telling us of a Dream, which during the Nap was ſo pleaſing to the Slumberer, that when he awoke, he heartily wiſh'd it might be true, tho there is no Proof nor Trace of it whatſoever. Thus has this Author convicted Mr. DE RAPIN of a Fraud. One wou'd be apt to ſay that ſuch an Accuſation ought to be ſupported with undeniable Proofs; but Mr. *Jebb* did not think this was a Law for him, and he imagin'd that his Word wou'd be taken, provided he talk'd boldly and big. 'Tis not poſſible to ſay any thing as to the other

other Miſtakes which he pretends to have found in the new *Hiſtory of* England, becauſe he points at no other in particular. For the reſt, he is at his own Liberty not to approve of that Work. What he adds, that it gives little Content to the Generality of Learned Men in *England*, wou'd be much more vexatious if it was true, for in that caſe this Hiſtory wou'd neceſſarily be converted into waſte Paper in a very little time. But beſides, that many of the Learned Claſs have ſhewn that they are pleas'd with it, 'tis reaſonable to believe that the number of thoſe who deſpiſe it, is much leſs than Mr. *Jebb* wou'd perſuade us; if it be true, as we are aſſur'd, that by *Engliſh Scholars*, he means thoſe who, like himſelf, eſteem Dr. *Atterbury*, the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, for their Hero. Thoſe Perſons will undoubtedly find more Satisfaction in the Edition of the *New Hiſtory of* England, juſt publiſh'd at *Trevoux*, (tho the Title ſays, *By A. Rogiſſart at the* Hague) in which Care has been taken to alter or leave out many things which to them might have been diſpleaſing.

I am, &c.

N. B. HOW Mr. DE RAPIN came to be engag'd in abridging Mr. RYMER's FOEDERA, from whence he was ſupply'd with that rich Store of Materials, both for the Foundation and Superſtructure of his Hiſtory, has already been obſerv'd in the Introduction of the firſt Vol. of ACTA REGIA, and in the *Appendix* to the IVth and laſt. So that we need only add, that

that Mr. DE RAPIN liv'd to ſee 8 Volumes of his Hiſtory printed, and that ſince his Death, *Rogiſſart* has publiſh'd the other two from the Deceaſed's Manuſcripts, which bring down his Hiſtory to the Act of Parliament, wherein an Offer is made of the Crown to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*. The Author was reckon'd by Principle a Presbyterian, yet profeſs'd a great Reſpect for the Church of *England*, and always communicated with it during his ſtay here.

The End of Mr. DE RAPIN'S *Life.*

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ACTA REGIA.

NUMB. XIX.

Beginning with the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

THE reſt of the XVth Volume of Mr. *Rymer*'s Fœdera, contains the Acts of the 28 firſt Years of Queen *Elizabeth*. But it happens that the number of important pieces in this Volume does not bear any proportion to the number of thoſe Years, or to the variety of conſiderable Events that fell out in that Period; for of all the Volumes that I have already run thro', I have not found any that has fewer ſuch pieces in it than this, tho 'tis altogether as big as the former. This will not appear ſtrange if it be conſider'd that the Quarrel between *Elizabeth* and *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, is, as it were, the Hinge upon which almoſt all the Events of this Reign turn; which Quarrel ended at laſt in *Mary*'s Impriſonment and Tragical Death. Several things preceded her Impriſonment which reflect no Honour upon her Memory, and which Hiſtorians cannot paſs over in ſilence, if they

Q. *Eliz.* Fœdera Vol. XV. *Why ſo defective in Pieces relating to* Mary Q. *of* Scots.

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Q. *Eliz.* will be ſo ingenuous as to give the true Reaſon of her tedious Confinement. There's no doubt but Queen *Elizabeth* had taken care to preſerve the ſeveral pieces relating to the Queen of *Scotland* in her Archives, after the Example of her Predeceſſors, who had obſerv'd the ſame Precaution with reſpect to a great many Affairs of leſs importance, as appears from that vaſt Collection of which I have already given ſo many Abſtracts. But from the Year 1563, to the Death of *Mary* in 1587, we find but one Act in the *Fœdera* which relates to the Queen of *Scotland*. This gives a handle for ſuſpicion, that her Son, King *James* I. who aſcended the Throne of *England* after the Death of *Elizabeth*, order'd the Archives to be clear'd of every Act relating to the Queen his Mother, on purpoſe to deprive Poſterity as far as poſſible of the knowledge of her Affairs, and at the ſame time to ſuppreſs every Circumſtance that might conduce to leſſen the Credit of the Annals of *Elizabeth* which * *Cambden* wrote by his Order. Otherwiſe, 'tis difficult to account for the barrenneſs of the *Fœdera* in one of the principal Affairs of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. But ſeveral Authors have taken ſuch care to perpetuate the Memory of the chief Circumſtances of what paſs'd in *England* and *Scotland* with reſpect to that famous Queen, that all the Precaution taken to obliterate it has not been effectual. The defectiveneſs of the *Fœdera* in this ſingle Inſtance might engage me to

* *M. le Clerc* is inclin'd to think that it was rather to deſtroy the Credit of *Buchanan*'s Hiſtory, who has not ſpar'd *Mary Steuart*, whereas *Cambden* has us'd her with exceſſive Tenderneſs.

skip

skip over all that relates to the Queen of *Scotland*, from the time that ſhe retir'd to *England* till her Death: But as I have hitherto undertaken to give an Abſtract of the Hiſtory of every Reign, I hope it will not be taken ill that I don't leave ſo great a Blank here; the rather becauſe 'tis in a manner impoſſible, unleſs it be fill'd up, to give a ſatisfactory Account of the few important Acts which we find in this Volume, with reſpect even to foreign Affairs, moſt of the Tranſactions in the Reign of *Elizabeth* having a neceſſary relation to, or dependence upon this grand Affair. *A.* 1558.

I will begin therefore with a general View of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, which ſhall be the firſt Article. *Elizabeth's* Affairs with the Queen of *Scotland* ſhall be the ſecond. Her Affairs with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or with King *James* VI. ſhall be the third. Her Affairs with *France* the fourth. Her Affairs with *Spain* and the *Netherlands* the fifth. The ſixth ſhall be the domeſtick Affairs; and the ſeventh the Affairs which relate to Religion. I ſhall abridge each of theſe Articles as much as poſſible.

ARTICLE I.

A general Idea of the Reign of Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH, the Daughter of *Henry* VIII. by *Anne* of *Boleyn*, had been declar'd by Act of Parliament a Baſtard, and incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, as well as her Siſter *Mary*, who was that King's Daughter by *Catherine* of *Arragon*. Afterwards, *Henry* VIII. being authoriz'd by another Act, which gave him

Henry VIIIth's *Settlement of the Succeſſion.*

Q. *Eliz.* him a Power to ſettle the Succeſſion in what manner he thought fit, provided it was by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, or by a Will ſign'd with his own Hand, ſettled it after this manner. 1. His Son *Edward*. 2. *Mary*. 3. *Elizabeth*. 4. *Frances Brandon*, Daughter of his younger Siſter *Mary*, by the Duke of *Suffolk*. 5. *Eleanor*, Siſter to *Frances*: And made no mention of the Iſſue of *Margaret* his eldeſt Siſter. This *Margaret* had to her firſt Husband *James* IV. King of *Scotland*, who was Father to *James* V. And from *James* V. and *Mary* of *Lorrain-Guiſe*, deſcended *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, and Dauphineſs of *France*. This Will was liable to a great number of Objections and Scruples, of which I will mention the chief.

Objections againſt it. I. It was objected that *Henry* VIII. had not ſign'd it with his own Hand; which was probably true enough.

II. It was affirm'd to be null, becauſe the King had made no mention of the Iſſue of his eldeſt Siſter, and had only plac'd the two Daughters of his younger Siſter in the order of Succeſſion; in which a twofold Nullity was obſerv'd, becauſe he had not only prefer'd the Children of the younger to thoſe of the elder, but had actually paſs'd over the latter in ſilence, without giving any Reaſon for it.

III. It was a queſtion whether by the general Power which the Parliament had given to this Prince to ſettle the Succeſſion, they intended to empower him to ſettle it on Baſtards, unleſs the Act which declar'd them ſuch had been repeal'd.

IV. It

IV. IT might alſo be doubted whether the King and Parliament had a Right to place Baſtards on the Throne to the prejudice of lawful Iſſue, for which there was no Precedent. *A.* 1558.

V. AND ſuppoſing even that the King and Parliament had ſuch an unlimited Power with regard to the *Engliſh*, it was ſtill a queſtion whether ſuch a Settlement ought to take place to the prejudice of foreign Princes who might lay Claim to the Crown of *England*. For *Edward* III. and his Succeſſors, who ſtill bore the Title of Kings of *France*, did not think themſelves bound by the Judgment which the *French* Nation paſs'd in favour of *Philip de Valois*.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe Objections, *Elizabeth* was proclaim'd Queen, and plac'd upon the Throne by the unanimous Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament then aſſembled; yet the Pope, the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, the Queen of *Scotland*, in a word all the foreign Catholicks, obſtinately maintain'd that *Elizabeth* was a Baſtard, and that by Conſequence ſhe cou'd not be lawful Queen of *England*; tho at firſt no viſible ſtep was taken to hinder her from aſcending the Throne. The Act which had declar'd her a Baſtard was not the Foundation on which they rais'd their Belief. That Act demanded of the Parliament upon an unjuſt Sentence, which was only ſupported by a Confeſſion that had been extorted from *Anne* of *Boleyn* after her Condemnation, when ſhe was terrify'd with the Expectation that the Sentence by which ſhe was condemn'd to the Flames wou'd be executed with all Severity; this Act, I ſay, made no Impreſſion upon any body. But the Foundation of

Elizabeth's Acceſſion.

Her Legitimacy call'd in queſtion by the Popiſh Powers.

Q. *Eliz.* their Opinion was this, that the Sentence of the Divorce betwixt *Henry* VIII. and *Catherine* of *Arragon* was null in it self; that moreover it had been repeal'd by the Pope; and from thence they infer'd, that as *Elizabeth* was born while the former Marriage of the King her Father was ſtill ſubſiſting, her Birth cou'd not be reputed Legitimate. This was the Reaſon that *Mary* found no oppoſition while ſhe was on the Throne, and *Elizabeth* ſcarce any reſt. And probably it was for this very Cauſe that *Elizabeth* did not procure the Repeal of the Sentence of Divorce between *Henry* VIII. and *Anne* of *Boleyn* her Mother. For as there was no reaſon to fear that ſuch Sentence wou'd ever ſerve as a Foundation for a Rebellion, ſo 'tis certain that even tho it had been repeal'd, the Foundation upon which her Enemies built wou'd have ſubſiſted nevertheleſs.

Her Proſpect of a troubleſome Reign.

WHAT I have now ſaid may ſuffice to ſhew, that when *Elizabeth* aſcended the Throne, ſhe cou'd not but foreſee that her Reign wou'd be troubleſome. But to this 'tis proper to add ſome other Circumſtances which concur'd to increaſe her apprehenſion that ſhe wou'd be expos'd to great Storms. In the firſt place ſhe was actually at War with the King of *France*, who had the Queen of *Scotland* in his Power, and had marry'd her to the Dauphin his Son. It was therefore very apparent that the ſaid Prince wou'd not ſuffer the Pretenſions of the Queen his Daughter-in-Law to the Kingdom of *England* to lie long dormant. 2. The two Uncles of the Queen Dauphineſs, *viz.* the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* were in great Credit at the Court of *France*. 3. The Dauphin and the Queen his Spouſe were Maſters of *Scotland*,

and might attack *England* on that ſide. 4. The King of *Spain* indeed was in Alliance with *Elizabeth*, but ſhe cou'd not promiſe her ſelf how long he wou'd be her Ally, becauſe it was her Deſign when ſhe aſcended the Throne, to re-eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion in *England*, and to aboliſh the Roman Catholick Religion over all the Kingdom. 5. This deſign of her's to re-eſtabliſh the Reformation, cou'd not but make every foreign Papiſt her Enemy, as well as deprive her of the Affection of the *Engliſh* Papiſts who were very numerous. 6. She cou'd not doubt but the Court of *Rome* wou'd put all Methods in practice, whether open or ſecret, to rob her of the Crown. 7. And laſtly, in the beginning of her Reign ſhe found her ſelf without Friends, without Allies, and without Money in her Treaſury. *A.* 1558.

THESE Difficulties were enough to have ſhock'd a Princeſs who had not the Courage of *Elizabeth*. But the ſublimity of her Genius, her Intrepidity, her Judgment, which was naturally juſt and ſolid, and her other Qualities which ſhe had receiv'd from Nature, were ſuch as furniſh'd her with the means for preventing the Dangers which ſhe apprehended, and for remedying the Evils which ſhe actually labour'd under. Tho ſhe was but young; tho ſhe had been bred till the Age of 25, a perfect Stranger to the publick Affairs; tho ſhe had no Friends, and no foreign Alliances; tho at her firſt ſetting out ſhe was engag'd in a War with *France*; tho afterwards ſhe was frequently attack'd, ſome times openly, and at other times ſecretly by the Popes, by the Kings of *France*, by the King of *Spain*, by the Friends of Queen *Mary* in *Scotland*, and finally by her own Subjects, many of whom were in conti- *Her Character.*

Q. *Eliz.* nual Conſpiracies againſt her Life, yet ſhe procur'd her Subjects that Happineſs which the *Engliſh* had not enjoy'd in the former Reigns. And for this, properly ſpeaking, her Reign was more to be admir'd than for the great Events which happen'd while ſhe ſat upon the Throne. She attain'd to this high degree of Honour and Glory, not by indulging her Whimſies and Paſſions, as the King her Father had done, but by an exact Obſervation of certain Maxims, from which ſhe ſcarce ever departed, the chief of which was to gain the Love of her Subjects. And therefore every Effort to deprive her of the Affection and Eſteem of her People was touching her in the moſt ſenſible part, becauſe that was her only Support and Refuge.

BEFORE *Elizabeth* had openly declar'd her ſelf a Proteſtant, and before ſhe had re-eſtabliſh'd the Reformation, which the Queen her Siſter had baniſh'd from *England*, every one was at a loſs to think how ſhe wou'd act. If ſhe had been inclin'd to follow the Steps of her Siſter, or at leaſt to have favour'd the Catholick Religion, no Expedients wou'd have been wanting to have eſtabliſh'd her Right to the Crown of *England*. The Pope's Power was an inexhauſtible Source of Means which wou'd have ſupply'd all defects in ſuch a Title. She might alſo have marry'd *Philip* II. who courted her with ſo much Zeal that he undertook to procure a Diſpenſation from the Pope for the Marriage. But when once ſhe had re-eſtabliſh'd the Reformation, ſhe was no otherwiſe treated by the Roman Catholicks than as a Monſter, both by her Birth and Religion unworthy to wear the Crown. From that time the Pope, *France*, *Spain*, the Roman Catholicks

Philip of Spain courts her.

licks of the *Low-Countries*, thoſe of *Scotland*, and the *Engliſh* themſelves never ceas'd to conſpire againſt her Crown and Perſon. The moſt plauſible Pretext they had was that of her Birth, which they always reckon'd illegitimate, and from thence infer'd that the Crown of *England* belong'd by Right to *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*: for, as I have already ſaid, her Enemies did not think themſelves oblig'd to regard the Will of *Henry* VIII. in which they pretended to ſee ſo many Nullities. The *Engliſh* Papiſts were of the ſame Opinion; and even among the Proteſtants there were ſome who, tho they prefer'd the Right of *Elizabeth* to that of the Queen of *Scotland*, were nevertheleſs perſuaded, that if *Elizabeth* dy'd without Iſſue, they cou'd not refuſe the Crown to *Mary* with any colour of Juſtice. This Opinion prevail'd ſo generally, that the firſt Parliament which met in this Reign was very earneſt with *Elizabeth* to marry, in order to prevent the Realm from relapſing under the Dominion of a Popiſh Queen.

A. 1558.

The general Hatred of the Roman Catholicks againſt her, who arraign her Title.

Prejudices in favour of Mary *Queen of* Scots.

THEREFORE *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* was *Elizabeth*'s perpetual Competitor: And as long as the ſaid *Mary* liv'd, all the Roman-Catholicks as well *Engliſh* as Foreigners, had it conſtantly in View, and exerted all their Induſtry to place her on the Throne of *England*; and when ſhe was dead, they try'd to gain the King of *Scotland* her Son, and to perſuade him to aſſert his pretended Rights, even in *Elizabeth*'s Life-time. This Project failing, they dropp'd the King of *Scotland*, and were for improving the Pretenſions of *Iſabella* the Infanta of *Spain*. We may therefore be ſure that after *Elizabeth* aſcended the Throne, ſhe was every Moment of her Life expos'd to open or ſecret

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Q. *Eliz.* secret Combinations which multiply'd inceſſantly to deprive her of the Crown. This is the principal, or rather the only Affair of her Reign, all the others being but conſequent and dependent on this. It was to defend her ſelf againſt the Attacks of her Enemies, and to maintain her ſelf upon the Throne, that ſhe fomented the Troubles of *Scotland*, that ſhe kept *Mary Steuart* in Priſon after ſhe had fled to *England* for Refuge, and that at laſt ſhe caus'd her Head to be cut off. 'Twas for this alſo that ſhe put to Death the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, that ſhe gave Aſſiſtance to the Hugonots of *France*, and ſupported the Intereſts of the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*: and 'twas for this very Reaſon that notwithſtanding her great OEconomy, ſhe employ'd her Treaſure for the ſupport of *Henry* IV. King of *France*, againſt the Efforts of the League. All theſe, which are the principal Articles of this Reign, are as ſo many Lines tending to one and the ſame Centre, I mean to the Plots which were laid to ruin *Elizabeth*, and to the Meaſures which ſhe took to maintain her ſelf on the Throne. This, and this alone, is properly the Subject of the Hiſtory of this famous Reign. We will now enter into a more ample detail of this grand Affair, or at leaſt relate the chief Circumſtances attending it.

Why Q. Elizabeth caus'd her to be impriſon'd and beheaded.

ARTICLE II.

Elizabeth's *Affairs with the Queen of* Scotland.

IT was obſerv'd in the laſt Volume, that *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* was carried to *France*, when but an Infant; and that there ſhe

ſhe afterwards marry'd the Dauphin *Francis*, who was *Henry* IId's eldeſt Son. The chief View of *France* in this Marriage was to keep *England* in Awe by the means of *Scotland*. She had often experienc'd, in the Reigns of *Lewis* XI. *Charles* VIII. *Lewis* XII. and *Francis* I. how far it was in the Power of *England* to hurt her; not to mention that the Kings of *England* were always ready to aſſert their Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*, when fair opportunities offer'd, which were not at all impoſſible. It was the Intereſt therefore of *France* to have it always in her Power to give *England* a ſtrong Diverſion: and for this end nothing was better calculated than the Marriage I have juſt now mention'd, becauſe it might put the King of *France* in a condition of acting not only as an old Friend and Ally, but alſo as Sovereign of *Scotland*. *A.* 1558. *The Policy of* France *to make* Scotland *her Friend.*

WHEN *Elizabeth* ſucceeded her Siſter *Mary* on the Throne, *Henry* II. form'd new Projects. His Scheme was not only to defend himſelf againſt *England* by the means of *Scotland*, but he aim'd to deprive *Elizabeth* of the Crown, and to place it upon the Head of *Mary* his Daughter-in-Law, or rather of her Husband the Dauphin, in order by that means to unite *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* to the *French* Monarchy. He was at that time in actual War with *England*, which was a very lucky Juncture for his Deſign; but he met with an Obſtacle in it, which was inſurmountable. *Philip* II. was *England*'s Ally. It was he who had engag'd *Mary* his Spouſe to declare War againſt *France*, and by conſequence he cou'd not in Honour abandon *Elizabeth*. Nevertheleſs he did not act ſo much from a Motive of Honour and Juſtice, as from the Expectations *Philip of* Spain's *Treatment of* Elizabeth.

Q. *Eliz.* tations he had of marrying *Elizabeth*. While he fed himſelf with thoſe Hopes, his Ambaſſadors at the Congreſs of *Chateau-Cambreſis* vigorouſly ſupported the Intereſts of *England*. All the Difficulty of the Negotiation betwixt *England* and *France* was owing to the Queen of *England*'s Reſolution to recover *Calais*, and to *Henry* IId's obſtinate Refuſal to reſtore it. The Hopes which *Philip* II. had entertain'd, falling to the Ground by the Meaſures which Queen *Elizabeth* immediately took with reſpect to Religion, that Prince became not only colder with regard to *England*, but he might be ſaid to have entirely abandon'd its Intereſts. Nevertheleſs, he was willing to ſalve Appearances, by not ſigning his ſeparate Treaty with *France*, till he had procur'd honourable and advantageous Terms for *Elizabeth*. It is more than probable that this Prince who, as I have already ſaid, ſtudy'd only to ſalve Appearances, having beforehand ſettled all the Articles which related to the Peace between *France* and *Spain*, agreed with *Henry* II. that *France* ſhou'd make a ſeparate Peace with *Elizabeth*, which might ſeem advantageous to *England*, but that afterwards *Henry* might perform it as he thought fit, when *Spain* wou'd have no reaſon to be diſſatisfy'd with it. Conſequently, all that *Philip* aim'd at was, that it might not be ſaid he had abandon'd *England* after he had engag'd that Nation in his War againſt *France*. According to this Plan, the Peace betwixt *France* and *England* was ſign'd at *Chateau-Cambreſis*, upon this Condition that *France* ſhou'd keep *Calais* eight Years, and be oblig'd after the Expiration of that Term, to reſtore the ſaid Place, with all the others that ſhe had taken from the *Engliſh*.

Peace with France at Chateau-Cambreſis.

THIS

THIS Treaty was no ſooner ſign'd, but *Henry* II. made the Dauphin his Son, and the Queen his Daughter-in-Law, take the Title of King and Queen of *England*, and caus'd the Arms of that Kingdom to be engrav'd on their Seal, Plate and Furniture: of which *Elizabeth* caus'd Complaints to be made to *Henry*, but the Anſwer he return'd was trifling; ſo that ſhe cou'd no longer doubt that it was the Intention of the Court of *France* to take the Crown from her, and place it on the Head of the Queen of *Scotland**. The great Credit which the *Lorrain* Princes, who were *Mary*'s Uncles, were in with *Henry*, made it ſhreudly ſuſpected that they had hatch'd this Scheme in favour of the Queen their Niece; and there was too much Truth in the Conjecture. But as it was not eaſy to attack *England* by Sea, their Deſign was to pour an Army into it from the Frontiers of *Scotland*. To carry this Point, there was a neceſſity for

A. 1559. French *K. gives the Q. of England's Title to his Son and Daughter-in-Law.*

* *MEZERAY* ſays, that Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* the Queen's Ambaſſador had this Anſwer, That it was in conformity to the Cuſtom of *Germany*, where the Juniors take the Title and Arms of the chief of their Family. *Cambden* adds, that the *French* Court pretended that all the Princes and Princeſſes had a Right to wear the Arms of their Family with the Bar. At laſt, the ſaid Court being preſs'd upon this Head, told the Ambaſſador, that the King and Queen of *Scotland* had only taken the Arms of *England* to oblige *Elizabeth* to quit thoſe of *France*. *Throckmorton* reply'd, that twelve Kings of *England* had borne the Arms of *France*, and *that* by ſo unqueſtionable a Right, that in all the Treaties which had paſs'd between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, not one ſingle Exception was us'd againſt it. But his Arguments were of no Force, and *Francis* and *Mary* kept the Title they had aſſum'd, as long as *Francis* liv'd: Tho, as Mr. *Rapin* obſerves, *Cambden* has by miſtake aſſerted that the Conſtable of *Montmorency* prevail'd with them to drop it.

Q. *Eliz.* *His Policy to become Maſter of* Scotland.

Henry's making himſelf abſolute Maſter in *Scotland*, in the name of the Queen his Daughter-in-Law: and in order to be Maſter of that Kingdom, there was the ſame Neceſſity for a fair pretence to ſend an Army thither. The *Lorrain* Princes laid a Foundation for ſuch an Opportunity, by cauſing an Order to be diſpatch'd to their Siſter the Regent of *Scotland*, not to tolerate any but the Roman Catholick Religion in that Kingdom. This Order, which the Regent prepar'd to put in Execution, produc'd the Effect which the Court of *France* had waited for. The Proteſtants of *Scotland*, who were already more numerous than the Papiſts, united together in a Confederacy, and both ſides took Arms.

Battle there betwixt the Proteſtant and Popiſh Parties.

The Earl of *Argyle*, and *James Steuart*, Prior of *St. Andrews*, who was Natural Son to *James* V. put themſelves at the Head of the Confederates, and compell'd the Queen Regent and *D' Oiſel* who commanded ſome *French* Troops, and the *Scots* which were paid by *France*, to retire to *Dunbar*. I will not enter farther into the Detail of theſe firſt Troubles of *Scotland*. It may ſuffice to ſay in a word, that the *Lorrain* Princes attaining to the End they propos'd to themſelves, which was to raiſe ſuch Broils in the Kingdom, as might give a Handle for ſending an Army thither, *Henry* II. immediately prepar'd to put his Project in Execution, and gave Orders for raiſing Troops to be tranſported to *Scotland*, under pretence of ſupporting the Queen Regent; but *Henry* being kill'd at a Tournament, (*July* 10. 1559.) at the very time that he was beginning to take thoſe Meaſures, *Francis* II. his eldeſt Son ſucceeded him.

Death of the French K. Henry II.

UNDER

UNDER this new Reign, the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* acquir'd a vaſt degree of Power, and were reſolv'd not to let this opportunity ſlip of placing the Queen their Niece upon the Throne of *England*. Immediately after the Death of *Henry* II. the Queen Regent had made a Truce with the Confederates, who thereupon disbanded and went home, thinking that the Death of the King of *France* wou'd put an end to the Troubles which were rais'd in *Scotland*. During this, the Earl of *Arran*, Son to the Duke of *Chatelheraud*, having made his Eſcape from the Court of *France*, where he pretended ſome Miſchief had been hatch'd againſt him, acquainted the Heads of the Confederacy with the Deſigns of the *Lorrain* Princes, and engag'd the Duke his Father to put himſelf at the Head of the Party. The Earl of *Arran's* Informations were confirm'd by the Queen Regent's Precaution to fortify *Leith* near *Edinburgh*, during the time of the Truce. The Confederates complain'd of it, and having no ſatisfaction, openly renounc'd all Obedience to the Regent. This Action done at a time when they were extremely weak, engag'd the Queen Regent, who had juſt receiv'd Succours from *France*, to march directly to *Edinburgh* in order to ſurprize them. As they were not in a Capacity to make any Reſiſtance, they choſe to retire to the *High-Lands*, to which the Regent's Troops, tho with very great difficulty, purſued them. While they were thus purſued, they ſent the Earl of *Maitland* to *Elizabeth* to implore her Aſſiſtance. The Queen perfectly underſtood how far ſhe was intereſted in their Affairs, together with the neceſſity there was of ſupporting them, Therefore ſhe made a Treaty

A. 1559.

Acceſſion of Francis II.

Deſigns of the Lorrain *Princes at the* French *Court, divulg'd in* Scotland.

Confederates in Scotland *for the Reformation routed, and purſued to the* High-lands.

Elizabeth's *Treaty with them.*

Q. *Eliz.* Treaty with them, by which ſhe engag'd to take them under her Protection, while the Marriage ſubſiſted betwixt their Queen and the King of *France*, and a Year after; and to give them Succours anſwerable to their Neceſſities. It was not long before thoſe Succours came, and they no ſooner arriv'd, but the *Engliſh* and *Scots* join'd together, and went to beſiege *Leith*. This Siege was long enough to give the Court of *France* time to ſend ſeveral Ambaſſadors to *Elizabeth*, who were to try to perſuade her to call home her Troops from *Scotland*, and even to offer her the Reſtitution of *Calais*. But ſhe underſtood her Intereſts too well to accept that Propoſal, which only tended to give *Francis* the Liberty of making himſelf Maſter in *Scotland*, that he might afterwards with the more eaſe attack *England*. This was the main Article or Ground of a Manifeſto which ſhe publiſh'd to ſhew the indiſpenſable Neceſſity that ſhe was under to drive the *French* Troops out of *Scotland*. The Conſpiracy at *Amboiſe* breaking out in *France* at the ſame time, the *Lorrain* Princes did not think themſelves in a condition to carry on the Project they had form'd with reſpect to *Scotland*, and reſolv'd to refer the Execution of it to a more convenient time. Conſequently *Francis* II. having declar'd to *Elizabeth* that he wiſh'd for a Peace, Plenipotentiaries were ſent on both ſides to *Edinburgh*, where a Treaty was concluded.

Treaty with Fra. *at* Edinburgh.

THIS Treaty, according to a Cuſtom inviolably obſerv'd by the Court of *France* under *Henry* II. and his three Sons, was only made to deceive *Elizabeth*; for on pretence that it was contrary to the Honour of the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, to treat with Subjects

Subjects in Rebellion, it was not poſſible to obtain the Conſent of the Ambaſſadors of *France*, that the Confederates of *Scotland* ſhou'd be included in the Treaty as Parties. In order to remove this Difficulty, it was agreed that a Memorial ſhou'd be drawn up in form of a Petition, ſetting forth what the *Scots* deſir'd, and what the King and Queen were willing to grant them; and that for their Security, there ſhou'd be inſerted in the Treaty betwixt *France* and *England*, an Article whereby the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland* ſhou'd engage to perform the Articles contain'd in the ſaid Memorial. It ſeems that the Court of *France* had nothing in View but to ſave a Point of Honour; for when all was done, the Confederates obtain'd what they wiſh'd for. But we ſhall inſtantly ſee the Reaſon which the *French* Court had, not to confound the Intereſts of the *Scots* with thoſe of *Elizabeth*. *A.* 1559.

The Articles granted to the Confederates were.

THAT the Troops of *France* ſhall quit *Scotland* in 20 Days, and go on board Ships to be lent them by the Queen of *England*. *Articles granted to the Confederates.*

THAT the Fortifications of *Leith*, and thoſe which the *French* had added to *Dunbar*, ſhou'd be demoliſh'd.

THAT the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland* ſhou'd grant to the Confederates an Amneſty, to be confirm'd by the Eſtates of *Scotland*.

The Treaty betwixt France *and* England *imported,*

THAT the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland* ſhou'd not aſſume the Title and Arms of *Betwixt* France *and* England.

Q. *Eliz.* of the King and Queen of *England* and *Ireland* for the future, and that all Acts pass'd with those Titles shou'd be repeal'd, or deem'd of no Value.

THAT as to the farther Satisfaction which *Elizabeth* demanded for the Injury which had been done to her, the same shou'd be settled in a Congress to be held at *London*, between Commissioners of the two Kingdoms.

THAT if the Commissioners cou'd not agree, the Decision thereof shou'd be refer'd to the King of *Spain*.

THAT the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland* shou'd punctually observe what had been promis'd to the Confederates of *Scotland*.

K. and Q. of France *and* Scotland *refuse to ratify the Treaty.*

* THE Articles promis'd to the Confederates were perform'd to a tittle. But when the *French* Troops were return'd home, and *Elizabeth* demanded the Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, *Francis* and *Mary* positively refus'd it. This shews the Reason what the Court of *France* meant, by confounding the Disputes she had with the *Scots*, and those with Queen *Elizabeth*, in one and the same Treaty. *France*, in order to bring off her Troops which were besieg'd in *Leith*, and to engage the Confederates to quit their Arms, at a time when that Court was not in a condition to maintain the War in *Scotland*, was under an indispensable Necessity to satisfy them, and by that means to deprive *Elizabeth* of any pretence to keep an Army on foot in that

* MR. *Rapin* observes, that *Buchanan* in his History has only given the Articles granted to the *Scots* Confederates, and that *Camden* in his Annals of *Elizabeth*, has only made mention of the Treaty between the Crowns; which Omission in both those Writers has render'd many Passages in their Histories very obscure.

King-

Kingdom. But as to her Quarrel with *Elizabeth*, it had no relation to the Affairs of *Scotland*. So that by refuſing to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, they ran no riſque of engaging the *Scots* in the Quarrel, and left it to *Elizabeth* to take ſuch Meaſures as ſhe thought fit to obtain the Satisfaction ſhe deſir'd. Mean while, either for want of Attention in the Ambaſſadors of *France*, or by reaſon of their Ignorance of the Affairs of *England*, or perhaps the better to amuſe the *Engliſh*, they ſuffer'd this looſe Term, *That for the future*, &c. to creep into the firſt and principal Article of the Treaty, without fixing the Term to any time; and that very thing prov'd afterwards a Stumbling-block, which always hinder'd the Accommodation between the two Queens, as we ſhall find in the Sequel. *A.* 1560.

FRANCIS II. dying about the latter end of the ſame Year (1560.) *Charles* IX. his Brother ſucceeded him, under the Guardianſhip of his Mother *Catherine de Medicis*. Then the two *Lorrain* Princes having no longer the ſame Credit at Court, and ſeeing no opportunity to execute the Project of attacking *England* by the way of *Scotland*, and with the Arms of *France*, advis'd the Queen their Niece to return to *Scotland*, and gave her ſeveral Directions for her Conduct. 1. To quit the Title of Queen of *England*. 2. To live to outward Appearance in a good Underſtanding with Queen *Elizabeth*, and even to feign a great Affection for her. 3. To endeavour to get her ſelf declar'd *Elizabeth*'s Heireſs. 4. To labour to form a Party in *England*, of which ſhe might make uſe hereafter, as opportunity preſented, to place her ſelf upon the Throne of *England*. *Death of* Francis II. *and Acceſſion of* Char. IX. *of* France. *The* Lorrain *Princes Advice to* Mary Q. *of* Scots.

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Q. *Eliz.* *Why* Q. Mary *refus'd to ratify the Treaty of* Edinburgh

In order to perform the laſt piece of Advice, upon which *Mary* was reſolutely bent, it was abſolutely neceſſary for her to avoid the Ratification of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*. To take that Treaty in a true Senſe, it muſt be conſider'd, that according to its natural Conſtruction, it cou'd not be ſaid that the Intention of the Parties was to exclude *Mary* from the Power of laying Claim *at any time* to the Crown of *England*, under pretence of the Term *for the future*, to which no Bounds had been fix'd. The Caſe might very naturally happen, that the ſaid Crown wou'd devolve to *Mary*, without any infringement of *Henry* VIIIth's Will. But then it muſt be conſider'd that this unlimited Term *for the future*, might be liable to ſuch a ſtrict Explanation. *Mary* therefore made a Handle of the Ambiguity which was couch'd in that looſe Term, to excuſe her ſelf from ratifying the Treaty. Nothing wou'd have been more eaſy than to explain it, as ſhe did afterwards in this manner, *that for the future*, that is to ſay, *during the Life of* Elizabeth *and her Iſſue, ſhe wou'd forbear to take the Style and Arms of the Queen of* England. 'Tis very apparent therefore, that if ſhe had explain'd her ſelf thus at the begining, *Elizabeth* wou'd have been content. But ſhe did not offer at this Explanation of it till her Affairs were in a declining Condition. 'Tis manifeſt therefore, that the Prejudice ſhe might poſſibly ſuffer from the Ambiguity of that Expreſſion *for the future*, was only a pretence ſhe made uſe of to be excus'd from ratifying the Treaty, and from declaring that ſhe wou'd not lay Claim to the Crown of *England* during the Life of *Elizabeth*. For by this Declaration ſhe wou'd have renounc'd the Rights which

ſhe propos'd as her Foundation to form a Party in *England*, capable of dethroning *Elizabeth*, according to the Advice of her Uncles. And on the other hand, when the neceſſity of her Affairs in the Sequel, oblig'd her to offer the Explanation I have mention'd, *Elizabeth* was not ſatisfy'd with it, being very ſenſible that *Mary* only reſolv'd upon it becauſe ſhe was drove to an Extremity; which confirm'd her in the Thought, that all the Artifice her Competitor had made uſe of to be excus'd from ratifying the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, had no View in it but to ſecure to her ſelf a Right of Dethroning her whenever occaſion offer'd. This ſhews the Reaſons which *Mary* had to ſhuffle off the Ratification of the Treaty, on pretence of its being too prejudicial to her. But herein conſiſted the very Ambiguity, which ſhe did not think it was for her Intereſt to clear up. The Prejudice might be in the Conſtruction of the Term *for the future*, which taken in the moſt ſtrict ſenſe, ſeem'd to denote that *at no time*, ſuppoſing even that *Elizabeth* dy'd without Iſſue, *Mary* ſhou'd take the Title of *Queen of* England. That was what ſhe deſir'd might be the Acceptation of it, tho ſhe took care not to explain her ſelf too clearly. But on the other hand, the Prejudice might alſo conſiſt in this, that if *Mary* own'd ſhe cou'd not take the Title of Queen of *England* during the Life of *Elizabeth*, ſhe wou'd thereby be depriv'd of the opportunity of forming a Party in *England*, which cou'd only be founded on thoſe very Rights ſhe was preſs'd to renounce. That was the true Prejudice ſhe was afraid of. Now that ſhe had a Deſign to form a Party in *England* for dethroning *Elizabeth*, appears plainly from the Memoirs of *Melvil*, whoſe Brother was *A.* 1561.

Q. *Eliz.* Ambaſſador in ordinary from *Scotland* to *England*. Therefore when after the Death of *Francis* II. *Elizabeth* demanded of her to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; ſhe eluded it, by ſaying that ſhe had no *Scots* Council about her, and that the Court of *France* did no longer meddle or make in the Affairs of *Scotland*. And afterwards, when by the Advice of her Uncles ſhe quitted the Title of Queen of *England*, ſhe anſwer'd the Ambaſſador of *England*, who preſs'd her on that Head, that ſhe had not aſſum'd that Title without the poſitive Orders of King *Henry* II. her Father-in-Law, and the King her Husband; and that the latter being dead, ſhe had drop'd that Title: That therefore it was needleſs to demand of her the Ratification of a Treaty which ſhe had already executed, as well in this Article, as in that which related to the *Scots*; and that when ſhe came to *Scotland*, and had her Council about her, ſhe wou'd conſider this Affair more maturely. But *Elizabeth* was not content with *Mary*'s quitting the Title voluntarily. She wou'd have her do it by virtue of the *Edinburgh* Treaty, becauſe otherwiſe ſhe might take it up again with the ſame Eaſe that ſhe had relinquiſh'd it. Nevertheleſs *Mary* cou'd not perſuade her ſelf to ratify the Treaty, while ſhe had any hopes left of aſſerting her Claim to the Crown of *England*.

The Source of the Quarrel betwixt the Queens of England *and* Scotland.

This was the very Source and Origin of the Quarrel that aroſe betwixt the two Queens, a Quarrel which we ſee was of no ſmall importance, and which cou'd not be determin'd but by the Death of *Mary*. I have taken up ſome time to ſhew the Cauſe of it, tho I ſhall not ſpend ſo much in demonſtrating the Effects of it. But 'tis neceſſary to ſtop a little, to con-

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conſider the Advantages which *Mary* continually gave her Rival by her ill Conduct, and with how much Art *Elizabeth* improv'd them. *A.* 1561.

MARY having a Deſign to return to *Scotland* according to the Advice of her Uncles, ſent to deſire a Safe-Conduct of *Elizabeth*, who anſwer'd that ſhe wou'd grant her one with all her Heart, provided * the *Edinburgh* Treaty was firſt ratify'd; and that ſhe ſhou'd alſo take it ill if *Mary* did not come thro' *England* in her return to her own Kingdom. *Mary*, who had no mind to ratify the Treaty, was provok'd at this Refuſal, and declar'd in a very angry Tone to the Ambaſſador of *England*, that ſhe came into *France* in ſpite of *Edward* VI. and wou'd return to *Scotland* in ſpite of *Elizabeth*. Accordingly ſhe ventur'd over thither without a Safe-Conduct, and arriv'd happily at *Edinburgh*. But tho ſhe ſeem'd in a great Paſſion with *Elizabeth* before her Departure from *France*, yet by the Advice of her Uncles, ſhe did not fail to ſend her an Ambaſſador to inform her of her Arrival, and to deſire her Friendſhip.

Mary's *return to* Scotland.

Elizabeth *refuſes her a Safe-Conduct.*

BUT the Ambaſſador's chief Commiſſion was to feel the Pulſe of *Elizabeth*, by giving her to underſtand that *Mary* wiſh'd to be declar'd next Heir. *Elizabeth* in like manner pretended abundance of Eſteem and Affection for her *good Siſter*, (as ſhe always call'd the Queen of *Scotland*) but told the Ambaſſador in plain Terms, that ſhe thought it ſtrange that any Propoſal ſhou'd be made to her, to declare *Mary* her Heir before the Treaty of

Mary's *Propoſal to be declar'd next Heir to* Elizabeth, *rejected.*

* MR. *Rapin* blames *Buchanan*'s Injuſtice, in not giving the Terms upon which *Elizabeth* was willing to grant the Safe-Conduct.

Q. *Eliz.* *Edinburgh* was ratify'd. Tho ſhe took it very ill that *Mary* eluded the Ratification of that Treaty by ſuch idle ſhifts, yet ſhe thought it proper to diſſemble her Reſentment, and to feign an extraordinary Affection for *Mary*, as *Mary* pretended on her part for *Elizabeth*. *Melvil* affirms in his Memoirs that theſe two Queens wrote to each other every Week in Terms the moſt tender and the moſt affectionate; which was a Diſſimulation they both thought neceſſary *. *Elizabeth* left *Mary* not without Hopes that ſhe wou'd declare her next Heir, in order to draw her in to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*. And *Mary* on her part endeavour'd by her Expreſſions of Friendſhip for *Elizabeth*, to obtain that Declaration from her which ſhe wanted, becauſe ſhe thought that the Ratification of the Treaty wou'd by that means be of no effect. Not that ſhe propos'd to be compleatly ſatisfy'd by ſuch Declaration, for ſhe had no great Hopes of ſucceeding *Elizabeth*, who was but 27 Years of Age, and who moreover might poſſibly marry and have Children. But ſhe look'd upon this Declaration as a very proper means to ſtrengthen the Party, which ſhe was en-

The Diſſimulation of both Queens.

* Mr. *Rapin* in that large Hiſtory of *England* which he wrote after he had made this Extract of Mr. *Rymer's Fœdera*, ſays, he can't but think that *Melvil* was miſtaken in the account he gives of the weekly Correſpondence betwixt theſe two Queens, ſo ſoon after *Mary's* return to *Scotland*, becauſe hitherto nothing had paſs'd betwixt them which cou'd tend to form or to cement ſuch a reciprocal Intercourſe and Friendſhip; and on the contrary, ſeveral things had happen'd which contributed to ſet them at greater Variance. But Mr. *Rapin* adds, if *Melvil* who was at that time in *Germany* was rightly inform'd, every one muſt own the two Queens were very arrant Diſſemblers.

deavouring

deavouring to form in *England*, as appears by *Melvil*'s Memoirs. On the other hand, when *Elizabeth* conſider'd that *Mary* was ſupported by all the Roman Catholick Powers in *Europe*, as well as by a Party in *England*, which tho at preſent kept under, was very ſtrong; and that ſhe might happen to marry ſome Prince of a great Family, powerful enough to promote her Pretenſions; ſhe cou'd not but think *Mary* a very dangerous Rival. What had been the Effect of her Marriage with *Francis* II. might give Cauſe to fear a like attempt from ſome other Quarter: So that when not long after, *Mary* ask'd her Advice relating to the Marriage propos'd to her, with the Archduke *Charles* II. Son to the Emperor *Ferdinand*, ſhe repreſented to her, that after ſuch a Marriage, ſhe muſt never expect to come to the Throne of *England*, and gave her to underſtand at the ſame time, that ſhe cou'd not do better to gain the Love of the *Engliſh* Nation, than to marry an *Engliſhman*. By that means ſhe gave her a broad Hint, that her Requeſt to be declar'd next Heir to the Crown, depended upon her good Behaviour to her ſelf and the *Engliſh* Nation; but ſhe took care not to engage poſitively to grant her Satisfaction. Theſe two Queens liv'd for ſeveral Years as good Friends to all outward appearance, but no Cunning or Diſſimulation was wanting in either.

A. 1561.

Mary conſults her about a Match propos'd to her with the Archduke.

'Tis time now to ſay ſomething of the Weight which turn'd the Ballance in favour of *Elizabeth*, and gave her all the Advantage over her Competitor: And that was *Mary*'s ill Conduct. If this Queen had not given way to her Paſſions, 'tis hardly to be doubted but ſhe

Q. *Eliz.* ſhe would have prov'd ſuch a Plague to *Elizabeth*, that, as cunning as ſhe was, ſhe would have found it very difficult to have ſtood her ground. For notwithſtanding all the Miſtakes of which *Mary* was guilty, and notwithſtanding the Loſs of her Liberty, ſhe was ſtill ſo formidable to her, that *Elizabeth* could not be ſure of her Peace, nor even of her Life, but by the Death of her Competitor.

MARY had been brought up from a Child in a Court of Gallantry, tho of Bigotry, of which ſhe naturally took ſuch Impreſſions as prov'd her ruin. After the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, and even during the Life of *Francis* II. the States of *Scotland* had ſettled the Reformation in that Kingdom by their own Authority, and had only left the Queen the Liberty of having Maſs ſaid in her Chapel, without any Pomp. Before *Mary* ſet out from *France*, her beſt Friends, who perfectly knew the Affairs of *Scotland*, advis'd her to ſtick to the Proteſtants, as the only Party able to ſupport her. She immediately comply'd with this Advice, and committed the chief Management of her Affairs to *James Steuart* Prior of St. *Andrews*, her Baſtard Brother, to whom ſhe not long after gave the Title of Earl of *Murray*. But ſhe was ſoon weary of being govern'd by this Brother, who was a Proteſtant, and whoſe Temper was too rigid for him to approve of certain Irregularities which he perceiv'd in her Conduct. In fine, without entering into too many Particulars under this Head, I ſhall only ſay in one word, that ſhe reſign'd herſelf, as we may call it, into the Hands of one *David Riccio* or *Rizzo*, an *Italian*

James Steuart made Earl of Murray.

lian Muſician, who became on a ſudden her prime Miniſter and Favourite*. *A.*1561.

'TIS

* AS this Man was the original Cauſe of the Troubles in *Scotland*, and of the Diſgrace of his Miſtreſs, we ſhall juſt take notice from *Rapin*'s Hiſtory that he was the Son of a Muſician at *Turin*, and that he came over to *Scotland* in the Retinue of the Count *de Moretto*, who was ſent thither as Ambaſſador. He had not only Judgment in Muſick, but ſo fine a Voice, that he ſoon got acquainted with the Court Muſicians, and was preſented to the Queen, who wanting ſuch a Voice as he had for her Muſick, prevail'd on the Ambaſſador to let her have him. After which ſhe preferr'd him firſt to the Poſt of Secretary of her *French* Diſpatches, from whence he roſe to that of her Prime Miniſter. *Buchanan*, who was a great Enemy of Queen *Mary*, ſays, that ſhe often made him eat at her Table, and that ſhe as often eat at his; inſinuating that ſome Familiarities paſs'd betwixt them which were not common nor commendable. But as *Buchanan* may naturally be ſuſpected to have aggravated this Matter, Mr. *Rapin* is for adhering ſtrictly to what *Melvil* ſays about it; who cannot be charg'd with any Deſign to blacken the Queen's Character, becauſe upon all Occaſions he diſcovers a great Veneration for her, yet without concealing her Errors and Defects. This Author ſays, 'That *Rizzo*'s Pride and 'Inſolence render'd him 'hateful to all the Nobi-'lity; that when the great 'Men went to confer with 'the Queen about Affairs 'of Government, they al-'ways found *Rizzo* in her 'Chamber; that he often 'affected to whiſper her in 'the Ear when ſhe was in 'Conference with them, or 'in a full Aſſembly of the 'States; and that he was ex-'tremely covetous and ſel-'fiſh. *Melvil* adds, That 'when he himſelf took the 'Liberty to repreſent to the 'Queen how much ſhe al-'ready did and might here-'after ſuffer by the Favours 'which ſhe heap'd on that 'Foreigner, ſhe told him, 'that ſhe was not to be 'directed by her Subjects 'in the Diſpenſation of her 'Favours.

Barneſtaple, one of the 16 Writers concerning *Mary* Q. of *Scots*, collected into 2 Vol. by Mr. *Jebb*, gives *Rizzo* the Character of a Man of great Judgment, Wiſdom, and Sagacity, as ready to praiſe

Q. *Eliz.* 'Tis ſaid that *Riccio* became a Penſioner to the Pope, as ſoon as he became a Favourite with the Queen, if he was not ſo before. Be this as it will, the Queen was determin'd by the Advice of this Favourite to marry with a Roman Catholick, and by degrees to rid her ſelf of the Earl of *Murray*, who was always teazing her. To compaſs this Deſign, ſhe began by recalling certain Enemies of *Murray* who had been baniſh'd from Court; and then ſhe caſt her Eyes upon Lord *Darly*, with a View to make him her Husband. The Lord *Darly* was Son to *Matthew Steuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, and *Margaret Douglas* Niece to *Henry* VIII. by that King's eldeſt Siſter *Margaret*; who after the Death of her Husband *James* IV. marry'd *Archibald Douglas* Earl of *Angus*. Conſequently the Lord *Darly* might lay Claim to the Crown of *England* after *Mary*, becauſe his Birth gave him Place before the Daughters of the Queen (Ducheſs of *Suffolk*) tho *Henry* VIII's Will had ſettled the Succeſſion otherwiſe. 'Tis clear therefore that by this Marriage *Mary* united the Claims and Intereſts of the two Branches that deſcended from *Margaret*, *Henry* VIII's eldeſt Siſter. The Earl of *Lenox* having declar'd for this Prince when he made War upon

An Account of Lord Darly's *Pedigree.*

praiſe and promote the Counſels of the Good, as he was quick at diſcerning and baffling thoſe of the Wicked; only he had this Fault, that he ſung too ſoft for a Man, and too often for a Cabinet Counſellor to the Queen.

Two others of thoſe Writers, *viz.* Counſellor *Blackwood* and *George Coney*, both *Scots*-men, ſay, that this *David* was an old crabbed and deform'd Fellow; and that 'twas his Loyalty and Sagacity which made him ſo dear to the Queen. *Thuanus* too ſays, that notwithſtanding his mean Original, the Queen made him ſit at Table with her every Day.

Scot-

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Scotland, was baniſh'd the Kingdom, and retir'd with his Wife to *England*, where *Henry* had given them Lands in Compenſation for thoſe they had loſt in their own Country. They were there ſtill, when *Mary* reſolv'd to marry Lord *Darly*, their eldeſt Son. She found means to draw both the Father and Son into *Scotland*, with the Conſent of *Elizabeth*, who imagin'd that it would be always in her Power to obſtruct the Marriage, and only meant to amuſe the Queen of *Scotland*, but was at laſt deceiv'd; for *Mary* actually marry'd the Popiſh Lord *Darly*, *Riccio* having taken a great deal of Pains to bring it about, for fear leſt *Elizabeth* ſhould find out a Husband for her that was a Proteſtant: and indeed ſhe had ſtrenuouſly ſollicited her to marry *Robert Dudley*, Son to the late Duke of *Northumberland*, to whom ſhe had given the Title of Earl of *Leiceſter*.

A. 1561.

Queen of Scots *marries him, after* Elizabeth *had recommended the Earl of* Leiceſter *to her.*

MARY's Marriage was not approv'd by all the *Scots* Nobility: The Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray*, and ſome others, took *Arms to hinder it, but were forc'd to fly to *England*, where they were well receiv'd. *Riccio* made uſe of this Opportunity to complete the Ruin of the Noblemen who were fled; and who being the

Scots *Nobility take Arms upon it.*

* Mr. *Rapin* in his Hiſtory, obſerves a notorious Contradiction here betwixt *Buchanan* and *Camden*. The former ſays the Nobility did not take Arms till after the Marriage, when they ſaw the Court had a Deſign to oppreſs them. The latter will have it, that the Queen was oblig'd to march againſt the ConfederateLords to hinder them from diſturbing the Marriage Ceremony; and that ſhe forc'd them to fly to *England*: which, if true, is an Argument that ſhe ſurpriz'd them before they had duly concerted their Meaſures. *Melvil* firſt gives an Account of the Inſurrection, and then of the Marriage.

Heads

Q. *Eliz.* Heads of the Proteſtant Party, he therefore call'd an Aſſembly of the Eſtates in order to get their Lands confiſcated, and their Names ſtruck out of the Peerage. During this, the Queen had conceiv'd ſuch a Diſguſt at the King her Husband, that ſhe could hide it no longer; ſhe made him ſuffer the moſt cruel Mortifications in private, and treated him with the utmoſt Indignity in publick. The King aſcrib'd all this baſe Treatment to *Riccio*, who govern'd the Queen; and as 'tis ſaid was too familiar with her *: Therefore the King privately recall'd the Noblemen who were fled to *England*, that he might have their Credit and Support; and two days before

Her ill Uſage of her Husband.

* *Camden*, whoſe Aim was to juſtify Queen *Mary* upon all Occaſions, and for which reaſon he ſcarce makes mention of *Riccio*, accuſes the Earl of *Murray*, then in *England*, of having made Miſchief betwixt the Queen and her Husband, both by Letters and his Friends: and he takes notice of the Queen's putting the King's Name after her own in the publick Acts and Coin, as a Reaſon of the Queen's Diſguſt; which, as Mr. *Rapin* obſerves, was only an Effect of it. Our Author is inclin'd to think that what *Buchanan* has ſaid of the Queen's Diſguſt with the one, and of her Familiarities with the other, is very much aggravated; tho he agrees that the King was jealous: but whether the Queen gave Cauſe for it, according to *Buchanan*, or the Earl of *Murray*, according to *Camden*, is the Queſtion to be decided. *Melvil*, whoſe Authority can hardly be ſuſpected in this Matter, manifeſtly ſuppoſes the King's Jealouſy, tho he ſays nothing of the Cauſe of it; and we may be ſure, as it were, that if he had thought the Queen innocent, he would not have fail'd to have clear'd her.

But we will leave the curious Reader to his own Reflections, after he has conſulted *N. Cauſin*, M. *de Caſtelnaud*, and *Adam Blackwood*, three of the Authors whoſe Memoirs of this Queen are collected by Mr *Jebb*, and who have done all they can to acquit her of the Imputation of Adultery.

they

they arriv'd, he caus'd *Riccio* to be aſſaſſinated in the very Chamber of the Queen, who was ſix Months gone with Child, and then put her under Arreſt, ordering her Guard to keep her always in ſight *. Nevertheleſs ſhe found means to make her Eſcape, and to retire to *Dunbar*, where ſhe reſum'd her Authority; the Earl of *Murray*, her Brother, having done her ſignal Service upon this Occaſion, by refuſing to join with the Men of that Party who had aſſaſſinated *Riccio*. From that time the Queen repos'd all her Favour and Confidence in the Earl of *Bothwel*, *Murray*'s Capital Enemy; and retain'd ſuch a Pique againſt the King, that ſhe could never forgive him. She gave ſuch evident Tokens of her Hatred of him, at the Baptiſm of the Prince of whom ſhe was brought to Bed, that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador who came to be Surety at the Font in the Name of *Elizabeth*, could not help ſending her word that he thought her Conduct ſcandalous: He preſs'd her alſo to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, but could obtain nothing.

A. 1561.

Murder of Riccio.

Arreſt of the Queen, and her Eſcape.

Her Advancement of Bothwel.

* *BUCHANAN* ſays, that upon this there was a great Tumult in *Edinburgh*, and that the Citizens took Arms: but *Melvil* makes the Tumult inconſiderable. Becauſe the Earl of *Murray* return'd to *Scotland* ſo ſoon after the Murder, *Camden* will needs have it, that it was committed in that Earl's Favour and by his Privity: but Mr. *Rapin* makes it appear from *Melvil*'s Memoirs that his Conſequence is very unjuſt; that the Friends of the other Lords, and not thoſe of the Earl, were the Authors of the Murder: and he obſerves upon the whole, that by ſuch Strokes, and by a perpetual Raving againſt *Murray*, *Camden* has disfigur'd not only the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, but that part of the *Engliſh* Hiſtory which is connected with it.

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Q. *Eliz.* At length the King finding himself so unworthily treated, was resolv'd to retire to his Father the Earl of *Lenox* at *Glascow*. A League from *Edinburgh*, he fell sick of a poisonous Dose which had been given him before he set out: but the Strength of his Constitution sav'd him from this Danger for another that was greater; for this Stroke failing, the Queen found means to draw the King to *Edinburgh*, where he was lodg'd in a House near the Walls of the City. Being not yet well recover'd, the Queen frequently visited him, and seem'd to be heartily reconcil'd to him: But one Night as he was asleep, the House was blown up by the means of some Barrels of Powder plac'd under the Chamber where he lay, and he was found dead in the Garden, and no Wound appear'd on the Body: All Mankind accus'd the Queen and Earl *Bothwel* of the Murder. No Credit ought to be given to the Stories which *Camden* tells about it in his *Annals of Elizabeth*, in order to bring the Earl of *Murray* under a Suspicion of that Murder. If there was room for it here, I could shew the Falshood of his Narrative by undeniable Proofs. After the King's Death, the Earl of *Murray* retir'd to *France* with the Queen's leave, for fear that *Bothwel* should play him a scurvy Trick.

An Attempt to poison the K. of Scotland; *but his Constitution being stronger than the Dose, he is blown up in his Bed.*

Earl of Murray *retires to* France.

Q. *of* Scots *runs away with Earl* Bothwel, *and marries him.*

At last the Queen being blinded by her Passion, caus'd her self to be carry'd off by Earl *Bothwel*, and marry'd that hateful Man, who was not only suspected, but had even been publickly accus'd of having put the King to death. This Action drove the *Scots* Nobility beyond all the Bounds of Patience. They made a League together to punish the Murderers of the late King, took Arms and oblig'd the Queen to retire with *Bothwel* her

Confederacy of the Scots *to punish the Murderers of the late King.*

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new Husband to *Dumbar*, where she rais'd Troops. When they were ready, she march'd againſt the Confederates, who made haſte on their part to meet her: But perceiving that her Army did not ſerve her chearfully, her Courage fail'd her; and while the two Armies as it were fac'd each other, she enter'd into a Treaty with the Confederates, and ſurrender'd her ſelf into their Hands. A Promiſe was made to obey her, provided that she would abandon *Bothwel*, who was fled to *Dumbar*; and upon this Condition she was carry'd to *Edinburgh*. But on the very Day that she arriv'd there, she brib'd one of her Guards, and wrote an exceſſively tender Letter to *Bothwel*, wherein she promis'd never to forſake him. But this Letter falling into the Hands of the Confederates, they would truſt her no longer, and ſent her Priſoner to *Lochlevin*: And ſome days after, they oblig'd her by Menaces to reſign the Crown to the Prince her Son, and to appoint the Earl of *Murray* Regent of the Kingdom during the King's Minority.

A. 1561.

Surrender'd her ſelf into the Hands of the Confederate Lords.

She is ſent Priſoner to Lochlevin.

Yields the Crown to her Son.

E. of Murray *is Regent.*

THE Earl of *Murray* arriving from *France*, caus'd Purſuit to be made after *Bothwel*, who was put to Sea and turn'd Pirate. He narrowly miſs'd of being taken; but finding means to eſcape, he retir'd to *Denmark* where he was committed to Priſon, and about ten Years after he died. Mean time a Party was form'd in *Scotland* for the Queen; and as ſoon as they had gather'd Numbers and Strength, she eſcaped from Priſon, and went to put her ſelf at the Head of an Army which was form'd ready for her. The Regent, tho he was ſurpriz'd, and by much inferior in Number of Troops, did nevertheleſs march to meet her. A Battle enſued, and the Queen's Troops being routed,

Bothwel's Flight, Impriſonment and Death.

Queen of Scots *eſcapes from Priſon, and heads an Army.*

Q. *Eliz.* ſhe reſolv'd to fly to *England*, ſince ſhe could no longer ſtay in *Scotland* with Safety. *Elizabeth* being inform'd of her Arrival, caus'd her to be receiv'd with Honour, but refus'd to ſee her till ſhe had acquitted her ſelf of the Crime laid to her Charge in having marry'd the Murderer of the King her Husband, and having been her ſelf an Accomplice in the Murder. This was the reſult, in ſhort, of the irregular Conduct of *Mary*; a Conduct which made her fall into the Hands of *Elizabeth*, from whence it was not poſſible for her to extricate her ſelf but by a ſhameful Death. There was a Neceſſity of making this known, for the better underſtanding of what follows hereafter.

Her Overthrow and Flight to England.

Her Reception by Q. Eliz.

Reflection on her Conduct.

Elizabeth's artful dealing with her.

FROM the time that *Mary* arriv'd in *England*, ſhe was really a Priſoner, tho *Elizabeth* pretended it was only a Point of Decorum which did not allow her to ſee her till ſhe had clear'd her ſelf, of which ſhe made her believe ſhe had no manner of doubt. The better to play her Game, ſhe feign'd to be in a very great Paſſion with the *Scots* for having dethron'd their Queen. She declar'd that by ſo doing, they had ſignally affronted and extremely prejudic'd all other Sovereigns, who were all concern'd to ſupport the Rights of this depos'd Queen. At the ſame time, ſhe gave *Mary* to underſtand that ſhe was convinc'd of her Innocence; but that nevertheleſs it was neceſſary the ſame ſhould be made publick to the whole World, in order to give Authority for the Succours ſhe intended to furniſh for replacing her on the Throne. *Mary* fell into the Snare, and imagining that *Elizabeth* really deſign'd to ſerve her, and that ſhe only wanted a Pretext to ſalve Appearances,

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ces, ſhe conſented to have the Cauſe try'd by *Engliſh* Commiſſioners. As ſoon as ſhe had given her Conſent to this fatal Examination, *Elizabeth* wrote to the Earl of *Murray*, that ſhe was reſolv'd to make a thorow Inquiry into the Proceeding of the *Scots*; and that if they could not prove what they had alledg'd againſt their Queen, ſhe would aſſiſt her with all her Forces: That ſhe deſir'd him therefore to ſend ſome Deputies to *York*, to which ſhe would ſend Commiſſioners on her part, and that he would furniſh them with ſuch Proofs as he had in hand; to the end that after a proper Examination ſhe might know what to determine: That if the *Scots* refus'd to conſent to ſuch Examination, ſhe would look upon their Refuſal as a Conviction of the Injuſtice of their Rebellion. The Regent being intimidated by theſe Menaces, reſolv'd to go himſelf into *England* in company with ſome others of the Nobility, and ſeveral Civilians, in order to impeach the Queen his Siſter there, and to juſtify the Conduct of the Eſtates of *Scotland*. This was the very thing that *Elizabeth* deſir'd; for ſhe only engag'd to ſupport her *good Siſter* in caſe ſhe was found innocent; but at the ſame time ſhe put it in the power of the *Scots* to prove her Crimes.

A. 1561.

Her Letter to the Regent of Scotland.

THE *Engliſh* Commiſſioners with the Duke of *Norfolk* at their Head, going to *York*, the Regent of *Scotland* and the Agents of Queen *Mary* repair'd thither alſo; but the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was a ſecret Friend to the Queen of *Scotland*, perceiving what was *Elizabeth*'s Deſign, made uſe of Methods too tedious to mention, which hinder'd the Conference from having any Succeſs. Yet *Elizabeth*, unwilling

Meeting of the Commiſſioners at York *upon the Affair of* Mary *Queen of* Scots.

Q. *Eliz.* to lose the Fruit of her Artifice, found means to bring the Regent of *Scotland* to *London*, and caus'd a second Conference to be held at *Hampton Court* in Presence of other *English* Commissioners, who were not such Friends to the Queen of *Scotland* as was the Duke of *Norfolk*. *Mary* perceiving, or being inform'd of the Artifice of *Elizabeth*, revok'd the Power which she had given to her Agents; but this did not prove a Hindrance to the Examination of her Affair. The Earl of *Murray* produc'd his Proofs against the Queen his Sister, to which no Answer was made; and those Proofs which were committed to Writing were put into the Hands of the Queen, who feign'd nevertheless that she gave no Credit to them: and she actually rav'd against the Regent and the *Scots* Commissioners, and treated them as Rebels. But all this was only a Copy of her Countenance, that there might be an Opportunity for saying that this Affair did not seem in her Opinion to be clearly discuss'd, and that it wanted fuller Explanation. It was on this Pretence that she detain'd the Queen of *Scotland* for the Space of eighteen Years without giving her the Assistance, which she had at first put her in hopes of, and without convicting her of the Crime of which she was accus'd, by starting fresh Pretences every Day for deferring that Explanation which she seem'd to wish for.

Another at Hampton Court.

Conspiracies for Q. Mary's Liberty.

When *Mary* once perceiv'd the *Artifices* of *Elizabeth* to detain her in Prison, she thought her self warranted to make Attempts of every kind to procure her self Liberty. A Multitude of Conspiracies were form'd for her, to some of which she consented, and particularly to that for marrying the Duke of *Norfolk* against the Will of Queen *Elizabeth*, tho *Bothwel*

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wel was ſtill alive: It coſt that Duke his Life for purſuing that chimerical Project with too much Zeal. All theſe ſeveral Conſpiracies, none of which ſucceeded, produc'd no other Effect than to convince *Elizabeth* how much ſhe was concern'd to look well to her Priſoner. For ſince ſhe found Means to get ſo many Men to act for her while ſhe was in Priſon, what would ſhe not have been able to have done if ſhe ſat peaceably upon the Throne of *Scotland*, or if even after her Diſgrace ſhe had been permitted to go over to *France*? *A.* 1565.

I HAVE no Deſign to enter into the Particulars of all the Conſpiracies that were form'd for *Mary*'s Liberty, and at the ſame time to place her upon the Throne of *England*. I ſhall only ſay in few words, that the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* took Arms in her Favour, as well as the Lord *Darcy*; that it coſt the former his Life, and that the two others were oblig'd to fly out of the Kingdom: That the Duke of *Norfolk* loſt his Head upon a Scaffold; that the Pope, *Spain*, the Duke of *Alva*, *France*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* ſerv'd *Mary* with all their Power; that they acted with the ſame Zeal in *Scotland* in order to find an Opportunity to attack *Elizabeth* from that Quarter; that the young King of *Scotland* ſeem'd at one time to have been gain'd by the Roman Catholicks to favour thoſe Conſpiracies; and finally, that ſeveral Plots were carry'd on againſt the Life of *Elizabeth*, and that they came to nothing at all. Laſtly, The Biſhop of *Roſs* in *Scotland*, Author of a Hiſtory of that Kingdom, who was at the Court of *Elizabeth* in Quality of Ambaſſador from *Mary*, had a Hand in all theſe Conſpiracies. He was a Man of a very turbulent fiery Temper, who did

Fate of the Lords that took Arms for her.

Leſley, *Biſhop of* Roſs, *his Character.*

Q. *Eliz.* did the Queen his Miſtreſs more harm by endeavouring to ſerve her, than her Enemies did with all their Contrivances to hurt her.

DURING all theſe Intrigues, which laſted many Years, *Elizabeth* was continually embaraſs'd; ſhe only kept *Mary* in Priſon, upon a vain Pretext which was already known. This extreme Rigour was the Cauſe, or rather the Pretext of the Conſpiracies I have juſt now mention'd. It ſeems at firſt View that *Elizabeth*, by ſetting *Mary* at Liberty, might have deliver'd her ſelf out of all thoſe Troubles; but this Step would have been ſtill more dangerous. *Mary*'s Impriſonment was only a Pretence, as I have already ſaid, for the many Conſpiracies form'd in her Favour. The real View of her Friends was to place her on the Throne of *England*; and the ſetting her at Liberty would only have made it the more eaſy for them to execute their Deſigns. *Elizabeth* was oblig'd therefore for her own Safety to detain her in Priſon. Indeed *Mary* offer'd to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh* in the manner I have already ſaid; that is to ſay, not to lay Claim to the Crown of *England* during *Elizabeth*'s Life: but this Offer was made too late, for *Elizabeth* knew the Deſigns of her Enemies too well to accept of ſuch a Propoſal which ſhe look'd upon as a Snare. Her Jealouſy of her was rais'd to the higheſt Pitch; ſhe ſaw that this Affair was come to ſuch a Paſs, that ſhe could not deliver *Mary* without expoſing her ſelf to the greateſt Danger; and therefore ſhe reſolv'd to make her Priſoner for Life. The only Difficulty was, what Excuſes to make to *France* and *Scotland*, which ſtrongly ſollicited her Liberty, but by their Importunities only ruin'd the Affairs of the Captive Queen, and confirm'd

Elizabeths *Reaſons for detaining the Queen of* Scots *in Priſon.*

confirm'd *Elizabeth* more and more in her Suspicions and Resolution. She found no better Pretence than that which had already serv'd for her Excuse, *viz.* to feign that, she wish'd *Mary* might appear Innocent. Therefore she signify'd that she would have this Affair examin'd once more; and the Earl of *Morton* went to *London*, there to accuse the Queen a second time. But this came to nothing, because *Elizabeth* was resolv'd that the Affair should never be put into a clear Light: not but she was fully convinc'd by the Proofs she had in her own Hands, that *Mary* was guilty. But as she had no Right to condemn her for that Fact, so she did not care to try her for it; it was sufficient for her that she did not appear to be innocent. All this was Artifice in order to amuse the Ambassadors with Hopes that this Affair would soon be clear'd up, and that in all probability *Mary* would be fully justify'd; and in the mean while she always gain'd time. 'Twas for this same reason that she feign'd an Inclination to treat with *Mary*, and that she caus'd Propositals to be made to her of such a Nature, that even tho *Mary* had granted every one, there would have been insurmountable Difficulties in the Execution of them. At last these two Queens continually laid Traps for one another. *Mary* pretended that all she aim'd at was to obtain her Liberty, while her Friends left no Stone unturn'd to place her upon the Throne of *England*, under pretence of working for her Deliverance. And *Elizabeth* on her part acted with equal Dissimulation: She declar'd that she had nothing more at heart than to set *Mary* at Liberty on Terms that might be safe for *England*; and at the same time order'd it so that the Security

A. 1584.

The Dissimulation of the two Queens.

Q. *Eliz.* rity which she desir'd could not be granted her.

Plots against Elizabeth's *Life.*

Association thereupon,

WHILE this pass'd, Conspiracies were discover'd against *Elizabeth*'s Life from time to time. In 1584. there was one in which the Ambassador of *Spain* was concern'd: This produc'd a general Association in *England* for the Safety of the Queen's Person, and caus'd double Precautions to be us'd as to the guarding of the Queen of *Scotland*, who was put into the Hands of *Drury**.

And a Commission of Enquiry after Traitors.

IN 1585. a new Conspiracy contriv'd by one *Parr*, produc'd an Act of Parliament which confirm'd the Association, and order'd that twenty four Commissioners, to be appointed by the Queen, should make Inquiry and Search after such as had a Design upon the Life of the Queen, or should challenge any Right to the Crown of *England*: That the Person by or for whom such Attempt should be made, should be thereby render'd incapable of succeeding to the Crown, and should be prosecuted to Death, if the 24 Commissioners should declare such Person attainted and convict.

PROBABLY it was already resolv'd to put the Queen of *Scotland* to Death upon the first Opportunity that presented; for things were come to such a height, that one of the two Queens must necessarily perish. This Opportunity offer'd it self the Year following, *viz.* 1586. One *Babington* having conspir'd against the Queen, and held a secret Correspondence with the Queen of *Scotland*, he was put to Death with his Accomplices, and care was taken to receive their Confessions and Deposi-

* His Name was *Drugeon Drury*. If ever there was a watchful Man in the World, says Mr. *Rapin*, this was one.

ons

ons in an authentick form. A Reſolution was thereupon taken to have *Mary* try'd and condemn'd upon the Letter of the Act juſt now mention'd. I cannot here enter into the Particulars of this Trial, which have been given by *Camden*, an Author very much ſuſpected in this Paſſage. It is ſufficient to ſay in a word, that out of 42 Commiſſioners who were appointed her Judges by the Queen, 36 repair'd to *Fotheringhay*, where *Mary* was Priſoner; and that after having examin'd the Accuſations and Defence, they declar'd her attainted and convict of the Crime contain'd in the Act of Parliament above-mention'd: namely, for that an Attempt had been made in her Favour upon the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, and that ſhe was not ignorant of it. Nor ſhall I give an Account of the cunning Stratagems *Elizabeth* made uſe of in order to be importun'd by ſeveral Lords, and by the Parliament themſelves to put the Sentence in Execution, and to make the Publick believe that the Sentence was executed without her Order; for ſuch a Train of Particulars would carry me too far. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay in a word that *Mary* was beheaded, and that ſhe glory'd at her Death in laying down her Life for the Roman Catholick Faith, as ſuppoſing that ſhe was only put to Death out of ſpite to her Religion.

A. 1586. Q. Mary's *Trial*, *And Condemnation.* *Her Execution.*

The Acts of the Remainder of the Fifteenth Volume of the Fœdera, *which relate to* Mary *Queen of* Scotland; are,

I. THE Treaty concluded at *Chateau-Cambreſis* betwixt *Elizabeth*, and *Francis* and *Mary* King and Queen of *Scotland*; dated *April* 2, 1559. *Treaty with Francis and Mary, K. and Q. of Scots.* *The* 513.

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The chief ARTICLES *are,*

1. THAT neither ſide ſhall harbour ſuch as are Rebels to the other.

2. THAT the Fortifications of *Aymouth* ſhall be demoliſh'd.

3. THAT the farther Pretenſions of each of the Parties ſhall remain entire.

4. THAT within the Space of 2 Months, a Place be agreed on, to which the 2 Crowns ſhall ſend Plenipotentiaries, in order to regulate ſome Articles which could not be ſettled at *Chateau*.

Ratification, 516. II. THE Ratification of this Treaty by *Francis* and *Mary*; dated at *Fontainbleau* the 18th of *April*.

Another, 517. III. A COMMISSION from *Francis* and *Mary*, to agree about ſome Articles that were left undetermin'd at *Chateau*; dated the 21ſt of *May* following at *Sterling*.

Treaty with Scotland. 520. IV. A TREATY betwixt *Scotland* and *England*, concluded at *Upſalington*, concerning the Articles which were left undetermin'd at *Chateau*; dated the 31ſt of the ſame Month.

THE Articles of this Treaty are of no great Importance.

Ratification of it, 539. V. *Francis* and *Mary*'s Ratification of the Treaty of *Upſalington*; dated *Aug.* 18, 1559. at *St. Germain en Laye*.

Treaty with the Confederate Lords of Scotland, 569. VI. TREATY betwixt *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Chatelherault*, chief of the Confederates in *Scotland*; dated at *Berwick Feb.* 27, 1560.

The chief ARTICLES *of it are theſe,*

1. *ELIZABETH* takes into her Protection the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Cha-*

Chatelherault and his Party, in order to maintain *Scotland* in its Liberties as long as the Marriage of *Mary* with the K. of *France* ſubſiſts, and a year longer. *A.* 1560.

2. SHE engages to ſend them Succours, and to continue the ſame till the *French* are drove out of the Kingdom.

3. SHE will make no Agreement with *France* till the *French* and *Scots* are agreed to let the Kingdom of *Scotland* enjoy its full Liberty.

4. SHE will not abandon the Confederates as long as they own *Mary* for their Queen, and endeavour to maintain the Rights of the Crown.

5. IF the *Engliſh* take Places in *Scotland* from *France*, they ſhall be demoliſh'd, or deliver'd to the Duke of *Chatelherault*, at his Choice; and the *Engliſh* ſhall make no Fortifications.

6. THE Duke and his Party ſhall join their Forces to thoſe of *England*.

7. THE Enemies of *England* ſhall be the Enemies of the *Scots*.

8. THEY ſhall not ſuffer any other Union betwixt *Scotland* and *France*, than what there is at preſent.

9. IF *England* is attack'd by *France*, they ſhall furniſh the Queen with 2000 Foot and 2000 Horſe.

10. IF the Invaſion be on the North, they ſhall join all their Forces to thoſe of the Queen at their own Expence.

11. IF the Earl of *Argyle*, Lord Juſtice of *Scotland*, join the Duke, he ſhall uſe his Efforts to reduce the North of *Ireland* under the Dominion of the Queen of *England*; according to the Treaty which he ſhall agree on with the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

12. THEY

Q. *Eliz.* 12. THEY ſhall give Hoſtages, who ſhall remain in the Hands of the Queen of *England*, as long as the Queen of *Scotland*'s Marriage with the King of *France* ſubſiſts.

13. THE Confederates proteſt that they will continue loyal to the Queen of *Scotland*, and to the King her Husband, in every thing that ſhall not tend to the Subverſion of the Laws, *&c.*

French *King's Treaty with* Eliz. *concerning* Scots *Affairs*, 581.

VII. A COMMISSION from *Francis* and *Mary* to the Biſhop of *Valence*, and others, to treat with *Elizabeth* about the Affairs of *Scotland*; dated *May* 2, 1560, at *Chenonceau*.

Edinburgh *Treaty*, 593.

VIII. TREATY of *Edinburgh*, concluded the 6th of *July*, 1560. It were needleſs to mention the Articles of it here, having already given them in the Narrative Part of this Article.

Eliz. *Ratification*, 601.

IX. *ELIZABETH*'s Ratification of it; dated at *Windſor* Caſtle, *Sept.* 2, 1560.

Treaty at Carliſle, 631.

X. TREATY betwixt *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, on Articles of no great importance, at *Carliſle*; dated *Sept.* 23, 1563.

E. of Murray's *Bond for Money borrow'd of* Eliz. 677.

XI. THE Earl of *Murray*'s Bond for 5000 *l.* Sterling, borrow'd of *Elizabeth*; dated *Jan.* 18, 1570, at *Weſtminſter*.

IT muſt be obſerv'd, that the Queen lent this Sum to the Earl of *Murray*, at the Time that *Mary* was in Priſon at *Lochlevin*.

Q. Mary's *Party's Commiſſion to treat with the* D. *of* Alva, 687.

XII. A COMMISSION from the Duke of *Chatelherault* and the Earl of *Argyle*, the Heads of *Mary*'s Party, to Lord *Seaton*, in order to go and treat with the Duke of *Alva*, Governor of the *Netherlands*; dated *Aug.* 10, 1570.

AFTER that time, we don't find one Piece in the *Fœdera* relating to the Affairs between *Elizabeth* and *Mary*.

ARTI-

ARTICLE III.

ELIZABETH's *other Affairs with* Scotland.

FROM the Year 1568, that *Mary* retir'd to *England*, to the Year 1573, there were always two Parties in *Scotland*, the one for the *Depoſed Queen*, and the other called *the King's Party*. The Queen's Party was favour'd by the Pope, the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Alva*, as long as he was Governor of the *Netherlands*; and the King's Party was under the Protection of the Queen of *England*. Each of theſe Parties was divided into ſeveral Branches, which had different Views and Intereſts. There was one which pretending to be attach'd to the King, did nevertheleſs ſerve the Queen much more to the Purpoſe than they who openly declar'd for her. At the Head of this Branch was Lord *Grange*. When he perceiv'd what a vaſt Advantage *Elizabeth*'s Protection gave to the Regent who was at the Head of the King's Party, he did what he could to perſuade all Mankind that ſuch a Dependency on *England* was injurious to *Scotland*: and he pretended that it was the Intereſt of the *Scots* to be reconcil'd to one another, in order to ſhake off that Yoke, and act like a free Nation. *Elizabeth* plainly perceiv'd that the Deſign of this Pretext was to weaken the King's Party and her own, and to engage the two Kingdoms in a War, which might be a Colour for ſending for foreign Aids into *Scotland*. For this reaſon ſhe took all poſſible care to hinder this Union, and neglected no Opportunity to foment a Diviſion in *Scotland*, leſt ſhe ſhould be attack'd from that Quarter. *Parties in* Scotland.

Q. *Eliz.* It was not poſſible for Lord *Grange*'s Party, which at laſt affected a kind of Neutrality, to gain the Earl of *Murray*, any more than the Earl of *Lenox* who ſucceeded him in the Regency: ſo that as long as thoſe two Regents liv'd, the Diviſions continued in *Scotland*, to the great Satisfaction of *Elizabeth*, who had nothing to fear from that Kingdom while it was ſo diſturb'd by a Civil War. She only took care that the King's Party ſhould preſerve a ſort of Superiority, but without giving him the neceſſary Succours to render him Maſter of the other Party.

Earl of Lenox *Regent.*

Earl of Mar *Regent. His Negotiation with the Queen's Party.*

The Earl of *Lenox* being kill'd about the end of the Year 1571, the Regency was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Mar*; who entring into the Sentiments of Lord *Grange*, employ'd all his Induſtry to reconcile the two Parties; but he acted ſecretly, being very ſenſible that if his Deſign came to be known, no Obſtruction would be wanting to the Execution of it. He took ſuch effectual Pains, that he engag'd the chief Men of the Queen's Party to conſent to a Reconciliation upon Terms which were very much to their Advantage. He had actually ſworn privately to obſerve the Conventions he had made with them: But going to ſee the Earl of *Morton* at *Dalkeith*, in order to obtain his Conſent, he there fell ſick of a Diſtemper, of which in a few days he died; and it was ſuſpected that he was poiſon'd *.

The

* *Melvil* inſinuates that the Regent was only induced to this Accommodation, to deliver *Scotland* from the Yoke of the *Engliſh*. But the Memoirs of *Walſingham* ſhew us that *Melvil* was not rightly inform'd, becauſe the Accommodation was brought about by *Elizabeth*'s Approbation, and that there were Articles actually

THE Earl of *Morton*, who was a Creature of *Elizabeth*, was choſe Regent in the room of the Earl of *Mar*, whoſe Project vaniſh'd with his Life. Till then *Elizabeth* contented her ſelf with fomenting the Troubles in *Scotland*; but being apprehenſive at laſt that there wou'd be a Reconciliation between the two Parties in ſpite of her, ſhe thought fit to make uſe of the Earl of *Morton*, who depended on her, entirely to ruin the Queen's Party, and to put them out of a Condition of calling foreign Aids into *Scotland*. Beſides, a very fair opportunity preſented, becauſe the Duke of *Norfolk*, on whoſe Projects the Queen's Party founded all their Hopes, was juſt beheaded. Conſequently, by *Elizabeth*'s Direction, the Regent offer'd very advantageous Terms to the chief Men of the contrary Party, who ſeeing they had no Remedy left, accepted them; and thereby the Queen's Party was depriv'd of their greateſt ſupport. None but the Lord *Grange* Governour of *Edinburgh-Caſtle*, and ſome others that were with him in that Caſtle, refus'd what was offer'd them, or at leaſt endeavour'd to gain time by various Artifices, till the arrival of the Succours they were made to expect from *France* and the *Netherlands*. But the Earl of *Morton*, who was better inform'd of their Affairs than they imagin'd, was too cunning to be caught in their Snare. He made a Treaty with *Elizabeth*, who ſent him

A. 1571. *Earl of* Morton *Regent.*

tually ſign'd, of which Mr. Secretary *Smith* ſent a Copy to *Walſingham* at *Paris*. *Camden*, who ſays that this Regent was a Man of a very mild Nature, and very affectionate to his Country, reports that after he had ſtruggled 13 Months, as much with the turbulent Counſels of his own Party, as with the Inſolence of his Adverſaries, he died for Grief.

Q. *Eliz.* Troops, Artillery, and Ammunition, with which he beſieg'd the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. *Grange* defended it a long time, but being at laſt oblig'd to ſurrender it, was condemn'd to be hang'd. Thus ended the Civil War of *Scotland* in the Year 1573. *Elizabeth* not finding it her Intereſt to ſupport it any longer.

Concluſion of the Civil War in Scotland.

FROM that time to the Year 1578, the Earl of *Morton* ſtill continued to govern *Scotland*, in quality of Regent, without any jealouſy from *Elizabeth*, becauſe ſhe was very ſure of him. But at laſt *Morton* having unwiſely diſoblig'd the young King's Governour and Preceptors, they made a League againſt him to ruin him; and having brought the Earls of *Argyle* and *Athol* into the Plot, they perſuaded the King, who was but 12 Years of Age, to turn off the Regent, and to take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands. This Project was executed with ſuch Diſpatch, that it was not poſſible for the Earl of *Morton* to be quick enough for his Enemies. The States of the Kingdom confirm'd what the King had done, and appointed him a Council conſiſting of 12 Perſons. *Morton* diſſembling his Reſentment, retir'd to his Houſe at *Dalkeith*, where he ſeem'd to employ himſelf in nothing but the Cultivation of his Gardens. But it was not long ere he found means to make himſelf Maſter of the King's Perſon, and to reſume his former Poſt.

E. of Morton *remov'd from the Regency.*

Reſumes it.

HE was made uneaſy in the Regency ſoon after he had recover'd it. For, in the following Year, 1577, the King entertain'd an extravagant Affection for two young Men both of the *Steuart* Family, tho of different Branches. The one was *James Steuart* of *Oghiltry*, and the other *Eſme Steuart* Baron of *Aubigny*, lately come

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come from *France*, where that Branch had been settled ever since the Reign of *Charles* VII. 'Tis said that the latter was sent into *Scotland* by the Duke of *Guise*, to endeavour the Ruin of the Earl of *Morton*, and to incense the young King against *Elizabeth*, and that the other was also brib'd for the same purpose. Be this as it will, those two Favourites, of whom the first was created Earl of *Arran*, and the second Duke of *Lenox*, gain'd such an Ascendant over the King, that he saw nothing but with their Eyes. *Elizabeth* was quickly sensible how much the King was alter'd by the Counsels of those Men; for this Prince began to consider her in no other Light than as an Enemy. 'Tis said also that he was inspir'd with Sentiments favourable to the Roman Catholick Religion, that there was a Design of marrying him to a *French* Woman, and then to engage him to appoint the Duke of *Guise* his Lieutenant General in *Scotland*. The Advice which *Elizabeth* receiv'd of all these Projects giving her uneasiness, she sent *Bowes* into *Scotland*, with Orders to accuse the Duke of *Lenox* in full Council, for doing his utmost to alienate the King's Affection from the Interests of *England*. This Envoy was very ill receiv'd, had no satisfaction given him, and as it were to insult *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Morton* the Regent was accus'd of High Treason and arrested.

A. 1571.

He is supplanted by the King's two Favorites;

And accus'd of High Treason.

ELIZABETH then repented of having departed from her Favourite Maxim, which she had observ'd a long time, of keeping up the Divisions in *Scotland*, and was resolv'd to put it again in Practice. For this purpose she sent *Randolph* into that Country, under some pretence, and order'd him to use his Endeavours to excite new Troubles there. *Randolph*

Elizabeth *sends* Randolph *to foment new Troubles in* Scotland.

Q. *Eliz.* *dolph* diſcharg'd his Commiſſion as far as lay in his Power, by caballing among the great Men; but being diſcover'd, was oblig'd to retire without taking his Leave. It coſt the Earl of *Morton* his Life, who was condemn'd to be beheaded. He own'd at his Execution that his Deſign was to carry the King into *England*. Nothing can be a better Proof of his entire Correſpondence with *Elizabeth*.

E. of Morton *beheaded.*

THINGS growing worſe and worſe every Day on that ſide, and the Queen having ſecret Intelligence that the Duke of *Guiſe* had a Deſign to attack her by the way of *Scotland*; ſhe was oblig'd to have recourſe to violent Remedies in order to prevent it. I am very ſenſible that perhaps it can't be clearly prov'd that ſhe was concern'd in the Deſign I juſt now mention'd, but at leaſt it cannot be deny'd that the ſame is highly probable. However, in the Year 1582, the King going to make a Viſit to Earl *Gowry*, at a Seat in the Country, was there taken into Cuſtody, his two Favourites being at that time abſent. The Earl of *Arran*, who was not far off, making an Effort to reſcue the King, was taken and committed to Priſon. As for the Duke of *Lenox*, he retir'd to his Government of *Dunbar*, from whence he afterwards return'd to *France*. The two Favourites being thus put away, they who had ſecur'd the King's Perſon, ſet him at Liberty, and the ſaid young Prince having aſſembled the Nobility, declar'd before them that he approv'd of every thing that had been done, as tending to his Service. But he afterwards recall'd the Earl of *Arran*, who made uſe of his Credit to perſecute the Party of *Ruthwen*, which was the Name given to the Party who had detain'd the King, becauſe the Earl

The K. of Scotland *ſurpriz'd by the* Gowrys.

The K. ſet at Liberty.

Perſecution of the Ruthwen *Party.*

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Earl of *Gowry* was of the *Ruthwen* Family. That was the Subject of a Letter which *Elizabeth* wrote to King *James*, to perſwade him to alter his Conduct. She alſo ſent Secretary *Walſingham* to him, to give him Advice, but it was attended with little Succeſs *. *A.* 1571.

AT length *Elizabeth* perceiving that the Earl of *Arran*, who was a Man of no Religion, perverted the King's Heart, and that he alſo held a Correſpondence with the Roman Catholick Powers, found no other way to get rid of his Intrigues than to win him over to her Party by her Bounty; and ſhe ſucceeded accordingly by the management of *Daviſon*, whom ſhe ſent into *Scotland* for the Purpoſe. As there had been ſome Talk of the King's Marriage with a Princeſs of *Denmark*, the Earl of *Arran* promis'd to uſe his Efforts to prevent it. *Elizabeth* wiſh'd that *James* wou'd never marry, or at leaſt that he wou'd marry an *Engliſh* Woman. For this purpoſe ſhe had gain'd the beſt part of the Council of *Scotland*, and by this very means ſhe got the King to conſent to make an Alliance with her for the common Defence of the two Kingdoms, and of the Proteſtant Religion. After this the Earl of *Arran* did not continue long in Favour; *Elizabeth*, who cou'd not ſafely confide in him, having her ſelf contributed to his Ruin. But it was not poſſible for her to hinder the King's Marriage with *Anne* of *Denmark*, *James* having abſolutely determin'd to conclude it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his Council.

Elizabeth ſends Daviſon to Scotland, to bribe the Earl of Arran.

Elizabeth's Alliance with the King of Scotland.

His Marriage.

THE only Piece we find in this XVth Volume of the *Fœdera* relating to *Elizabeth's*

* *CAMBDEN* turns this whole Affair to the King's Advantage by his paſſing over all the Particulars mention'd by *Melvil* in ſilence.

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Q. *Eliz.* Affairs with the King of *Scotland*, is as follows, *viz.*

Elizabeths *Treaty with K.* James VI. 803.

A Treaty of more ſtrict Alliance betwixt *Elizabeth* and *James* VI. dated at *Berwick*, *July* 5. 1586. the Articles of which were as follow.

1. THAT they ſhall uſe their Endeavours to maintain the true and pure Proteſtant and Evangelical Religion in the two Kingdoms.

2. THAT this is a League againſt all Princes who forbid the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion in their Dominions; all former Treaties to the contrary notwithſtanding.

3. THAT they will give no aſſiſtance directly nor indirectly, to ſuch as ſhall attack either of the two Kingdoms.

4. IF *England* is attack'd in any place remote from *Scotland*, *James* ſhall furniſh 2000 Horſe and 5000 Foot to aſſiſt her.

5. IN the ſame Caſe, *Elizabeth* ſhall furniſh the King with 3000 Horſe, and 6000 Foot.

6. IF *England* is attack'd in any place, which is not above 60 Miles from *Scotland*, *James* ſhall aſſiſt *Elizabeth* with all his Forces for 30 Days, or in Caſe of need, as long as his Vaſſals are oblig'd to ſerve him.

7. HE ſhall hinder the Earl of *Argyle*'s Vaſſals from infeſting *Ireland*.

8. THE King and Queen ſhall give no ſhelter to Rebels.

9. THEY ſhall make no Alliance to the prejudice of the preſent Treaty but by mutual Conſent.

10. THIS Treaty ſhall be ratify'd in ſix Months.

11. ALL other preceding Treaties ſhall continue in force.

12. *JAMES*

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12. *JAMES* ſhall ratify this Treaty, and cauſe it to be approv'd by the Eſtates as ſoon as he attains to the Age of 25. *A.* 1559.

ARTICLE IV.

Elizabeth's *Affairs with* France.

I have already mention'd the Treaty concluded at *Chateau Cambreſis*, between *Henry* II. and *Elizabeth*, in the Year 1559. But 'tis neceſſary to ſay ſomething more of it here. The only View of this Treaty, properly ſpeaking, was the Reſtitution of *Calais*. *Philip* II. wou'd not have ſign'd the Peace, only that it might appear he had procur'd the Reſtitution of that place to *England*; and yet 'tis highly probable that he was not much in pain about the performance of that Article. This Treaty imported,

'THAT the King of *France* ſhou'd keep '*Calais*, and the other places in *Picardy*, con'quer'd from the *Engliſh*, during eight Years.

'THAT within ſix Months he ſhou'd pro'vide ſeven Merchants, who are not his Sub'jects, to be Sureties that if he or his Suc'ceſſors refus'd or delay'd to give up thoſe 'Places at the time prefix'd, they ſhou'd pay '*Elizabeth* the Sum of 500000 Gold Crowns of 'the Sun, as a Penalty for the refuſal or delay 'of Reſtitution. That nevertheleſs, whether 'the ſaid Sum be paid or not, the King of '*France* and the Dauphin ſhall continue bound 'to the Reſtitution of thoſe Places according 'to their Engagement. That beſides, they 'ſhall give the Queen certain Hoſtages.

Q. *Eliz.* *MEZERAY* ſpeaking of this Treaty, reports it in this manner, 'That in eight Years 'time *Henry* was to reſtore *Calais*, and the re-'conquer'd Countries, or if he choſe it, to pay 'the Sum of 500000 Crowns.

THEN he adds, 'Which being left to his 'Option, it was not to be doubted but he 'wou'd keep that place which was the Key of 'his Kingdom.

FATHER *Daniel* ſeems a little more confus'd with reſpect to this Treaty. He ſays indeed the ſame thing as *Mezeray* in ſubſtance, but he gives an Explanation of it, and adds a Clauſe to it, which does not appear in the Treaty. Theſe are his words,

'*ELIZABETH* cou'd not make an ab-'ſolute Ceſſion of *Calais* to *France* without 'diſguſting the *Engliſh*. Beſides, ſhe ſaw the 'King determin'd not to reſtore that place. 'Therefore ſhe choſe a Medium, which was 'to leave that Prince in poſſeſſion of *Calais* for '8 Years, at the expiration of which he was 'engag'd to reſtore it on the penalty of paying '500000 Crowns to *England*. That notwith-'ſtanding the Payment which ſhou'd be made 'for the refuſal or delay of Reſtitution, the '*Engliſh* wou'd have a Right to take Arms for 'the Recovery of *Calais*.

I am fully perſwaded that when *Henry* II. ſign'd the Treaty, he never intended to put it in Execution; and that he only conſented to this Article, to ſatisfy the deſire of *Philip* II. of *Spain*. But *Henry*'s Breach of Faith cou'd be no Warrant for the two Hiſtorians before-mention'd to report the Treaty in a manner quite different from the Tenor of it, and even with Additions of which there is no Trace in the Trea-

Treaty it ſelf. 'Tis eaſy to prove that the Court of *France* did not think they had a Right to keep *Calais* by the Treaty it ſelf, after the Expiration of eight Years; becauſe when the Reſtitution of it was demanded of her, ſhe did not urge this Reaſon to ſupport her refuſal, as may be ſeen in Hiſtory. *A.* 1560.

'Tis not neceſſary here to repeat what gave occaſion to the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, nor the refuſal of *Francis* II. to ratify it, becauſe this Subject was handled in the ſecond Article. *Francis* II. dying at the cloſe of the Year 1560, his Succeſſor *Charles* IX. had no right to meddle with the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Nevertheleſs, he might have found a Pretext to purſue the Project of the King his Brother, as he was an Ally of *Scotland*, and Brother-in-Law to *Mary*. But the Queen, *Catherine de Medicis*, Regent of *France*, was not ſo fond of her Daughter-in-Law *Mary* to engage in an Enterprize ſo difficult as the placing of the Crown of *England* upon her Head. Beſides, the Troubles which happen'd in *France* in this new Reign, found the Court too much employment for them to take effectual Methods to bring ſuch a Deſign to paſs.

Parties in France.

Two Parties were form'd in *France* during the Minority of *Charles* IX. *viz.* that of the Prince of *Conde*, and that of the Duke of *Guiſe*. The latter was ſupported by the Roman Catholicks, and the former by the Hugonots, who were by much the ſmalleſt number. The Regent fomented the Diviſion between the two Parties, and for this end judg'd it proper to ſupport the weakeſt, leſt it ſhou'd be cruſh'd by the ſtrongeſt; becauſe if ſhe had abandon'd the Hugonots, ſhe fear'd to fall again under the Power of the *Lorrain* Princes, which

Q. *Eliz.* ſhe found inſupportable during the laſt Reign. For this Reaſon ſhe granted the Hugonots that call'd the *Edict of January*, which was very much in their favour. The Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* his Brother, well knowing what was the Regent's Deſign, did their utmoſt to render themſelves ſuperior. With this View they made an Offer to the K. of *Navarre*, who was ſtill wavering between the two Parties, of the Queen of *Scotland* their Niece in Marriage with all her Rights to the Crown of *England*, and the aſſiſtance of the Pope and the King of *Spain* to back them. Tho the King of *Navarre* was marry'd, yet as the Queen his Wife was a Hugonot, there was no difficulty in getting his Marriage diſſolv'd, if he had been willing to have conſented to it. *Elizabeth* being ſenſible by this Project, of which ſhe had Information, that thoſe Princes had not relinquiſh'd their Deſigns, thought it neceſſary for her own Safety to keep them employ'd in *France*, by relieving the Hugonots who had taken Arms in 1562. after the Maſſacre of *Vaſſy*. Therefore ſhe made a Treaty with them, by which ſhe engag'd to ſend them 6000 Men, of whom 3000 were to be employed in the Defence of *Diep* and *Roan*; and the other half were deſign'd for Gariſoning *Havre de Grace*, which the Hugonots were to put into her Hands, as they did accordingly. The *French* Ambaſſador at *London* made great Complaints of theſe Succours, but to very little purpoſe. The Queen publiſh'd a Manifeſto, in which ſhe ſaid that ſhe had only ſent her Troops to *France*, to ſecure thoſe Places for the King, and to hinder the *Lorrain* Princes from ſeizing them, that they might from thence with

Elizabeth *relieves the Hugonots.*

Treaty with them.

Havre de Grace *put into the Hands of* Elizabeth.

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with the more eaſe make a Deſcent upon *England*. *A.*1566.

SOME time after this, *Roan* was beſieg'd by the King's Army, and taken by Storm, after the King of *Navarre* had receiv'd a Wound in the Trenches, of which he dy'd. The taking of *Roan* was ſoon follow'd by the Battle of *Dreux*. The Succeſs of it was pretty equal on both ſides, becauſe the two Generals, *viz.* the Conſtable of *Montmorency*, and the Prince of *Conde* were taken Priſoners. In the Year following, *viz.* 1563. the Hugonots made a Peace without including *England* in it. Soon after, the King caus'd *Havre de Grace* to be beſieg'd, and made himſelf Maſter of it, the very Men who had deliver'd up that place to the *Engliſh*, having ſhew'd a world of Zeal to take it from them. The taking of *Havre* was follow'd by a Truce, and the Peace betwixt *France* and *England* was concluded at *Troyes* in 1564.

Roan *taken.*

Battle of Dreux.

Ingratitude of the Hugonots at the Siege of Havre de Grace.

Peace of Troyes.

AFTER that time it ſeem'd that the Court of *France* was deſirous, coſt what it wou'd, to purchaſe the Good-will of *Elizabeth*, and that they neglected the Intereſts of the Queen of *Scotland* more and more. In 1656, *Charles* IX. ſent two Collars of the Order of St. *Michael* to *Elizabeth*, to make a Preſent thereof to any two *Engliſh* Noblemen whom ſhe thought fit. But this Mark of Affection was far from being ſincere. Nor did *Elizabeth* put too much ſtreſs upon it. She knew that in an Interview at *Bayonne* betwixt the two Courts of *France* and *Spain*, the Ruin of the Proteſtants was reſolv'd upon, and ſhe cou'd not doubt there was a Deſign to ſurpriſe them; yet ſhe diſſembled her Thoughts, and anſwer'd the Marks

Charles's *pretence of Friendſhip for* Elizabeth.

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Q. *Eliz.* Charl. IX.

Marks of Eſteem which *Charles* IX. gave her, by outward Tokens of reciprocal Affection.

refuſes to reſtore Calais *to* Elizabeth.

THE next Year ſhe had occaſion to be confirm'd in her ſuſpicions by *Charles* IXth's refuſal to reſtore *Calais* to her; a refuſal which *M. l' Hopital* the Chancellor did not think fit to found upon the Treaty of *Chateau Cambreſis*, but upon other general Reaſons altogether inſufficient, and eſpecially on the Omiſſion of that Reſtitution in the Treaty of *Troyes*. *Elizabeth* being in no condition to recover the Place by Force of Arms, took care to conceal her Reſentment at the refuſal.

THE Civil War breaking out again this Year in *France*, *Elizabeth* gave the King to underſtand in plain Terms, that ſhe wou'd not ſit ſtill and ſee the Hugonots oppreſs'd. This Declaration in favour of the Hugonots, their own Reſolution, and the Succours they receiv'd from *Germany*, procur'd a Peace for them,

Her Relief of the Hugonots.

but it was of no long Duration. *Charles* having made an Attempt to carry off the Prince of *Conde*, gave occaſion by ſuch a Proceeding for renewing the War. *Elizabeth*, who was by Intereſt oblig'd to ſupport the *Hugonots*, ſent them 100000 Crowns of Gold, with a Train of Artillery. The War laſted till 1570, when it was concluded by a fallacious Peace, which the King granted to the Hugonots. It was probably at that very time that the Project was contriv'd for the Maſſacre which was executed two Years after.

French *King's Deſign upon the Hugonots.*

WHEN *Charles* IX. had form'd a Deſign at once to exterminate all the Hugonots out of his Kingdom, he omitted nothing that the deepeſt Diſſimulation cou'd ſuggeſt to him, in order to lull them aſleep. I ſhall here only treat of one ſingle Article which falls in with my

my Subject, *viz.* the Negotiation which was set on foot in the Year 1571. for the Duke of *Anjou*'s Marriage with *Elizabeth*. 'Tis more than probable that neither *Charles* nor *Elizabeth* had any great desire to see that Marriage accomplish'd. Mean time they both had their different Reasons to feign that they wish'd it. But the Dissimulation of *Charles* proceeded only from the barbarous Design he had entertain'd to extirpate the Hereticks, and to hinder them from suspecting it, by pretending an Inclination to marry the Prince his Brother to a Queen, who was look'd upon as the Protectress of the Protestant Religion. *A.* 1571. *A Match propos'd for* Elizabeth.

ON the contrary, *Elizabeth*'s Dissimulation had no other end but to guard against the Snares and Attacks of her Enemies; she imagin'd that when they saw she was on the Point of uniting with *France* by her Marriage, *Mary*'s Friends wou'd lie still; and that by that means she shou'd, at least for a time, put a stop to the Conspiracies which were continually on foot to dethrone her. The Match did not go forward. *Elizabeth* found a way to clog the Treaty with Proposals on the score of Religion, which the Court of *France* cou'd not but think very harsh. Nevertheless, *Charles*, understanding no doubt what was the Queen's Aim, relax'd the more upon this Article, the more she seem'd to insist upon it; and thereby he brought the Hugonots the more easily into the Snare.

THE Marriage Treaty being broke off, another Negotiation was set on foot for a defensive Alliance betwixt *France* and *England*; which Treaty met with two great Difficulties. The first was *Elizabeth*'s Demand that both Parties shou'd mutually engage to defend each *Her Alliance with* France.

Q. *Eliz.* each other in caſe they were attack'd, even tho it were for the Cauſe of Religion. But *Charles* cou'd not diſpenſe with this Article, for fear of offending the Pope and the Catholicks. Nevertheleſs he offer'd, that without mentioning Religion, it might be ſaid in general, *for any Cauſe whatever*, and to write to the Queen a Letter with his own Hand, wherein he wou'd declare that the Cauſe of Religion was included in this general Clauſe, with which *Elizabeth* found her ſelf oblig'd at laſt to be contented.

THE ſecond Difficulty was *Charles*'s abſolute Demand that the Queen of *Scotland* ſhou'd be included in the Treaty, to which *Elizabeth* neither would nor could conſent. The Expedient they found to get over this Obſtacle was to make uſe of an ambigous Expreſſion, *viz. That the two Crowns ſhall engage to maintain the preſent Laws of* Scotland. By this Queen *Elizabeth* meant every thing that the Eſtates had done againſt *Mary*; and *Charles* ſuppoſing every thing that had been done by the Eſtates as null, might pretend that by the *preſent Laws*, thoſe muſt needs be underſtood which had preceded the Troubles of *Scotland*. Upon the whole matter, this Alliance was patch'd up for no other end but to amuſe the Publick. *Elizabeth* had no Intention to make uſe of the Succours of *France*, if ſhe had been attack'd upon the ſcore of Religion; but it was her Intereſt the World ſhould think otherwiſe. On the other Hand, *Charles* made that Difficulty about *Mary*'s Affair only to ſalve Appearances, for fear that if he had been too pliant upon that Head, it might have created a ſuſpicion that he had ſome Deſigns which he

he did not think fit to own. This Alliance was concluded in *April* 1572, at *Blois*. *A.* 1572.

THE Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew* (ſo call'd becauſe it was committed on the Feſtival of that Saint, *viz. Auguſt* 24, in this Year) at length diſcover'd the Deſigns which *Charles* had with ſo much Diſſimulation conceal'd. *Elizabeth* was not only touch'd with the Miſfortune of the Hugonots, but ſhe was even under ſome dread of what might be her own Fate. *Charles* IX. had juſt given a Proof how imprudent it wou'd have been to have rely'd on his *Bona fide* for the future. The Duke of *Guiſe*, Couſin-German to the Queen of *Scotland*, did what he pleas'd with the Court of *France*, and there was too much Reaſon to ſurmiſe that the King of *Spain* was enter'd into this horrid Conſpiracy, and that it wou'd not ſtop there. In this uncertain State of Affairs, *Elizabeth* was reſolv'd to be upon her Guard, without making a Noiſe for fear of giving her Enemies a Handle, and to prepare for her Defence in caſe ſhe ſhou'd be attack'd. On the other hand, *Charles*, who had not extirpated all the Hugonots as he had propos'd, and who found that thoſe who had eſcap'd the Maſſacre were reſolv'd to ſell their Lives dearly, was afraid that *Elizabeth* wou'd afford them powerful Succours; therefore he palliated what had been done in the beſt manner he could, and declar'd to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, a very particular Eſteem and Affection for the Queen, proteſting that it was his Intention religiouſly to obſerve the Treaty. *Elizabeth* pretended to be captivated by thoſe Expreſſions of Friendſhip, and in anſwer return'd the like Proteſtations on her part. It ſeem'd by thoſe external Tokens as if they had a perfect

Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

The Diſſimulation both of Charles and Elizabeth.

Q. *Eliz.* fect Eſteem and ſincere Affection for one another, tho their Diffidence of each other was then at the higheſt Pitch. Nay, their Diſſimulation went ſo far, that *Charles* having a Daughter born at that very Juncture, deſir'd *Elizabeth* to be Godmother; and ſhe made no ſcruple to conſent to it. The Hugonots did not know what to think of the Queen's Conduct, but ſhe ſuffer'd them to believe what they pleas'd, and conſtantly purſued what her Politicks dictated.

Montgomery *prepares Succours for the* Rochellers.

All this did not hinder the Queen from permitting *Montgomery* to prepare Succours in *England* for *Rochel*, which was on the point of being beſieg'd. The Ambaſſador of *France* made a great Clamour about it; but all the Anſwer he had was, that they who made thoſe Preparations, were Perſons unauthoriz'd, and that if they cou'd be taken, they ſhou'd be puniſh'd.

The Arreſt of the French *Envoy ſent to* Scotland *to foment Troubles there.*

On the other Hand, the Troubles of *Scotland* being juſt brought to a Period by the Siege of *Edinburgh-Caſtle*, *Charles* ſent *Virac* * into *Scotland* to foment them, and to encourage the Gariſon to hold out in hopes of ſpeedy Succours. But *Virac* being oblig'd by a Storm to put in at *Scarborough*, was there apprehended and carry'd to *London*, under pretence of a general Prohibition to let any body go without a Paſſport. By that means, *France* was diſappointed in her Deſign, becauſe her Envoy was detain'd at *London* till the War of *Scotland* was determin'd.

* Tho the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Writers call him *Virac*, and ſpeak of him as an Envoy from the King of *France*, yet *Thuanus* calls him *Verac*, and mentions him as an Envoy from the *Guiſes*.

The

THE Ambaſſador of *France* complain'd again of this Proceeding, but was told that the Queen having had no Advice of the ending of *Virac* into *Scotland*, cou'd not poſſibly prevent the Execution of the general Order ſhe had given for the Government of the Frontiers. *A.* 1572.

MEAN while, the King of *France* caus'd *Rochel* to be beſieg'd, and at the ſame time ſet a Treaty of Marriage on Foot at *London*, between his ſecond Brother the Duke of *Alencon* and *Elizabeth*, who receiv'd the Propoſal calmly, and made it believ'd that ſhe had an Inclination to marry, tho till then ſhe had declar'd the contrary. Not long after, the Duke of *Anjou* who commanded at the Siege of *Rochel*, having receiv'd the News that he had been choſe King of *Poland*, rais'd the Siege, and a Peace was granted to the Hugonots. *Siege of* Rochel. *Another Match propos'd for* Elizabeth. *Duke of* Anjou *choſe K. of* Poland.

THE King of *Poland* ſet out for his Kingdom, notwithſtanding all that the Queen-Mother cou'd do to retain him. 'Tis ſaid that ſhe knew beforehand that it cou'd not be long ere *Charles* IX. wou'd infallibly die. 'Twas for this Reaſon that ſhe was not willing that the King of *Poland*, who was the deareſt to her of all her Children, ſhou'd by his Abſence venture the Loſs of the Crown of *France*, which the King his Brother was going to leave to him. But *Charles* was ſo jealous of the King his Brother, that he abſolutely inſiſted on his Departure, ſo much did he dread the Intrigues of his Mother.

NOT long after, *Charles* IX. by the Advice of his Mother, put a Guard upon the Duke of *Alencon*. *Catherine* was afraid this young Prince would ſupplant the King of *Poland* his elder

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Q. *Eliz.* elder Brother after the Death of the King, which actually happen'd on the 30th of *May* 1574. * *Henry* his Brother, who was already in *Poland*, having receiv'd the News, ſtole away from the *Poles* and return'd to *France*, where he ſucceeded the King his Brother by the Name of *Henry* III. Immediately after his Arrival in *France*, he made War upon the *Hugonots*, tho they had given him no Provocation. *Elizabeth* not daring to declare her ſelf openly for them, ſecretly furniſh'd the Prince of *Conde* with ſome Money to pay the Troops which *Caſimir* the Count Palatine rais'd for him in *Germany*. This War held but a Year, and was follow'd by a Peace, which was the more willingly granted to the *Hugonots*, becauſe they had at their Head the Duke of *Alencon* the King's Brother, and ſome good *German* Troops. It was during this Peace, that the Duke of *Guiſe* began to form the famous Catholick League which occaſion'd ſo much miſchief in *France*, and which oblig'd the *Hugonots* to unite ſtrictly together for their common Defence under the Conduct of the King of *Navarre*, the chief Prince of the Blood-Royal next to the Duke of *Alencon*.

Death of Char. IX.

Hen. III. *his Succeſſor.*

His War and Peace with the Hugonots

The beginning of the Catholick League, and the Proteſtants Counter-League.

In 1578. this Duke, who had taken the Title of Duke of *Anjou*, was choſe *Protector of the Belgick Liberties*, and immediately after, he ſent a Gentleman to *England* nam'd *Baqueville*, in order to treat of his Marriage with *Elizabeth*. This Envoy was very well receiv'd, and

* Mr. *Rapin* in his large Hiſtory takes notice of the extraordinary manner of his Death, which not only the Proteſtants but even the Papiſts remark'd as an Inſtance of God's Revenge for the horrid Maſſacre which had been committed by his Order; for he bled violently at all the Paſſages, and even ſweated Blood as it were thro' the Pores of his Body.

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the Queen did not appear very averſe to the Propoſal. The Negotiation was continued with warmth in the Year 1579. the Queen ſeeming always diſpoſed to conclude it, provided they could agree as to the Article of Religion. The Duke himſelf went over to pay her a Viſit incognito; but he made a very ſhort ſtay in *England*. At length in 1581. the Marriage Articles were agreed on to the Queen's Satisfaction; but the Articles were ſcarce ſign'd when *Elizabeth* ſtarted a Difficulty, by demanding that *France* ſhould conclude an Offenſive Alliance with her, to which the King would not conſent before the Marriage was conſummated. Mean time the Duke of *Anjou* repairing to *England*, was receiv'd by the Queen with great Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Reſpect; and one Day ſhe even gave him a Ring from her Finger: Every body then thought the Marriage was on the point of being ſolemniz'd: But all on a ſudden the Queen chang'd her Mind; and the reaſon ſhe pretended for it was the Oppoſition made to it by ſeveral Lords of her Council, whom ſhe had herſelf in all Appearance excited to murmur againſt her Marriage. The Duke ſet out in the beginning of the Year 1582. loaded with Honours and Preſents, tho not a little mortify'd that he had not ſucceeded in the Affair which carry'd him to *England*. He went to *Bruſſels* where he was crown'd Duke of *Brabant*.

A. 1585.

Another Marriage propos'd to Elizabeth.

FROM that time *Elizabeth* had very little to do with *Henry* III. except in the Year 1585. when this Prince having been compell'd by the League to make War upon the *Hugonots*, the Queen lent 50000 Crowns to the Prince of *Conde*, and ten Ships with which he rais'd the Blockade of *Rochel*.

She ſends Ships and Money to the Prince of Conde, *who rais'd the Blockade of* Rochel.

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Q. *Eliz.* *The Acts relating to* Elizabeth's *Affairs with* France *in this 15th Volume are very few,*

Treaty with France. 505.

1. THE Treaty of Peace between *France* and *England* concluded *April* 2, 1559. at *Chateau Cambresis*, on the following Conditions.

THAT *Henry* II. shall keep *Calais* for the Term of eight Years, after which he shall be oblig'd to restore that Place to *England*.

THAT he shall find seven sufficient Merchants for Sureties who are not his Subjects.

Qui Mercatores se obligabunt meliore modo & forma quibus id fieri possit—se soluturos summam quingentorum millium Coronarum aurearum de Sole dictæ sereniſſimæ Reginæ Angliæ, aut ejus Hæredibus & Succeſſoribus in Regno Angliæ. Quæ quidem summa erit loco & vice Pœnæ, caſu quo dictus Chriſtianiſſimus Rex, ejus Hæredes & Succeſſores, Reſtitutiones Præmiſſorum, virtute hujus Tractatus, prædictæ Sereniſſimæ Reginæ aut ejus Succeſſoribus faciendas adimplere recuſaverint, aut plus juſto diſtulerint. Quæ quidem Pœna petita, ſive ſoluta fuerit, ſive non ſoluta, remanebunt nihilominus Rex Chriſtianiſſimus & Delphinus, eorumque Hæredes & Succeſſores obligati ad dictam Reſtitutionem faciendam, ſecundum fidem datam & pacta hoc Tractatu comprehenſa.

i. e. WHICH Merchants shall oblige themselves, in the best Manner and Form possible, to pay the Sum of 500000 Gold Crowns of the Sun to the said Most Serene Queen of *England*, or her Heirs and Successors in the Kingdom of *England*; which said Sum shall be in lieu of a Penalty in case that the said Most Christian King, his Heirs and Successors shall refuse, or unjustly delay to make Restitution of the Premises by virtue of this Treaty, to the said most serene Queen or her Successors; which said Penalty

Penalty whether paid or not, the Moſt Chriſtian King and the Dauphin, and their Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall nevertheleſs remain bound to make the ſaid Reſtitution, according to the Faith and Covenants in this Treaty comprehended. *A.* 1564.

IT appears from thence, that it was not at the Option of *France*, either to reſtore *Calais*, or to pay the 500000 Crowns, and that this Sum was only a Penalty for the Refuſal or Delay; *France* being nevertheleſs oblig'd to reſtore *Calais*.

2. A COMMISSION from *Francis* II. and *Mary*, to *John de Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence*, *Nicolas de Pelue* Biſhop of *Amiens*, *James de la Baoſſe*, *Henry Clentin* Lord of *Oyſel*, *Charles de la Rochefoucault* Lord of *Randan*, to treat upon the Frontiers of *Scotland*, with the Commiſſioners of *Elizabeth*; dated *May* 2, 1560 at *Chenoneau*. Francis's *Commiſſion to treat with* Elizabeth's *Commiſſioners*, 581.

3. CONVENTIONS for the Demolition of *Leith*, for the embarking of the *French* Troops and the departure of the *Engliſh*; dated *July* 5, 1560. Leith *demoliſh'd*, 592.

4. THE Treaty of *Edinburgh*; dated the 6th, *ditto*. Edinburgh *Treaty*, 593.

I HAVE elſewhere taken notice of the Articles of this Treaty.

5. A COMMISSION to *Ambroſe Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, to command the Succours deſign'd for *Normandy*; dated *Oct.* 1. 1562. at *Hampton-Court*. E. *of* Warwick's *Commiſſion for* Normandy, 625.

6. TREATY of *Troyes* betwixt *France* and *England*; dated *April* 11, 1564. *Treaty of* Troyes, 640.

THIS Treaty only contains a Peace in general Terms, each Party reſerving their Rights and Pretenſions.

7. ANOTHER concluded at *Troyes* the next Day. *Another*, 644.

Q. *Eliz.* IT imported that the Hoſtages of *France* which are in *England* ſhall be releas'd, and that the King of *France* ſhall cauſe 60000 Crowns to be paid to *Elizabeth* in ſix Weeks, and 60000 Crowns more in ſix Weeks after.

THAT *Throckmorton* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador ſhall be ſet at Liberty.

8. *CHARLES* IX's Ratification; dated *May* 1, at *Bar le Duc.*

Piracies, 770. 9. A COMMISSION for inquiring into the Piracies committed by the *Engliſh* againſt the *French*; dated *March* 11, 1577. at *Gorhambury.*

D. of Anjou's *Bond to* Eliz. *for one hundred thouſand Crowns lent,* 792. 10. A BOND from *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, for the Payment of 100000 Gold Crowns of the Sun, each Crown Piece amounting to 60 Sous, which *Elizabeth* lent him, *viz.* 50000 Crowns on the 5th of *September* in ready Money, and 50000 Crowns more on the 7th of *October*, part in Caſh, and part in Ingots of Gold. The Obligation is dated at *St. Valery* the 13th of *October* 1581.

ARTICLE V.

Elizabeth's *Affairs with* Spain.

I HAVE already taken notice, that immediately after Queen *Mary's* Death, *Philip* II. courted *Elizabeth*, and undertook to get a Diſpenſation from the Pope for the Marriage. *Elizabeth* was very much at a loſs, not whether ſhe ſhould accept or refuſe the Suit, having already reſolv'd on that Point, but which way ſhe ſhould come off: For as ſhe had not only determin'd in appearance before-hand not to ſhare her Throne with a Husband, ſo ſhe conſider'd that in the Marriage which was propos'd to her, there was a Difficulty which ſhe could not

Elizabeth's *Reaſons for her Carriage to* Philip II. *when he courted her.*

get

get over; namely, that by her Compliance ſhe would have expreſly condemn'd the Conduct of the King her Father towards *Catherine* of *Arragon*, and every thing in Conſequence thereof. For if with a Diſpenſation from the Pope ſhe could have marry'd her Brother-in-law *Philip* II. *Henry* might with the like Diſpenſation have marry'd *Catherine* of *Arragon*; from whence it would neceſſarily follow that his ſecond Marriage with *Anne* of *Boleyne* was illegal, and that by Conſequence *Elizabeth* was a Baſtard; therefore by accepting *Philip's* Propoſal, ſhe muſt needs have been oblig'd to the Pope for her Legitimation, and ſhe muſt have been forc'd to own that ſhe only held the Crown by his Favour. But nothing was farther from her Thoughts; for, on the contrary, ſhe had taken a firm Reſolution to re-eſtabliſh the Reformation in *England*, and to cauſe thoſe Laws to be confirm'd which had been made againſt the Pope in the Reigns of *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. but on the other hand ſhe was in a very unhappy Condition when ſhe came to the Crown. She was actually at War with *France*, and had no Ally in the World but *Philip* II. Indeed there was a Peace negotiating at *Chateau Cambreſis*, but it was not yet concluded. *Philip* might abandon her, and in that Caſe ſhe would be expos'd to bear the Burden of a very heavy War upon her own Shoulders; which could not but break her Meaſures with reſpect to Religion, and might even expoſe her Crown to the Danger of being diſputed by the King of *France* under Colour of the Rights of the Queen of *Scots* his Siſter-in-Law. It was neceſſary therefore to carry it fair to the King of *Spain*, and not to provoke him by an abſolute Denial. In order to extricate her ſelf out of this Diffi- *A.* 1558.

Q. *Eliz.* culty, ſhe made haſte to re-eſtabliſh the Reformation in *England*, and that was Demonſtration enough to *Philip* that his Courtſhip would come to nothing. After that time he carry'd it very coldly to *Elizabeth*; and if he ſeem'd to do any thing for her in the Treaty of Peace, it was only to ſave his own Honour.

She determines to re-eſtabliſh the Reformation,

Her Embaſſy to Phil. II.

THIS Coldneſs ſtill increas'd: *Elizabeth* having ſent an Ambaſſador to him to conſult him upon her Tranſactions with *France* in regard to *Scotland*, whither ſhe had already ſent Troops; he did not ſeem to intereſt himſelf in the Affair, otherwiſe than by adviſing her to ſtipulate the Reſtitution of *Calais* when ſhe made a Peace with *France*. At the ſame time he took that Opportunity to return the Order of the Garter into the Ambaſſador's Hands. *Elizabeth* on her part refus'd him a Favour which he deſir'd, *viz.* that the Family of his Ambaſſador who marry'd in *England* might be permitted to keep their Eſtates in that Kingdom, and go and live at *Bruſſels*. All theſe things one after another, occaſion'd ſo wide a Breach betwixt them, that *Elizabeth* would not but ſuſpect that *Philip* was enter'd into the Projects of the Duke of *Guiſe* in favour of the Queen of *Scots*.

He returns her the Order of the Garter.

She refuſes him a Favour.

Engliſh *Exports to the* Netherlands *prohibited.*

THE Trade betwixt *England* and the *Netherlands*, which if we may believe *Camden*, amounted yearly to above twelve Millions of Gold Ducats, was almoſt entirely ſunk in 1564. by the Artifice of Cardinal *Granville*, who had perſuaded the Governeſs of the *Netherlands* to prohibit the Importation of *Engliſh* Cloth; for which reaſon the *Engliſh* ſettled a Cloth-ſtaple at *Emden* in *Eaſt-Friezland*. But a new Ambaſſador from *Spain* arriving in *England*, found means to reconcile the two Nations: And it was agreed that the Treaty of Commerce called

Reſtoration of the Trade.

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called *Intercurſus Magnus*, made in the time of *Maximilian* I. ſhould be obſerv'd on both ſides. *A.* 1569.

IN 1568. *Philip*, I know not upon what occaſion, baniſh'd the Ambaſſador of *England* to a Village near *Madrid*. The ſame Year, as one *Hawkins* an *Engliſh* Merchant, was going to trade to *America*, purſuant to a Treaty concluded between *Charles* V. and *Henry* VIII. a *Spaniſh* Squadron in thoſe Parts ſeiz'd his Ships, and took out his Merchandize; for which the Queen could not get Satisfaction. Spaniards *ſeize our Merchant Ships.*

ANOTHER Accident which happen'd in 1569. increas'd the Miſunderſtanding betwixt *Elizabeth* and *Philip*. The *Genoeſe* Merchants having caus'd a Sum of Money to be put on board a Ship in one of the Harbours of *Spain* with the King's Permiſſion, in order to ſend it to the *Netherlands*, the Ship which carry'd the Money was purſu'd by Pirates, and oblig'd to put into *England*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador having told the Queen that the Money belong'd to the King his Maſter, ſhe caus'd it to be taken out, and carry'd by Land to ſome Port that was neareſt to the *Low-Countries*, from whence there would be leſs Danger in the Paſſage. But while this was doing, ſhe was inform'd that the Money belong'd to private Men, and that the Duke of *Alva* intended to ſeize it for defraying the Expences of the War. This was the Reaſon that ſhe ſtopp'd the Money by way of Loan, and gave Security for the Payment of it. The Duke of *Alva* made a great Clamour againſt it, and caus'd the Effects of the *Engliſh* Merchants to be ſeiz'd. The Queen did the ſame with reſpect to the *Flemiſh* Merchants, and put a Guard upon the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, who had the Inſolence to ſcatter Libels on this Subject which were very *Other Broils with* Spain.

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Q. *Eliz.* very injurious to the Queen; but the Guard was taken off from him two days after. She demanded of *Philip* to puniſh his Ambaſſador; but could not obtain it. On the contrary, *Philip* caus'd the Effects of the *Engliſh* in *Spain* to be ſeiz'd; but the *Engliſh* reveng'd themſelves by the Repriſals they made upon the *Spaniards*; which were carry'd to ſuch a degree, that the Queen was oblig'd to ſtop them by a Proclamation for fear of engaging her ſelf in a War with *Spain*.

Philip eſpouſes the Intereſt of Mary Q. of Scots.

It appear'd plainly next Year that *Philip* intereſted himſelf very much in the Affairs of the Queen of *Scots*, becauſe his Ambaſſador joyn'd the Ambaſſador of *France*, in vigorouſly demanding that Queen's Liberty. Soon after, *Elizabeth* was inform'd, that *Mary* thinking her ſelf entirely abandon'd by *France* on account of the Marriage which was actually treating betwixt *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*, was quite tack'd about to *Spain*, and that ſhe laid a Scheme to marry Don *John* of *Auſtria*, natural Brother to *Philip* II. This convinc'd *Elizabeth* that ſhe ought to be upon her Guard againſt *Spain* and the *Netherlands*.

The Deſigns of Don John *of* Auſtria.

In 1577. the Prince of *Orange* acquainted her that Don *John* of *Auſtria*, who was arriv'd in the *Netherlands*, had form'd a Project not only to ſubdue thoſe Provinces, but after that to attack *England*, and to marry the Queen of *Scots*.

Elizabeth *lends the States Money to go to War with him.*

This Intelligence had ſuch an Effect upon her, that after the States had declar'd War againſt Don *John*, ſhe made no ſcruple to lend them 100000 *l. Sterling* *, in order to keep the ſaid

* *Camden* ſpeaks here of a Treaty, by which the Queen engag'd to ſend the States a thouſand Horſemen well mounted, and five thouſand Foot, on Condition that the Commander or General thereof ſhould be ad-

Prince

Prince employ'd in that Country. Now to palliate this Proceeding, ſhe wrote to *Philip*, that ſhe had only lent that Money to the States to ſecure the *Low-Countries* for him, which were in danger of falling a Prey to *France*; but *Philip* ſaw thro' this Pretence. *A.* 1569.

IN 1580. ſeven hundred *Spaniards*, under the Name of the Pope's Troops, made a Deſcent on *Ireland*, where they propos'd to fortify themſelves; but were almoſt all of 'em put to the Sword. Spaniards *Deſcent on* Ireland.

NOT long after this, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador complain'd that *Drake*, who was juſt come home from his Voyage round the World, had robb'd the Subjects of the King his Maſter in the *Indies*. After he had waited ſome time for Satisfaction, the Queen caus'd part of the Booty which *Drake* had brought to be reſtor'd to him. *Their Complaint againſt* Drake.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Reaſons which both *Philip* and *Elizabeth* had to complain of one another; yet to outward Appearance they carry'd on a fair Correſpondence. Trade, which their Subjects could not well be without,

mitted into the Debates of the Council of State, and that no Reſolution ſhould paſs without his Conſent. But *Grotius* does not ſpeak of this Treaty in his *Annals of the Netherlands*; and only ſays, that at this Juncture, *Elizabeth* intereſted her ſelf ſo much in the Affairs of the *United Provinces*, that ſhe would not ſuffer the States to take any important Reſolution without giving her Advice of it: Yet in 1585. we find there was a Treaty with the States, wherein there was ſuch a Stipulation as *Camden* mentions in this. And it will appear by and by from the *Fœdera*, that even in the Year 1578. there was a Treaty with the States, wherein they bound themſelves to do nothing of Importance, with reſpect to War or Peace, without the Conſent of the Queen or her Miniſters.

was

Q. *Eliz.* was the reaſon that the Differences betwixt the two Crowns were not yet arriv'd to an entire Rupture. Beſides, *Philip* found his Account more in ſupporting *Elizabeth*'s Enemies under-hand, than in attacking her himſelf with open Force: Therefore he always kept an Ambaſſador at *London*, who let no Opportunity ſlip for doing the Queen a Prejudice. *Mendoza*, who was Ambaſſador in 1584. enter'd very far into a Conſpiracy which *Throckmorton* and ſome others had form'd to deliver the Queen of *Scotland* by means of a foreign Army. He was diſcover'd by *Throckmorton*'s Confeſſion, and was call'd before the Council, where he was inform'd of what had been depos'd againſt him. Inſtead of defending himſelf from the Charge, he recriminated, complain'd upon account of the Money which the Queen with-held from the King of *Spain*, and accus'd the Miniſters of uſing Means of all ſorts to foment a Diviſion betwixt the King his Maſter and the Queen. Upon this, he was order'd to depart the Kingdom, and 'twas very happy for him that he got off ſo cheap. Immediately after this, the Queen ſent **Waad* to *Philip* to complain of his Ambaſſador, and to tell the King that ſhe would be glad to receive another in his room; but it was not poſſible for the Envoy to obtain Audience of the King.

Mendoza the Spaniſh *Ambaſſador diſcover'd in a Conſpiracy.*

His bad Defence.

The Queen ſends him away.

Philip *denies her Envoy Audience.*

THIS Ground of Quarrel was accompany'd with another much more conſiderable. After the Aſſaſſination of the Prince of *Orange*, the States of the *United Provinces*, who were in a very dangerous Situation, offer'd the Sovereignty of their Country to *Elizabeth*. She refus'd

She refuſes the Sovereignty of the Netherlands *offer'd her by the States.*

* This was *William Waad*, Clerk of the Council, See *Camden*.

the

the Offer, being very ſenſible that if ſhe accepted it ſhe ſhould engage her ſelf in a War of very great Expence, which it would not be in her Power to moderate when and how ſhe pleas'd. Therefore ſhe choſe rather to make a Treaty with the States, which was every way more agreeable to her Political Maxims. By this Treaty ſhe was willing to engage her ſelf to furniſh the States with 5000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, and to pay them her ſelf during the War, on condition that the Sum which ſhe advanc'd ſhould be repaid to her after the Concluſion of the Peace. The States put into her Hands for Security the Town of *Brill* in *Holland*, together with the Town of *Fluſhing* and Fort *Ramekens* in *Zealand*. It was alſo agreed that the General who commanded the *Engliſh* Troops, and two other Perſons nam'd by the Queen, ſhould have a Seat in the Council of State; and that no Peace or Truce ſhould be made without mutual Conſent. *Elizabeth* made choice of the Earl of *Leiceſter* to command her Troops in the *Netherlands*; and at the ſame time, ſhe publiſh'd a Manifeſto, wherein among other reaſons for her ſending Succours to the *United Provinces*, ſhe laid down this, *viz.* that the Alliance made heretofore with the Houſe of *Burgundy* was not ſo much between the Sovereigns of two Dominions as between the Dominions themſelves. But being very ſenſible that the King of *Spain* would not be ſatisfy'd with ſuch a Reaſon, and that he would look upon thoſe Succours as a Declaration of War, ſhe was reſolv'd to get the Start of him. For this end ſhe caus'd a Fleet to be fitted out and commanded by the Earl of *Carliſle*, who had under him the famous Sir *Francis Drake*. This Fleet made great Ravages among

A. 1584.

Her Treaty with the States.

Her General, and Manifeſto.

She ſends a Fleet againſt the Spaniards *in* America.

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Q. *Eliz.* among the *Spaniards* in *America*, at Cape *Verde*, *St. Domingo*, *Carthagena*, *Florida*, and return'd to *England* with a Booty of 60000 *l. Sterling*.

The Power given by the States to the E. of Leiceſter.

THE Earl of *Leiceſter* repairing to *Holland* in 1586. the States made him Captain General, and gave him a Power which was almoſt abſolute. The Queen thought it a Piece of meer Complaiſance to engage her, whether ſhe would or no, to accept of the Sovereignty which had been offer'd to her; and complain'd to the States of this Artifice. Nevertheleſs, after ſhe had been inform'd of their Reaſons, ſhe ſuffer'd the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Patent to ſtand; but told them very frankly that ſhe was only engag'd to ſupport them according to the Terms of the Treaty, or as far as her Affairs would permit her. The fifteenth Volume of the *Fœdera* goes no farther.

The chief Acts it mentions relating to Elizabeth's *Affairs with* Spain *are*,

Commiſſion to examine the Complaints of the Spaniards. 639.

1. A COMMISSION to examine the Complaints of the King of *Spain*'s Subjects, againſt the *Engliſh*; dated *April* 25, 1564, at *Weſtminſter*.

And the Records. 653.

2. AN Order to ſearch the Records concerning the Diſputes with *Spain*, on account of certain Difficulties that aroſe in the Negotiation of *Bruges*, dated *Feb.* 25, 1566, at *Greenwich*.

Inquiry into the Seizure of Goods by the Spaniards *and the* Engliſh, 701, 720.

3. A COMMISSION to inquire what *Engliſh* Merchandize has been ſtopp'd in *Spain*, in order to make the Proprietors Satisfaction out of the Goods of the *Spaniards* ſeiz'd in *England*; dated *Feb.* 17, 1572, at *Weſtminſter*.

4. ANOTHER to inquire what Merchandize of the *Spaniards* has been ſeiz'd ſince the

3d of *January* 1568; dated *April* 21, 1573, at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1585.

5. A TREATY betwixt the Queen and the States General of the United Provinces; dated *Jan.* 7, 1578, at *Bruſſels*, with theſe Conditions: *Treaty with the Dutch, 784.*

THAT the Treaties between *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy* ſhall continue in full force.

THAT the States ſhall do nothing of importance with reſpect to War or Peace, without the Conſent of the Queen, or her Miniſters by her authoriz'd.

THAT if *England* be attack'd on the Score of Religion, or any other Pretence, the States ſhall furniſh it with the ſame Number of Succours that the Queen is to furniſh them with.

IF a Controverſy ariſe between the States they ſhall inform the Queen of it, and ſtand by her Arbitration.

IF the Queen equip a Fleet to keep the Sea, the States ſhall ſend her 40 Ships, of which the leaſt ſhall be 40 Tun; which ſhall join the *Engliſh* Fleet, and obey the *Engliſh* Admiral, but at the Queen's Expence.

THE States ſhall entertain no *Engliſh* Rebels when they are made known to them as ſuch; nor ſhall they make any ſecret Treaty without the Queen's Conſent.

IF they make Peace with the Catholick King, they ſhall take care that the Queen be included in it, upon ſuch Conditions as ſhe ſhall think fit.

4. A COMMISSION from the States General, and ſome of the United Provinces in particular, to go in their Name to beg *Elizabeth*'s Protection, and Aſſiſtance againſt the Tyranny of the King of *Spain*; dated *April* 19, *May* 15 and 20, and *June* 6, 1585. *Their Petitions to Q. Eliz. for her Protection and Aſſiſtance, 793 to 798.*

Q. *Eliz.* THE States had already renounc'd their Obedience to the King of *Spain*.

5. A GENERAL Patent to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to command the *Engliſh* Forces in the Low Countries; dated *Oct.* 2, 1585, at *Weſtminſter*.

English *General in the* Netherlands *his Patents*, 799. *Governor of* Fluſhing *and* Brill, 801, 802.

6. A MORE particular Patent for the ſame; dated the 22d *ditto*, at *Weſtminſter*.

7. SIR *Philip Sidney*'s Patent to be Governor of *Fluſhing*; dated *Nov.* 9, 1585, at *Weſtminſter*.

8. SIR *Thomas Cecil*'s Patent to be Governor of *Brill*; of the ſame Date.

ARTICLE VI. *Domeſtick Affairs.*

AS I mean by Affairs purely Domeſtick, ſuch as have no relation either to *Scotland*, or *France*, or *Spain*, or the *Netherlands*, or to the Queen of *Scots* in particular. I cannot engage my ſelf to give an Abridgment here of the Affairs of this ſort which have no Connexion together, eſpecially ſuch as are altogether foreign to the Matter treated of under the preceding Articles: Such an Abridgment would be the rather unneceſſary, becauſe I find nothing under this Claſs in the *Fœdera* that is proper to illuſtrate or explain any important Paſſage of *Elizabeth*'s Hiſtory, excepting only the Dates which are always very uſeful, or rather abſolutely neceſſary. I fanſy therefore if we only direct the Reader to the independent Acts of theſe twenty eight Years, he will be able at firſt View to comprehend the Occaſion and Motives of them, without the Trouble of any Explanation. They are,

1. AN Order for ſuch as have Lands or Tenements, *&c.* to the value of 40 *l.* a Year to receive the Order of Knighthood; dated *Dec.* 20. 1558. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1559. *Summons to Freeholders to be Knighted.* 493.

2. THE Earl of *Arundel*'s Commiſſion to be High Conſtable for the 14th of *January* only; dated *Jan.* 13. 1559. at *Weſtminſter*. *High Conſtable for the Queen's Coronation.* 494.

3. HIS Commiſſion alſo to be High Steward for the 15th of *January*, the Day of the Coronation; dated as above.

4. THE Patent creating *Thomas Howard* *, Viſcount of *Bindon*; dated *Jan.* 13. 1559. at the *Tower* of *London*. *Viſcount* Bindon's *Patent.* 495.

5. THAT for reſtoring *William Parr* to his old Titles of Marquis of *Northampton*, &c. *quibus Titulis injuriâ adverſorum temporum, regnante ſorore noſtrâ Mariâ privatus fuerat*, i. e. Of which Titles he had been depriv'd thro' the Injuſtice of the unhappy Times in the Reign of our Siſter *Mary*. This Act is dated as the laſt. *Reſtoration of the Marquis of* Northampton. 496.

6. A Power to the Earl of *Arundel* to make Knights of the *Bath* for the Coronation Day; dated *Jan.* 14. 1559. at *Weſtminſter*. *Power to create Knights of the* Bath. 497.

7. A Commiſſion to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Keeper of the Great Seal, to ſeal all Letters Patent, except thoſe of *Richard* III. which had not the Conſent of Parliament; dated *Jan.* 20. 1559. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commiſſion to affix the Great Seal to all the old Patents, &c.* 501.

8. A general Pardon; dated *Jan.* 14. 1559. at *Weſtminſter*. *Pardons.* 498.

9. ANOTHER for *Ireland*; dated *June* 8. 1559. at *Weſtminſter*. 529.

10. THE Patent of the Earl of *Suſſex* to be Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; dated *July* 3. 1559. at *Weſtminſter*. *E. of* Suſſex *Lord Deputy of* Ireland. 533.

* HE was ſecond Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*.

Q. *Eliz.* 11. THE Naturalization of *Peregrine Bertie*, born at *Weſel*, the Son of *Richard Bertie* Eſq; and of his Wife the Ducheſs of *Suffolk*; dated *Aug.* 2. 1559. at *Weſtminſter*.

Naturalization of Peregrine Bertie. 538.

THIS *Peregrine Bertie*, being the Son of *Frances Brandon*, Daughter of *Mary*, who was *Henry* VIIIth's Siſter, might by virtue of that King's Will have diſputed the Crown with *Mary* Queen of *Scots*.

Licence for the E. of Suſſex *to come from his Government of* Ireland. 565.

12. A Licence to the Earl of *Suſſex* to come into *England*, and to appoint Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Juſtice of *Ireland*; dated *Jan.* 18. 1560. at *Weſtminſter*.

13. A Patent for the Office of Maſter of the Revels, Plays, Maſques, *&c.* dated as the preceding.

Duke of Brunſwick's *Penſion.* 578.

14. GRANT of a Penſion of 375 *l. Sterling* to *Otho* Duke of *Brunſwick*; dated *April* 2. 1560. at *Weſtminſter*.

Commiſſion to ſurvey Coats of Arms. 614.

15. A Commiſſion to *Norroy* King at Arms, and others, to make a Survey of the Coats of Arms in the *Northern* Counties; dated *June* 27. 1560. at *Weſtminſter*.

Patent for making Brimſtone and Oil. 650.

16. A Patent granted to *Armigil Wade* Eſq; and *William Herle* Gent. to make Brimſtone, and extract Oil fit for Cloth out of certain Plants and Roots; dated *Jan.* 29. 1565. at *Weſtminſter*.

Chancellor of the Garter. 706.

17. A Patent creating Sir *Tho. Smith* Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; dated *April* 25. 1572. at *Weſtminſter*.

Lord High Treaſurer. 716.

18. ANOTHER appointing *William Cecil*, Baron *Burghley*, Lord High Treaſurer; dated *Sept.* 15. 1572. at *Woodſtock*.

Great Marſhal 717.

19. A Patent creating *George* Earl of *Shrewſbury* Great Marſhal for his Life, after the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*; dated *Jan.* 2. 1573. at *Weſtminſter*.

20. A

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20. A Pardon for a Magician; dated *Jan.* 23. 1574. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1581. *Pardon for a Wizard.* 730.

21. A Commiſſion to enfranchiſe Bondmen, Natives of the Queen's Dominions upon certain Conditions; dated *April* 3. 1574. at *Gorhambury* in *Hertfordſhire*. *Enfranchiſement of Slaves.* 731.

22. CREATION of Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; dated *Aug.* 5. 1575. at *Gorhambury*. Sidney *made Lord Deputy of* Ireland. 746.

23. CREATION of *Walter* Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl Marſhal of *Ireland* for Life; dated *May* 9. 1576. at *Weſtminſter*. Cambridge *Viſitation.* 762. Oxford. 773.

24. AN Act for the Viſitation of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; dated *July* 13. 1576. at *Weſtminſter*.

25. ANOTHER of the like nature for *Oxford*; dated *April* 23. 1577. at *Weſtminſter*.

26. A Protection for *William Hearle* going to *Scotland* upon a ſecret Affair; dated *May* 13. 1577. at *Weſtminſter*. It has theſe words, *Sciatis quod Nos ex Prerogativa noſtra Regia, quam nolumus eſſe arguendam*, &c. *i.e.* Know ye that we out of our Royal Prerogative which we will by no means have diſputed. *Protection for a Perſon ſent on private buſineſs to* Scotland. 777.

27. A Pardon for *James Humphrey*, who had maintain'd the Pope's Authority; dated *July* 14. 1581. at *Weſtminſter*. *Pardon for* J. Humphrey. 789.

ARTICLE VII.

Affairs of Religion.

AS to this Head, 'tis ſufficient to ſay that as ſoon as *Elizabeth* was upon the Throne, ſhe by means of her Parliament reviv'd the Laws which had been made in the Reign of *Edward* VI. in favour of the Reformation; and that the *Engliſh* who were ſuch ſtaunch Papiſts *Elizabeth revives the Laws of* Edw. VI. *in favour of the Reformation.*

Q. *Eliz.* Papiſts but a few Months before, became on a ſudden zealous Proteſtants, at leaſt the Government of *England* became ſuch, tho probably every one harbour'd the ſame Faith in their Hearts that they had before, as was the Practice in other Reigns. It wou'd be very ſtrange indeed that the *Engliſh* ſhou'd voluntarily and without Conſtraint change their Religion four times in leſs than 30 Years. But no wonder that the Kings and Queens who had different Sentiments on this Article ſhou'd induce their Parliaments to change ſo often, becauſe a great number of Examples both antient and modern, make it very manifeſt, that the Kings of *England* are ſure, as it were, of the means to have Parliaments at their Devotion, provided they will condeſcend to make a prudent uſe of them. *Henry* VIII. by means of a Parliament eſtabliſh'd a motley Religion in *England*, which was neither entirely Roman Catholick, nor entirely Proteſtant, and yet had ſomething of both. That Prince did what he thought fit in this reſpect. He added, he retrench'd, and as if he had been infallible, he had nothing to do but to declare his Sentiments, and the Parliament was ſure to approve and give them the Sanction of Law. By the ſame means the Governours of *Edward* VI. caus'd ſuch Laws of *Henry* VIII. as they did not like, to be repeal'd, and eſtabliſh'd the Reformation. *Mary* in her Turn made uſe of the ſame Method to aboliſh the Reformation, and to re-eſtabliſh Religion as it ſtood before the Diſputes between *Henry* VIII. and the Court of *Rome*. Nay, more than this, ſhe got the Parliament to make Laws which gave her a Handle to perſecute the Proteſtants with Cruelty. And finally, *Elizabeth* found

Cauſes of the frequent Changes of Religion in England *within a few Years.*

The Eaſe with which the Kings of England *get Parliaments to their mind.*

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found the ſame Eaſe to re-eſtabliſh the Reformation by the Parliament; ſhall it be ſaid therefore that the *Engliſh* chang'd from white to black voluntarily in every Reign, juſt as it pleas'd their Kings or Queens? No verily; but the Sentiments of the greateſt number of the Deputies of the lower Houſe were chang'd into Statutes which were deem'd conformable to the Sentiments of the Nation; and by that means ſuch as did not approve them were oblig'd to feign that they did. The Parliament is a fine Name; 'tis what they call the Bulwark, and Support of the Liberties of the People. This is very true upon certain Occaſions. Yet for all this, one may venture to affirm that the Power of the Members of the Houſe of Commons is ſometimes too great, becauſe they are not oblig'd either to receive Orders from thoſe they repreſent, or to give an Account of their Adminiſtration. This Power being skilfully manag'd by an artful Prince, may as well turn to the Prejudice of the People as to their Advantage, of which there are frequent Inſtances in the Hiſtory of *England*. But without departing from my Subject, which way ſoever we turn, one cannot avoid ſeeing what I have juſt now mention'd in ſome of the four Reigns that I have been treating of, with regard to Religion. The Papiſts and Proteſtants had equal reaſon to complain of the too great Power of the Parliaments in the Reign of *Edward* VI. The Papiſts were the only Body that felt the Inconveniencies of it in the Reign of *Edward* VI. The Proteſtants had their Turn in the Reign of *Mary*; and at laſt, in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, the Papiſts had reaſon to wiſh that the Members of Parliament had a more limited

A. 1572.

The Engliſh *People vindicated from being given to Change in Religion.*

Remark on Engliſh *Parliaments.*

On the Power of the Houſe of Commons.

Q. *Eliz.* Power. Really, 'tis not very ſtrange to find the Houſe of Commons altering their Sentiments and Maxims, becauſe in every new Parliament there are new Members, the Majority of whom are commonly in the Court Intereſt. But what is moſt ſurprizing, is to find the upper Houſe, which is not liable to ſuch Alterations in its Members, ſubject to the ſame Alteration in its Maxims. In the four Reigns laſt mentioned we find, in the ſpace of about 30 Years, the ſame Lords, except a very few who dy'd in that Interval, complying with 4 ſucceſſive Changes in Religion; according to the Pleaſure of the Kings, the Queens, and the Houſe of Commons. I will not venture to gueſs at the reaſon of ſuch groſs Inconſtancy, but 'tis certain that all theſe Alterations did not proceed from new Light.

On their Changeableneſs.

THE Acts of theſe 28 Years which relate to Religion, being of no great Moment, all that needs be ſaid on this Subject is, that when the Roman Catholicks perceiv'd that *Elizabeth* openly declar'd for the Reformation, they ſpar'd no Care, nor Pains, nor Intrigue, nor Expence to favour the Pretenſions of the Queen of *Scotland*. They well knew that if they cou'd but place her on the Throne of *England*, ſhe wou'd find it no harder a Task than *Elizabeth* did to alter the Religion, becauſe all the Buſineſs wou'd be for her to have a Parliament at her Devotion, which Experience had prov'd wou'd be very eaſy to obtain. From hence aroſe ſo many Projects for invading *England* with foreign Forces, either by the way of *Scotland*, or ſome other part. They who contriv'd thoſe Schemes made not the leaſt doubt that the *Engliſh* Papiſts wou'd join the Foreigners; and the number of the Roman Catholicks

The Efforts of the Papiſts to place Mary Q. *of* Scots *on the Throne of* England.

tholicks at that time in *England*, cou'd not but be greater than they ſeem'd to be in outward appearance, becauſe thoſe Projects, and the Conſpiracies againſt the Queen's Life were inceſſantly carry'd on during her whole Reign. The knowledge of theſe Diſpoſitions made *Elizabeth* perpetually uneaſy. She had always an Eye upon her Roman Catholick Subjects, and left no Stone unturn'd to obviate their Deſigns, and to render their Union with the Pope, *France*, *Spain*, the *Netherlands*, the Queen of *Scots* and the Roman Catholicks of that Kingdom, of no effect. From thence proceeded that Severity with which ſhe treated ſome of them who cou'd not live peaceably; but it was a Severity very ſhort of that which *Mary* ſhew'd to the Reformed. *Elizabeth* put no Roman Catholick to Death upon the ſcore of Religion, and if any were executed in her Reign, it was only for having conſpir'd againſt the Queen, or for having attempted to ſubvert the Government, and to aboliſh the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. If the Queen of *Scots* had not ran headlong, as it were, into Plots of this kind, which under pretence of ſetting her at Liberty were only calculated to place her on the Throne of *England*, ſhe wou'd never have ſuffer'd that Death which has been honour'd with the Name of Martyrdom. In thoſe Projects which ſhe was drawn into by her Evil Counſellors, there were two things complicated together, which neither ſhe nor her Friends ever ſeparated; for their conſtant Aim was to dethrone *Elizabeth*, and to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion in *England*. Tho this appears ſo evidently from the Hiſtory of this Reign, yet the greateſt number of the Roman Catholicks have been pleas'd to give

A. 1560.

Elizabeth's *Vigilance to defeat their Contrivances.*

no

Q. *Eliz.* no Attention to the Firſt of theſe, to paſs lightly over the Second, and to impute the Tragical Death of *Mary*, to no other Cauſe than the Hatred which the Queen and the *Engliſh* bore to her Religion. It were to be wiſh'd that *Elizabeth* had treated the Anabaptiſts, who certainly did not conſpire againſt her Life, or againſt the Government, with the ſame Moderation as ſhe treated the Roman Catholicks, and that ſhe had not been ſo ſevere as to give up ſome of them to the Flames.

Q. Elizabeth *more ſevere to the Anabaptiſts than the Papiſts.*

I ſhall not inſiſt longer on the Affairs of Religion, becauſe the principal Occurrences of this Reign under that Claſs are manifeſtly but Dependencies on thoſe that relate to the Queen of *Scots*, and becauſe moſt of the others to which the Acts of this Volume relate, are of no Importance, or need not Explanation. Such, for inſtance, are the Changes which were made in the Body of the Clergy, by the Deprivation of ſeveral Biſhops, and of many other benefic'd Clergymen, whoſe Places were fill'd up by the Reformed; a very great number of Preſentations to Benefices; *Conges d' Eſlire* for Biſhopricks; Aſſents of the Queen to Elections; Reſtitutions of Temporalities; Benefices granted in *Commendam*, and ſo many other things of this nature, that it ſeems Mr. *Rymer* intended to make it the principal Subject of this XVth Volume. Such ſort of Inſtruments may be of uſe in an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, or in Annals: But I am of opinion, that nothing more is neceſſary here than barely to hint at Affairs of that kind, without undertaking to ſet down all the particular Acts.

We proceed now to the XVIth Volume of the *Fœdera*.

Mr.

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MR. *Rymer*, who had prepar'd Materials for bringing down the Collection of the publick Acts, to the end of the Reign of King *James* I. being taken away by Death, Mr. *Robert Sanderſon* undertook to continue this Work according to the Memoirs left by Mr. *Rymer* *. In this XVIth Volume he has given the reſt of the Acts of *Elizabeth*'s Reign from the 2d of *November* 1586. to the end of *January* 1603. and thoſe of *James* I. Reign, from the 28th of *March* the ſame Year, to the 4th of *November* 1616. So that this Volume contains the Acts of 30 Years. I ſhall confine my ſelf at preſent to what relates to the Reign of *Elizabeth*.

THIS Volume is much better ſtor'd than the laſt with ſuch Pieces as are neceſſary for explaining the Hiſtory of *England*. Among them, there are ſome which ſo depend upon one another, and which ſtand in ſuch a Relation to certain particular Circumſtances of Affairs, that 'tis ſcarce poſſible to underſtand them, or at leaſt to apply them to any purpoſe without bearing in mind the principal Events to which they refer. As to theſe, I ſhall follow my uſual Method by diſtributing them into ſeveral particular Articles, under each of which I will give an Abſtract of the Hiſtory on which thoſe Acts are founded. There are others which don't ſtand in need of any Explanation, either becauſe they are of little importance, or becauſe they were not attended with any material Conſequences. Out of theſe I ſhall ſelect

* THIS Gentleman was Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Rymer* in compiling the other Volumes of the *Fœdera*, and therefore upon that account, as well as for his Learning and Judgment, the better qualify'd to continue them. He was lately made Uſher of the Rolls. He has inſcrib'd this Volume to his preſent Majeſty.

ſome

Q. *Eliz.* ſome which I ſhall only point to in the cloſe of this Extract. The Acts which require ſeparate Articles are ſuch as relate. 1. To *Elizabeth's* Affairs with *Spain*. 2. To her Affairs with *France*. 3. To her Affairs with the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*. 4. To her Affairs with *Scotland*. 5. To her Affairs with the *Hanſe* Towns, or the Commerce of the *Engliſh*; and 6. To Affairs Domeſtick.

ARTICLE I.

Elizabeth's *Affairs with* Spain *from* 1587. *to* 1603.

IF I had regard only to the Acts of this XVIth Volume which relate directly to *Spain*, I might be excus'd from making a ſeparate Article of them, becauſe they are very few. But as in the firſt part of this Reign, the Quarrel betwixt *Elizabeth* and *Mary* was the grand Affair, tho we have no Acts in the *Fœdera* upon that Subject; ſo *Elizabeth's* Tranſactions with *Philip* II. are the chief Subject of this ſecond Part, and the Foundation of all the reſt.

PHILIP was reſolv'd to deſtroy *Elizabeth* if it lay in his Power; *Elizabeth* made no doubt of it, and 'twas to defend her ſelf from his open and ſecret Attacks, that ſhe was continually attentive to what paſs'd in *Scotland*, in *France*, in the *Netherlands*, and in her own Kingdom. 'Tis neceſſary therefore juſt to ſhew what were the King of *Spain's* Pretenſions, and the Efforts he made to enforce them.

THE

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THE Queen of *Scots*, juſt before ſhe dy'd, had made a Will, whereby ſhe yielded her Rights to the Crown of *England* to *Philip* II. in caſe that the King of *Scotland* her Son, did not embrace the Roman Catholick Religion. This Queen no ſooner thought her ſelf entirely abandon'd by *France*, but ſhe was perſuaded to make over her Rights to the King of *Spain*; and when this very thing was charged upon her at her Trial, ſhe did not poſitively deny it. This alſo ſhe put in execution by this Will, which was grounded upon the Maxim, that a Prince or Princeſs who are Hereticks, cannot lawfully wear the Crown. By this Maxim, which it ſeems *Mary* admitted in its utmoſt Force, *Elizabeth* was to be depriv'd of the Crown of *England*, and *James* VI. excluded from the Succeſſion. This was a Point that was hardly diſputed by the greateſt part of the Roman Catholicks, as was fully made appear in *France* not long after, by the Efforts uſed to deprive *Henry* IV. of his juſt Rights, upon this ſole Foundation. As to the Choice which *Mary* made of the K. of *Spain* to transfer her Right to him in caſe that the King of *Scotland* refus'd to be converted, it was founded on *Philip*'s being deſcended equally from the two Daughters of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the 3d Son of *Edward* III. one of which Daughters was marry'd to a King of *Portugal*, and the other to a King of *Caſtile*. On the Suppoſition therefore that *Elizabeth* could not legally fill the Throne of *England*, as well on Account of the Illegitimacy of her Birth, as on the Account of her Religion, and that the Will of *Henry* VIII. was null and void; it follow'd neceſſarily that the Crown of *England* was

A. 1587.

The Q. of Scots makes Philip of Spain her Heir to the Crown of England.

Philip's Relation to the Crown.

Q. *Eliz.* devolv'd to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, as I ſaid before. But as ſhe could not enjoy her Right, becauſe ſhe was at the Point of Death, ſhe thought ſhe might and ought to transfer it to *Philip* II. who was the firſt in Rank of all the Roman Catholick Princes that could lay Claim to the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. This Right would have been indiſputable for the King of *Scotland*, *Mary*'s Son, if he had not been a Heretick. But this ſingle Conſideration oblig'd *Mary* to poſtpone the Rights of Nature to the Intereſts and Advantages of the Roman Catholick Religion. And even tho *Mary* had not made this Will, as ſome there are who queſtion it; the Pretenſions of *Philip* II. would have been every whit as legal, by the Admiſſion of this Principle, *that a Heretick is not worthy to wear the Crown.*

Be this as it will, *Philip* II. had ſo ſtrong an Opinion of this Right, that he thought himſelf thereby authoriz'd to make a vigorous Effort to put himſelf in Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *England*. There could not have been a more favourable Conjuncture for him: He had nothing to fear from *France*, that Nation being embroil'd in a Civil War, and the ſtrongeſt Party attach'd to his Intereſts. The Emperor who was at Peace with the Turks, was in a Condition to curb the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, in caſe they ſhould offer to give *England* any Aſſiſtance. Laſtly, *Philip* had all the reaſon in the World to depend on the King of *Scotland*, who might well be expected to favour his Undertaking, inſtead of giving Aſſiſtance to a Queen who had lately done him ſo mortal an Injury, by cauſing his Mother to be put to Death by the Hands of a Hangman;

and

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and this was what was inculcated to him by many *Scotſmen*. On the other hand, the Pope was fully reſolv'd to contribute every thing in his Power to the Succeſs of his Deſigns. He not only approv'd them and gave them his Bleſſing, but he even publiſh'd a Bull afterwards, which was poſted up in *London*, whereby he releas'd the *Engliſh* from the Oath of Allegiance which they had taken to the Queen, and conſign'd *England* to the firſt Poſſeſſor. This firſt Poſſeſſor could be no other than the King of *Spain*, who made prodigious Preparations in all the Ports of *Spain* and *Portugal* in order to put himſelf in a Condition to attack *England*, in ſuch a manner that there ſhould be no Neceſſity for invading it a ſecond time. He cover'd theſe Preparations with various Pretences, for fear it ſhould be known that they were deſign'd againſt *England*. But *Elizabeth*, who had good Spies *, had undoubted Information that ſhe was the only Perſon againſt whom this great Armament was intended. She reſolv'd therefore not to loſe one Moment for preventing the Danger with which ſhe was threaten'd. Therefore without being dally'd with vain Negotiations, ſhe caus'd a ſtrong Fleet to be fitted out, of which ſhe gave the Command to Sir *Francis Drake*, in order to go and burn, or ſink the Ships that were preparing in the Ports of *Spain*. At the ſame time ſhe ſent another Fleet under the Command of ——*Cavendiſh*, to make War upon the *Spaniards* in *America*.

A 1587.

Pope's Bull againſt Elizabeth.

Philip's Preparations againſt her.

The Queen ſends Fleets againſt the Spaniards in Europe and America.

* Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that *Walſingham*'s chief Spies were Prieſts; and that he always uſed to ſay an active but vicious Prieſt was the beſt Spy in the World.

Drake

Q. Eliz. *Drake* ſail'd directly to the Port of *Gibraltar*, * where were the greateſt Stores of Ammunition and Proviſions. He there burnt above 100 Ships which were all laden, beſides a great Galleon called the *Raguſa*, which had a very rich Cargo. After this Expedition he put to Sea again, enter'd the *Tagus*, and burnt all the Ships he found there. From thence he ſail'd to the *Azores* Iſlands, where he took a *Carrack* call'd the *St. Philip*, which was return'd with a very rich Lading from the *Eaſt-Indies*. The Loſs which *Philip* ſuffer'd upon this occaſion put him under a Neceſſity of deferring the Expedition againſt *England* till next Year. † While *Drake* was acting in *Europe*, *Cavendiſh*

* Mr. *Rapin* ſeems to have been miſtaken both here and in his larger Hiſtory of *England*, Vol. VI. for *Camden*, Sir *William Monſon* in his *Naval Tracts*, *Eachard*, and all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians ſince their Time, ſay, that this Execution was done by Sir *Francis Drake* (not at *Gibraltar* but) at *Cadiz*.

† Biſhop *Burnet* in the Hiſtory of his Time, Vol. I. p. 313. gives an account how this Expedition was delay'd; which, if true, is certainly one of the moſt curious Paſſages in all our *Engliſh* Hiſtory. He had it from two Sons of the famous *Boyle* Earl of *Cork*, who had then a great ſhare in the Affairs of *Ireland*; and the Biſhop is of Opinion, that it was thought too great a Myſtery of State to be communicated to *Camden*, or to be by him publiſh'd, when the Inſtructions were put in his Hands for writing the Hiſtory of this Reign. The Story in ſhort is this. When it ſeem'd impoſſible to divert the preſent Execution of ſo great a Deſign, and there was no Strength ready to reſiſt it, a Merchant of *London* effected it by this means. Being very well acquainted with the Revenue and Expence of *Spain*, and all that they could raiſe, and knowing that their Funds were ſo ſwallow'd up, that it was impoſſible for them to victual and fit out their Fleet, but by their Credit in the Bank of *Genoa*, he undertook to write to all the Places of Trade, and to get ſuch Remittances made on that Bank, that he might

Cavendiſh ſail'd towards the *Streights* of *Magellan*, thro' which he enter'd into the *South-Sea*, and plunder'd the Coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*; from whence he carry'd off a great Booty. *A.* 1588.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, *Philip* did not deſiſt from purſuing his Project: He continued his Armament with more Heat even than he began it, being reſolv'd to make a Conqueſt of *England*, whatever it coſt him. While he was making his Preparations at an incredible Expence, he endeavour'd to amuſe *Elizabeth*, and to make her believe that he had no other Deſign but to live at Peace. 'Twas with this View that he cauſed a Treaty to be propos'd to the States of the *United Provinces*, of which he willingly conſented that *Elizabeth* ſhould be Mediator. The Snare was too groſs for *Elizabeth* to be caught by it; yet ſhe pretended not to perceive it, and accepted the Mediation. For this purpoſe ſhe ſent Plenipotentiaries into *France*; and becauſe it was for her Advantage to have the Negotiation continued, her Ambaſſadors gave very plain Intimation that ſhe would compel the States to accept of what ſhe thought reaſonable, and that ſhe would make very large Conceſſions with regard to Religion. But all this was only to gain Time, and this too was the ſole View of the King of *Spain*; for all

Philip's *farther Preparations to invade* England.

Endeavours to amuſe Elizabeth.

Negotiations for a Peace betwixt Spain *and* Holland.

might have ſo much of the Money in his own Hands, that there ſhould be none current there equal to the great occaſion of victualling the *Spaniſh* Fleet. He reckon'd the keeping of ſuch a Treaſure dead in his Hands till the Seaſon of Victualling was over, would be a Loſs of 40000 *l.* He manag'd the Matter with ſuch Secrecy and Succeſs, that the Fleet could not be ſet out that Year; at ſo ſmall a Price and with ſo skilful a Management, ſays the Biſhop, was the Nation ſav'd at that time.

Q. *Eliz.* that while he haſten'd his Preparations as much as poſſible. The Queen on her part left no Stone unturn'd to put her ſelf in a State of Defence. Conſequently the Negotiation was broke off as it were before it began, three Months having been waſted in ſettling the Place of Congreſs: and it was now high time to leave off Diſſembling, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Fleet was juſt ready to ſail for invading *England*.

Miſcarriage of the Invincible Armada.

THE Succeſs of this Fleet, which was before-hand call'd by the Name of the *Invincible Armada*, is ſo well known, that to give the Particulars of it here would be Loſs of Time. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay in a word, that the Fleet being enter'd the Channel, ſuffer'd very great Damage there from the *Engliſh*, who took and deſtroy'd ſeveral Ships; and that at laſt it was oblig'd to make the Tour of *Scotland* in order to return to *Spain*.

IN 1589. *Elizabeth* caus'd a Fleet to be fitted out, which after being join'd by the *Dutch*, conſiſted of 84 Ships of all ſorts, of which *Drake* was Admiral, and Sir *John Norris* had the Command of the Land-Forces on board.

Expedition for making Don Antonio K. *of* Portugal.

They carry'd with them Don *Antonio*, who ſtyl'd himſelf King of *Portugal*, and the Project was to place him on the Throne of that Kingdom. The King of *Morocco* had promiſ'd a Supply of Men and Money to Don *Antonio*, who had ſent him one of his Sons as a Security; but he was not ſo good as his word, which was partly the reaſon that the Enterprize miſcarry'd. *Norris* having put his Troops aſhore, march'd as far as the Gates of *Lisbon* without Oppoſition; but for want of Artillery and Ammunition he was oblig'd to retire

retire, and to go on board *Drake*'s Fleet again, which ſtay'd at the Mouth of the *Tagus*, and took *Caſcais*. While the Fleet was in the *Tagus*, they took 60 Ships laden with Corn belonging to the *Hans Towns*. This Affair was attended with Conſequences of which I ſhall treat hereafter. The *Engliſh* Fleet in its Return took and burnt *Vigo*. *A.* 1591. Caſcais *and* Vigo *taken by the* Engliſh *Fleet, with* 60 *Ships of the* Hans Towns.

IN 1591, the Queen ſent 6 Men of War to the *Azores Iſlands*, under Command of the Lord *Howard*, there to wait for the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which was returning from the *Indies*. But the *Engliſh* Admiral was himſelf ſurpriz'd by a numerous Fleet of the Enemy, which he had much ado to eſcape from, with the Loſs of one of his Ships, that was not ſo nimble as the reſt. *Ld* Howard's *Expedition againſt the* Spaniſh *Flotas.*

IN 1592, which was the Year following, Sir *Walter Raleigh* carry'd 15 Sail to *America*, and took a large Carrack from the *Spaniards* laden with rich Merchandize; but the contrary Winds hinder'd him from making very great Progreſs in that Country. *Sir* Walter Raleigh's

THE Duke of *Parma* Governour of the *Netherlands* dying in 1593, the Count *de Fuentes* and Don *Diego d' Ibarra* took care of the Affairs of that Country, till the Arrival of a new Governour. During their Adminiſtration they form'd the Project to ſend a *Spaniſh* Army into *Scotland*, and at the ſame time to diſpatch *Elizabeth* either by Dagger or Poiſon; for which purpoſe they had brib'd *Lopez* a Jew, one of the Queen's Phyſicians, an *Iriſh* Fencing Maſter, and ſome other Ruffians. Their Conſpiray having been defeated, the Queen complain'd of it to the Archduke *Erneſt*, who was lately appointed Governour of the *Netherlands*; but ſhe cou'd not obtain any Satisfaction. *Conſpiracy againſt the Queen's Life by the* Spaniards *in the* Netherlands.

Q. *Eliz.* On the contrary, ſome of the Accomplices who made their Eſcape, were well receiv'd at *Bruſſels* and *Madrid*.

In 1594, all poſſible Endeavours were us'd to engage the King of *Scotland* to join the King of *Spain*, in order to dethrone *Elizabeth*; and he ſeem'd for ſome time to give hopes that he wou'd enter into the Deſign. But at laſt being made more ſenſible of his true Intereſt, he turn'd a deaf Ear to all thoſe Temptations, and appear'd to be ſtrongly attach'd to the Queen's Cauſe. Upon the Miſcarriage of this Deſign, *Philip* took it into his Head to procure the Crown of *England* for the Infanta *Iſabella* his Daughter, by transferring all his Rights to her. For this purpoſe he caus'd a Genealogy to be publiſh'd, whereby it manifeſtly appear'd that he was deſcended from the two Daughters of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*. Notwithſtanding the Diſaſter which had attended his invincible Armada, he was in hopes of better Succeſs this time, by avoiding certain Miſtakes which had render'd his former Expedition abortive. The Preparations which were making in *Spain*, occaſion'd a Rebellion in *Ireland* by the Earl of *Tyrone*, to whom *Philip* had promis'd Aſſiſtance. This Rebellion made the Queen very uneaſy, becauſe from that time to the Day of her Death, ſhe was always oblig'd to maintain a good Body of Troops in *Ireland*.

Philip transfers his Rights to the Crown of England to his Daughter.

Tyrone's Rebellion.

In the Year 1595, the *Spaniards* obtain'd great Advantages over *Henry* IV. who had declar'd War againſt them; and at the ſame time *Philip* continued his Preparations with Zeal for attacking *England*. But *Elizabeth* prevented him once more, by ſending to the Coaſt of *Spain* (in 1596) a numerous Fleet, to which the *Dutch*

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Dutch furniſh'd 22 Ships. The Lord *Howard* was Admiral of it, and the Earl of *Eſſex* commanded the 7000 Men that were put on board it. This Fleet arriv'd at *Cadiz* perfectly unexpected, and burnt in the Harbour ſeveral Ships laden, and took two Galleons with above 100 Braſs Guns. Beſides thoſe two Galleons which were richly laden, the King of *Spain* loſt upon that occaſion 13 Men of War, 11 Ships outward bound for the *Indies*, and 13 others, not reckoning the Stores which were amaſs'd there, to be employ'd againſt *England*. Moreover, the Earl of *Eſſex* having landed his Troops, took *Cadiz*; but it was not thought convenient to keep it, and the Fleet return'd for *England* with a very great Booty. The Loſs which the King of *Spain* ſuſtain'd upon this occaſion, was eſtimated at 20 Millions of Ducats. *A.* 1596. *Another Expedition of the* Engliſh *Fleet.*

THIS did not hinder *Philip* from perſiſting in his Deſign to conquer *England*. As the *Engliſh* Fleet had done him Damage but in one of thoſe Places only where he made his Preparations, he caus'd all the reſt to rendezvous at *Lisbon*, and diſpatch'd his Fleet from that Harbour at the time that *Elizabeth* leaſt of all expected to be attack'd, and had nothing in readineſs for her Defence. But by a good Providence both for the Queen and her Kingdom, a violent Storm overtook the *Spaniſh* Fleet when it was under Sail, and fruſtrated the Expedition. *Another Expedition of the* Spaniards *fruſtrated by a Storm.*

SO many Misfortunes one upon the Neck of another, put *Philip* at laſt out of a Capacity of executing his vaſt Deſigns. This Prince dy'd in 1598. after having ſign'd the Peace of *Vervins* with *France*. *Philip* III. his Son who ſucceeded him, did not think fit to purſue the Project of the King his Father for the Conqueſt *Philip's Treaty with* Fra. *and Death.* *His Son ſupports the* Iriſh *Rebels.*

Q. *Eliz.* queſt of *England*; only in 1601, he ſent Succours to the Earl of *Tyrone*, in order to raiſe Troubles in *Ireland* againſt *Elizabeth*. Don *John d' Aquila* who commanded thoſe Succours, arriving at the Port of *Kinſale*, preſently took the Town of that Name, but was immediately beſieg'd in it by the Viceroy of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Tyrone* attempted to relieve the Place, and loſt a Battle; after which the *Spaniards* capitulated, and return'd to their own Country.

Kinſale taken and retaken. Defeat of the Rebels.

Arich Spaniſh *Carrack taken.*

In 1602, *Elizabeth* put 8 Men of War to Sea, which took a *Spaniſh* Carrack worth a Million of Crowns in a Harbour of *Portugal*, where it was ſupported by 11 Galleys commanded by *Spinola*, a *Genoeſe*.

That was the laſt Expedition made againſt the *Spaniards* in this Reign; for in the following Year 1603, *Elizabeth* dy'd.

In this part of the XVIth Vol. of the *Fœdera* there are but three or four Acts that relate directly to the Affairs betwixt *England* and *Spain*.

Order to ſearch after Spaniſh *Goods conceal'd in* London. 82.

The firſt is an Order to the Lord Mayor of *London* to ſearch after ſome Effects belonging to the *Spaniards*, which lie conceal'd in the City; dated *Auguſt* 14. 1590. at *Otelands*.

Emperor of Morocco's *Letter to the Queen.* 155.

2. A Letter from the Emperor of *Morocco* to the Queen. 'He makes an Excuſe for not 'returning an Anſwer ſooner to the Queen's 'Letter demanding him to ſend home the Son 'of Don *Antonio*, King of *Portugal*, ſince he 'wou'd not lend the Money for which he was 'ſent him as an Hoſtage. He gives no poſitive Anſwer upon this Head, but ſays that 'if the Queen will furniſh the Aid which ſhe 'has promis'd, and content him, he does not 'doubt but to go thro' with it.'

The other Inſtruments are only Commiſſions to act againſt *Spain* by Land and Sea.

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ARTICLE II.

Elizabeth's *Affairs with* France.

IN 1587, the Year that *Elizabeth* caus'd Sentence of Death to paſs upon the Queen of *Scotland*, *France* was divided into two Parties, *viz.* that of King *Henry* III. and that of the League. The latter had the Duke of *Guiſe* indeed for their Chief, and was ſtrongly ſupported by the King of *Spain*. The Duke was become ſo powerful, that the King had every thing to fear from his Ambition. On the one hand, the Duke cou'd not attain to the end he propos'd to himſelf of uſurping the Crown of *France*, but by the Death or Depoſition of the King; and on the other hand, it was ſcarce poſſible for the King to deliver himſelf from the danger he was in, but by reſtraining the exorbitant Power of the Duke of *Guiſe*, which was no eaſy thing to do. Therefore there were two very oppoſite Intereſts in *France*, tho the two Leaders conceal'd their Deſigns with all the Artifice they cou'd. Theſe two contrary Intereſts appear'd manifeſtly, when the Queen of *Scots* was condemn'd to die in *England*. There being an Interval of ſome Months between the Sentence and the Execution, *Henry* III. had time to ſend the Preſident *Bellievre* to ſollicit *Elizabeth* in *Mary*'s favour. The Intereſt of Religion, that of Sovereigns in general, *Mary*'s Relation as Siſter-in-Law to the King, and her being Queen Dowager of *France*, ſeem'd to demand this Office from *Henry* III. But then this ſame Queen was Couſin-German to the Duke of *Guiſe*; and if ſhe ſurviv'd *Elizabeth*, whoſe Death her Friends continually aim'd at, ſhe might aſcend

Parties in France.

H. IIId's Interceſſion for the Q. of Scots.

Q. *Eliz.* the Throne of *England*; and in that caſe the Duke of *Guiſe's* Party wou'd be ſo ſtrengthen'd, that it wou'd be impoſſible for the King to ſtand againſt him. Conſequently the King's private Intereſt demanded that the ſaid Queen of *Scots* ſhou'd be cut off. And *Du Maurier* tells us in the Preface to his Memoirs, that he had heard his Father, ſay that the Preſident *de Bellievre*, tho ſent in appearance to ſollicit Favour for *Mary*, had a ſecret Order to haſten her Execution as much as poſſible *. On the other hand, Lord *Aubeſpine* who was Ambaſſador in ordinary from *France* at *London*, and who was a Creature of the Duke of *Guiſe*, did all that Man cou'd do to prevent the Execution. It even appear'd that he had hir'd a couple of Aſſaſſins to kill *Elizabeth*, and that one of them diſcover'd it. *Camden*, from whom we have this Circumſtance, adds, that the Ambaſſador being ſummon'd to appear before the Council, made a very bad defence, and that he only intrench'd himſelf in the Privileges of Ambaſſadors, who were not oblig'd to give an account of their Actions to any but their own Maſters. I am tempted to think, that as *Elizabeth* made uſe of all the means poſſible at that time to convince the People of the neceſſity of putting *Mary* out of her way, theſe two Men were detach'd to the Ambaſſador to enſnare him, and conſequently to animate the People from a conſideration of the Queen's being perpetually in danger. But I own this is mere Conjecture. I will only obſerve that the *French* Tranſlator of *Camden's* An-

A Conſpiracy to murder Elizabeth.

* Mr. *Rapin* in a Note upon his Hiſtory, tells us, that this was not kept ſo ſecret, but that after the Death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, *Henry* was accus'd by the Leaguers of having contributed to the Queen of *Scotland's* Death.

nals,

nals, has thought fit in his Tranſlation to ſuppreſs every Tittle of what I have mention'd touching *l' Aubeſpine*. *A.*1591.

AS *Elizabeth* did not begin to intereſt her ſelf very much in the Affairs of *France* till the Year 1591, I ſhall but juſt mention what paſs'd in that Kingdom in the mean time; which gave occaſion to the Queen to ſend conſiderable Succours to the Party, which the League fought to oppreſs.

THE Duke of *Guiſe* growing every day more potent, enter'd *Paris* in the Month of *May* 1588, and compell'd the King to leave the City, after having ſeen the People in a Fury, hanging Chains a-croſs the Streets, and puſhing the Barricadoes as far as the Gates of the *Louvre*. He was in ſo weak a Condition to puniſh this Inſolence, that in order to ſupport himſelf, he was oblig'd to accommodate matters with the League, or rather with the Duke of *Guiſe*, and to put ſeveral Places into his Hands. But in the Month of *December* following, having entic'd the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his Brother the Cardinal to *Blois*, where he had aſſembled the States, he caus'd them to be aſſaſſinated on the Spot.

THIS Action loſt him all the Affection of his Roman Catholick Subjects, moſt of whom were engag'd in the League; ſo that he was oblig'd to make Levies in *Swiſſerland*, and to call to his aſſiſtance the King of *Navarre*, his preſumptive Heir, who was at the Head of the Hugonots *. With

* MR. *Rapin* in his aforeſaid Hiſtory, makes a Remark on this Paſſage, which is ſo juſt, as well as pertinent, that we cannot omit it, *viz.* That this Prince, who had taken a ſolemn Oath to extirpate the Hugonots, and as ſolemnly declar'd that he wou'd never keep

Q. *Eliz.* With theſe Forces he undertook to block up *Paris*, and he had like to have made himſelf Maſter of it, when he was aſſaſſinated at *St. Cloud*, where he quarter'd, by *James Clement* a *Jacobin* Friar.

Hen. III. *of* France *aſſaſſinated.*

His Succeſſor Hen. IV.

AFTER the Death of *Henry* III. the laſt Prince of the Houſe of *Valois*, *Henry* of *Bourbon* King of *Navarre* aſſum'd the Title of King of *France*, by the Name of *Henry* IV. But as he was a Hugonot, the Leaguers refus'd to own him. The very Roman Catholicks who had ſerv'd the late King againſt the League, wou'd not engage to obey him, but on condition that he ſhou'd put himſelf under Inſtruction, that is to ſay, in the ſenſe they put on the term, that he ſhou'd embrace the Roman Catholick Religion. Nevertheleſs he evaded his pretended Converſion for ſome Years, on pretence that he did not refuſe to be inſtructed, but that ſuch Inſtruction did not neceſſarily import an Alteration of Religion.

IN 1590, this Prince found himſelf embaraſs'd to the laſt degree. He was without Allies, and without Caſh. The League Party which was againſt him, was very powerful, and ſupported by the King of *Spain*. The Hugonots who were devoted to him were weak; and the Roman Catholicks that ſerv'd him threaten'd to abandon him, if he did not perform his Promiſe in the ſenſe which they put upon it. Nevertheleſs he ſtruggled againſt the Difficulties, and gave a great deal of Trouble to the Duke of *Mayenne*, Brother to the late Duke of *Guiſe*, who was at the Head of the League. He de-

keep his word with them if ever he was oblig'd in neceſſity to make any Promiſe to them, ſcarce found any other Subjects now but theſe in whom he cou'd confide.

feated

feated him at the Battle of *Yvry*, and immediately went and block'd up *Paris*; but the Duke of *Parma* arriving with an Army from the *Netherlands*, compell'd him to retire. Not long after the Duke of *Mercœur* of the *Lorrain* Family, made himſelf Maſter of a great part of *Bretagne* by the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, who at the ſame time fortify'd themſelves in *Hennebond* and *Blavet*, two Sea-port Towns of that Province. *A.* 1591.

Duke of Mercœur *ſeizes* Bretagne.

TILL the Year 1591, *Elizabeth* was a very quiet Spectator of the Troubles in *France*, becauſe ſhe thought them rather of advantage to her than otherwiſe. But when ſhe ſaw the *Spaniards* had caſt Anchor in *Bretagne*, a Province ſo near to *England*, that they might eaſily attack her from thence; and when ſhe was inform'd that *Philip*'s Deſign was to place his Daughter the Infanta *Iſabella* upon the Throne of *France*, on pretence that ſhe was Grandaughter to *Henry* II. ſhe thought it her Intereſt to ſupport *Henry* IV. for fear he ſhou'd be unable to ſtand his Ground againſt Enemies ſo numerous and ſo powerful. *Henry* IV. on his part cou'd not ſtand it without foreign Aſſiſtance, and this Aſſiſtance cou'd only come to him from the Proteſtants of *Germany*, or of *England*. But how much ſoever *Elizabeth* and the *German* Princes were concern'd to hinder *France* from falling into the Hands of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which was already but too powerful, there were ſuch Difficulties to reconcile the ſeveral Intereſts, as it was not eaſy to ſurmount. The *Germans* were willing to furniſh *France* with Troops, but there was an abſolute neceſſity for the King's Engagement to pay them; and he had no Money, becauſe the League being diſpers'd over all the Kingdom, he

Q. *Eliz.* he cou'd only raiſe Taxes in ſuch of the Provinces as were affected to him. As to *Elizabeth*, he might hope indeed that ſhe wou'd furniſh him with Troops, and that ſhe wou'd undertake to pay them, in expectation of being reimburs'd what ſhe advanc'd, when he came to be Maſter of the Kingdom; but on the other hand, ſhe propos'd to reap a preſent Advantage from the Succours which ſhe was inclin'd to furniſh him with, and that thoſe Succours ſhou'd ſerve to drive out the Leaguers and the *Spaniards* from the Maritime Provinces next to *England*, as *Bretagne*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*. But that was not for the King's Intereſt, whoſe View was to expel his Enemies from the Heart of the Kingdom, and to puſh them towards the Frontiers. Theſe Difficulties were enough to have defeated the Hopes that he might have expected from thoſe foreign Succours, if he had been ſo obſtinate as to diſpute thoſe Points with the Powers that offer'd him Troops. But conſidering the unhappy State of his Affairs, he accepted of the Succours which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Count *Palatine* offer'd him; and he propos'd to engage for the Pay of thoſe Troops, tho he was not ſure where he ſhou'd have the Money to fulfil his Engagement. He did the very ſame thing with *Elizabeth*. He made a Treaty with her, whereby ſhe engag'd to furniſh him with 3000 Men, to prevent the *Spaniards* from making any farther Progreſs in *Bretagne* and *Picardy*, and to pay thoſe Troops, on condition of being repay'd the Money ſhe advanc'd, in a Year's time. The 3000 *Engliſh* arriv'd in *France* not long after, part of them in *Bretagne* under the Command of *Norris*, and the reſt in *Picardy* under the Command of *Roger Williams*.

Elizabeth's *Treaty to ſupport* Hen. IV.

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THESE 3000 Men, and 11000 more which the Prince of *Anhalt* brought from *Germany*, not ſufficing to give the King the Superiority he wiſh'd for, he had recourſe again to *Elizabeth*; and in order to obtain freſh Succours with the more eaſe, he gave her to underſtand, that if ſhe wou'd but ſend him 4000 Men more, he ſhou'd be in a condition to beſiege *Roan*, and poſitively promis'd to lay aſide every other Affair for the ſake of that Siege. The Queen's great deſire to ſee *Roan* out of the Power of that League, put her upon making a new Treaty with *Henry*, whereby ſhe engag'd to ſend him another Supply of 4000 Men to be employ'd in the Siege of *Roan*, and to pay them for two Months, in hopes that wou'd be time enough to take the City. She put the Earl of *Eſſex* at the Head of this freſh Supply, which was to be join'd by the Troops under *Williams*. But the Earl arriving in *France*, found that the Siege of *Roan* was not ſo much as thought of, that the King was beſieging *Noyon*, and that he intended to make the *Engliſh* ſerve in *Champagne*. *Elizabeth* very much reſented this Proceeding, and ſent the King word that ſhe did not intend to be his Dupe, and that ſhe wou'd immediately call home every Soldier ſhe had in *France*. This Declaration put *Henry* into the greater Confuſion, becauſe he had juſt receiv'd certain Advice that the Duke of *Parma* was preparing to return to *France* to ſupport the League. Tho in his Treaty with *Elizabeth*, he had no intention to beſiege *Roan*, yet he was forc'd to cauſe the Town to be inveſted; and he went to the Siege himſelf in hopes of carrying the Place before the Arrival of the Duke of *Parma*, who march'd about the end of *November*. While he was employ'd in this Siege,

A. 1591.

She ſends him a freſh Supply under the E. of Eſſex.

The Queen complains of Henry's *Proceeding.*

He beſieges Roan *to ſatisfy her.*

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Q. *Eliz.* Siege, he made another attempt to obtain 5000 Men more of the Queen, and actually ſent *Du Pleſſis Mornay* to preſs her on that Head. But in the ſhort Audience which *Du Pleſſis* obtain'd of the Queen, ſhe told him in plain Terms that the King his Maſter had ſerv'd her ill; that inſtead of beſieging *Roan* according to his Promiſe, he had ſpent time at the Siege of *Noyon*, and that he had made War in *Champagne*; that he had thereby given the Duke of *Parma* four Months time to make Preparations; that if his Affairs went ill, he had no body to blame but himſelf, and that ſhe was not in a Temper to be his Bubble. Not long after this, the Duke of *Parma* arriv'd, and caus'd the Siege of *Roan* to be rais'd.

And deſires freſh Succours of her.

Siege rais'd by the D. of Parma.

In 1592, *Henry* knowing perfectly well how much *Elizabeth* wiſh'd to be deliver'd from the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*, made uſe again of this Method to amuſe her. He pretended to ſet himſelf in good earneſt to expel the Duke of *Mercœur* and the *Spaniards* from *Bretagne*. Tho Experience had already convinc'd *Elizabeth* that ſhe cou'd not rely very much on his Promiſes, yet ſhe made a freſh Treaty with him, whereby ſhe engag'd to furniſh him with 4000 Men more, together with Artillery and Ammunition, to carry on the War in *Bretagne*, on condition that he ſhou'd join to thoſe Troops 4000 *French* Foot Soldiers, and 1000 Horſe, and that what ſhe advanc'd ſhou'd be reimburs'd her in a Year. This Treaty was no better executed than the former. *Henry* inſtead of ſending his Forces into *Bretagne*, made the *Engliſh* Troops ſerve in *Normandy*, either becauſe he was more preſs'd on that ſide, or becauſe it was his Intention to leave *Bretagne* to the laſt, in order to keep *Elizabeth*

Elizabeth *makes another Treaty with* Henry.

He deceives Elizabeth.

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beth always in Dread of the *Spaniards*. She was in ſuch a Paſſion to ſee her ſelf deceiv'd, that ſhe was juſt going to call home her Troops; but the Information ſhe had that the Duke of *Parma* was preparing to return into *France* a third time, made her ſacrifice her Reſentment to the Intereſts of *Henry*, or rather to her own, becauſe *France* cou'd not fall into the Hands of *Philip* without great danger to *England*. *A* 1593.

IN 1593, *Henry*, in order to pacify *Elizabeth*, who was provok'd to the laſt degree, poſitively promis'd her that he wou'd think ſeriouſly of *Bretagne*. But the Efforts he made on that ſide were very mean, all he deſign'd being to make uſe of the *Engliſh* who were in that Province, to check the *Spaniards*, and to hinder them from making a greater Progreſs there; for he was very certain that the Queen wou'd not eaſily reſolve to abandon *Bretagne*.

THIS ſame Year *Henry* chang'd his Religion, and in order to juſtify the Alteration, he told the Ambaſſador of *England* that he had delay'd it as long as poſſible, but that he was at laſt convinc'd that he ſhou'd never be at reſt upon the Throne of *France*, as long as he continued a Proteſtant. The Queen wrote a very ſharp Letter to him upon this Head, but it produc'd no Effect, for the thing was already done*. Nevertheleſs ſhe complain'd bitterly that he had not perform'd the Treaty with regard to *Bretagne*, and that he had not allow'd the *Engliſh* in that Province a Maritime place for *He changes his Religion.*

* SHE alſo ſent *Tho. Wilkes* to try if he cou'd diſſuade him from turning Papiſt. The Reader will ſee the King's Diſcourſe upon this Head to *Wilkes*, in *Camden*'s Annals; and what it was that gave the advantage to his Crown in the Balance againſt his Conſcience.

Q. *Eliz.* their Retreat, as he had thereby engag'd. *Henry* vindicated himſelf the beſt he cou'd, but his Reaſons wou'd perhaps have produc'd an Effect quite contrary to that which he expected from it, if the Queen had not heard that the King of *Spain* was going to make a grand Effort to ſupport the League, which droop'd very much after *Henry* turn'd Roman Catholick. This was the Reaſon that for her own Intereſt ſhe made an offenſive and defenſive League with *Henry*, in which there was the uſual Clauſe that no Peace ſhou'd be made without the mutual Conſent of both.

Elizabeth *makes another Treaty with him.*

Some time after, *viz.* in 1594. *Henry* made himſelf Maſter of *Paris*, and then order'd the Marſhal *d' Aumont* to go aud makeWar upon the Duke of *Mercœur* in *Bretagne*. The Marſhal made ſome Conqueſts in that Province, with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Troops under the Command of Sir *John Norris*. But inſtead of gratifying thoſe Troops, he ſhew'd them that it was not his Intention to make good the King's Promiſe to them. He beſieg'd the City of *Morlaix*, which had been promis'd them for a Place of Retreat, and granted a Capitulation to the beſieged, wherein he got a Clauſe cunningly foiſted in, that none but Roman Catholicks ſhou'd ſerve in the Gariſon of the Town. *Elizabeth* offended at this Proceeding, recall'd *Norris* with his Troops, and ſent them to ſerve in *Ireland*.

War in Bretagne.

Henry *declares War with* Spain.

HENRY perceiving his Affairs to mend, had declar'd War againſt the King of *Spain*, who prepar'd on his part to make powerful Efforts to ſupport the tottering League. *Henry*, who ſaw that he was not very well able to continue the War, becauſe *France* was exhauſted both of Men and Money, addreſs'd himſelf once

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once more to *Elizabeth*. He complain'd in 1595, that ſhe had recall'd *Norris* at a Time when he was moſt neceſſary to him, and he deſir'd freſh Succours. The Queen complain'd in her Turn of the Non-performance of all the Treaties, and deny'd his Requeſt: For ſhe had no longer that Eſteem for him which ſhe had before; and yet her Fear that he wou'd ſink, kept her from quite deſerting his Intereſt. *A.* 1595. *Deſires a freſh Supply of* Elizabeth, *but is deny'd.*

THE Progreſs which the *Spaniards* made not long after, put *Henry* under freſh Difficulties. The Conſtable of *Caſtille* repairing with an Army into the *Franche Comte*, and threatning the Duchy of *Burgundy* with an Invaſion, *Henry* was oblig'd to go in Perſon to the relief of that Province. During this the Count *de Fuentes* enter'd *Picardy*, where he took *Catelet* and *Dourlans*, and beat the *French* as they were attempting to relieve the latter. This ill News oblig'd *Henry* to deſire Succours of *Elizabeth* for the defence of *Picardy*, according to the Treaty of the League. The Queen anſwer'd, that ſhe wou'd ſend a Body of Troops into *Picardy* as ſoon as poſſible for the ſecurity of *Calais*, *Diep*, and *Boulogne*, according to the end of the Treaty, which was to hinder the *Spaniards* from making themſelves Maſters of the Sea-port Towns of that Province. But the King had no Intention to commit thoſe Places to the Protection of the *Engliſh*. He was afraid he ſhou'd have enough to do to get them out if once they were in, and pretended that the Queen was oblig'd to help him, not only to defend the Maritim Places, but the whole Province likewiſe. At the ſame time, the Deputies of *Bretagne* repair'd to *London*, to deſire Succours of the Queen, without ſpecifying what number of Troops they wanted, or for *Labours under great Difficulties.* *Again deſires Succours of* Elizabeth.

Q. *Eliz.* what end they design'd to employ them, without offering the *English* any Place of Retreat, and in fine, without being authoriz'd by the King. So that their demand was rejected.

Spaniards *Progress in* France.

DURING this, the *Spaniards* laid Siege to *Cambray*. *Henry* not knowing how to save the Place, sent *de Lomenie* to the Queen to desire speedy Succours, but she deny'd him; which put the Envoy so much out of Temper, that he spoke very pertly to the Queen, accusing her of being the Cause of the Loss of *Cambray*, and threatning her that the King wou'd make Peace without her. *Elizabeth* being offended at the Insolence with which he talk'd to her, sent him home without granting him a second Audience. For some time past she had look'd very coldly upon *Henry*, and really she had no great reason to be pleas'd with his manner of dealing with her. Pretending that it was her Interest to support him, he took it very ill that she wou'd not do every thing that he thought fit. But she was too cunning to be ignorant that *Henry* had nothing less at Heart than the Interest of *England*.

Henry *sends* Lomenie *into* England, *who threatens the Queen.*

Elizabeth's *Coldness for* Henry.

Farther Progress of the Spaniards *against* Fra.

IT seem'd as if *Elizabeth* had form'd a Resolution not to concern her self any more with the Affairs of the King of *France*, but new Events made her take new Measures. The Archduke *Albert* who had succeeded *Ernest* his Brother in the Government of the *Netherlands*, advancing in 1596 towards *La Fere*, which was besieg'd by the *French*, threw some Succours into the place, and then went and laid Siege to *Calais*. *Henry* as usual had recourse to *Elizabeth*. First he sent *M. de Sancy* to her, and then the Marshal *de Bouillon*, to desire speedy Succours. The Queen did not refuse it, but she demanded that if she caus'd the Siege of

Calais *besieg'd.*

Henry *again demands Succours.*

Calais

Calais to be rais'd, the Place ſhou'd be put into her Hands, ſince *France* cou'd hold it no longer. The Ambaſſadors evaded the Demand, by ſaying that they had no Inſtruction upon this Head. Notwithſtanding this, the Queen order'd the Troops to be rais'd with all poſſible Diligence. But before theſe Succours cou'd be ready, *Calais* ſurrender'd, after having held out but 12 Days: And ſoon after, *Ardres* had the ſame Fate. *A.* 1596. Calais *and* Ardres *taken.*

THE *Spaniards* Progreſs in *Picardy* made *Henry* and the Queen equally apprehenſive of ſome unhappy Alteration in the Affairs of *France*, the rather becauſe the People were not yet well eſtabliſh'd in their Obedience to the King. This Fear produc'd a new League, by which *Elizabeth* engag'd to furniſh 4000 Men for the Defence of *Normandy* and *Picardy*. *Henry* oblig'd himſelf on his part to ſend 4000 Men to the Queen, in caſe that ſhe was attack'd; tho if ſuch a thing had happen'd, he wou'd undoubtedly have found himſelf in no very good Condition to have perform'd his Promiſe. The States of the *United Provinces* acceded to this new League, and it was expreſly agreed in the Treaty, that a Peace ſhou'd not be made but with the Conſent of the three Allies. *Q. makes another League with the* French *K. to which the* Dutch *accede.*

NOTWITSTANDING this new Treaty, and all the Succours that *Henry* had receiv'd from the Queen on divers occaſions, yet he carry'd on a ſecret Negotiation with the King of *Spain* by the Pope's Mediation, without making the leaſt Communication of it either to the Queen or the States. The Negotiation was already far advanc'd, when it was interrupted by the Loſs of *Amiens* which the *Spaniards* took by ſurprize. This Accident, which retarded the Peace, occaſion'd very great uneaſineſs French *K. negotiates privately with the* Spaniard.

Q. *Eliz.* easineſs to the King, who not caring to leave that place in the Hands of his Enemies, reſolv'd to retake it coſt what it wou'd. Accordingly he beſieg'd it the ſame Year, and while he was employ'd in the Siege, he ſummon'd *Elizabeth* to ſend him 4000 Men according to their Treaty. The Queen anſwer'd, that ſhe was ready to ſend that number of Troops, provided that the King wou'd ſubſiſt them. But the King being diſpleas'd with this condition, publickly threaten'd the Queen to make Peace without her, and declar'd that it was in his own Power to make a Peace, ſince an Offer had been made to reſtore all the places to him, except *Calais*. By that he wou'd have her to underſtand that it was only in regard to her that he had refus'd to make a Peace: whereupon ſhe wrote to him, 'That ſhe cou'd not believe 'that ſuch a Prince as he wou'd violate a ſolemn 'Treaty, ſo lately made and confirm'd by his 'Oath. That as for her Part, inſtead of failing 'in her Promiſe, ſhe did more than what ſhe was 'engag'd to, and that to convince him of it, 'ſhe deſir'd him to caſt his Eyes upon the Treaty, where he wou'd find this Article,' *The Queen ſhall ſend this Year into* France 4000 *Foot, who ſhall ſerve the King ſix Months. They ſhall ſerve him alſo for the ſame time in the following Years, if the State of the Queen's Affairs will permit it with Conveniency; for which the Queen's Conſcience and Word ſhall be truſted.* Mean time to engage *Henry* to continue the War, ſhe was willing to lend him ſome Money. When ſhe demanded a Security for the Payment, *Henry* offer'd to deliver up *Calais* to her, provided that ſhe wou'd engage to retake it by a certain time to be agreed on. As 'tis probable that the time he propos'd was little enough, his

Again demands Succours of Elizabeth;

And threatens to make a Peace without her.

She vindicates her Conduct.

his View was only to engage the Queen to give the *Spaniards* a powerful Diverſion, that he might have time to take *Amiens* himſelf, without being diſturb'd in the Siege. The Queen did not ſuffer her ſelf to be enſnar'd by this Offer, yet ſhe lent the Money on the Security of the Marſhal *de Bouillon*, and *M. de Sancy*. Not long after, the King made himſelf Maſter of the place which he beſieg'd. *A.* 1597. Amiens *beſieg'd and taken.*

AFTER the taking of *Amiens*, *Henry* renew'd the Negotiation with *Spain*, without informing his Allies of it, and at length he concluded it at *Vervins* without their Intervention; for *Philip* II. wou'd not ſuffer them to ſend their Plenipotentiaries thither. Before it was ſign'd, *Henry* was ſeverely reproach'd both by the Queen and the States General; but this did not make him alter his Reſolution. He wou'd have them take it even as a mark of his Condeſcenſion to them, that he gave them a Promiſe, without being ask'd, to ſtay 40 days before he ratify'd the Treaty of *Vervins*, in order to give them time to make their Peace with *Spain*. This Term was not ſufficient for them to ſettle Affairs of ſo great importance with a Prince who was not willing ſo much as to permit their Ambaſſadors to be preſent at the Congreſs. *Mezeray* owns that the Peace was already made, as to the principal Articles, before the Ambaſſadors of the two Crowns met at *Vervins*, and that the Treaty might have been concluded there in leſs than 3 Weeks, if the King had not ſpent ſo much time to make the publick believe that he had not made the Peace without the knowledge of his Allies. Fr. *King's ſeparate Treaty with* Spain *at* Vervins. *The Complaint of his Allies without Effect.*

FROM the Treaty of *Vervins*, to the Death of *Elizabeth*, no Affair of Moment was tranſacted betwixt *France* and *England*.

Q. *Eliz.* THE Acts which relate to *France* in this First Part of the XVIth Tome of the *Fœdera* are very numerous, and run for most part upon the Queen's Complaints concerning the Non-performance of the Treaties.

THOSE of the most importance are,

Henry IVth's *Oath to the R. Catholick Nobility.* 19. 1. *HENRY* IVth's Oath which he took to the Roman Catholick Nobility after the Death of *Henry* III. dated *Aug.* 2. 1589. at the Camp of *Pont St. Cloud.*

HE promises to maintain the Roman Catholick Religion at the Peril of his Life, to cause himself to be instructed by a General or National Council, and to conform himself to it's Decisions.

Their Oath to the K. 19. 2. THE Oath of the Roman Catholick Nobility to the King; dated as above.

THIS Oath is relative to the King's Oath, and conditional.

Henry's *Credentials to* Elizabeth 20. 3. *HENRY* IVth's Credentials to *Elizabeth*; dated *Aug.* 23. 1589. at the Camp of *Pont. St. Pierre.*

Letter to his Ambassador. 22. 4. *HENRY* IVth's Letter to *M. de Buzennal*, his Ambassador to *Elizabeth*; dated *Aug.* 27. 1589. at *Diep.*

HE therein acquaints him of some Motions he was about to make, and adds this Postscript.

WHEN I came to this Town, I was told the Queen was at Rye. *I cannot express to you how much I was rejoic'd at it, for I resolv'd to go over and stay a Week with her, and to take that very opportunity of kissing her Hands.*

Fr. *Ambassadors Proposal to the* Engl. *Council.* 23. 5. THE Proposals which *M. de Beauvoir la Nocle* the *French* Ambassador made to the Council of *England*, relating to the Succours demanded by *Henry* IV.

HE

A. 1589.

'HE demands, 1. A good Sum of Money 'to pay his Troops both *German* and *French*.

2. 'SIXTY thouſand pound Weight of 'Gunpowder, and 2000 Canon Bullets.

3. 'AN offenſive and defenſive League, 'and that the Queen would exhort the Pro-'teſtant Powers to come into it.

4. 'THAT the neceſſary means be conſulted 'to form ſuch a League.

5. 'THAT the Queen take care that the 'King may be reliev'd with a good Army from '*Germany*.

6. 'THAT the Sum which the Queen ſends 'may be 100000 Crowns.

6. A Letter from Meſſieurs *de Beauvoir*, and *de Freſnes*, the Ambaſſadors of *France*, to the Lord *Burghley* High Treaſurer; dated in *September* 1589. at *London*. *Their Letter to the Treaſurer* Burghley, *about a League with the Proteſtant Powers.*

THIS Letter contains the *French* King's Propoſals for a League with the Proteſtant Powers.

7. *HENRY* IVth's Letter to the Queen, without a Date. 24.

HE tells her that he has ſent to *Beauvoir* the Account of what paſs'd at the Attack of the Suburbs of *Paris*, where the Lord *Willoughby* and the *Engliſh* Troops had behav'd very well. Henry's *Letter to the Queen.* 29.

8. THE Deciſions of the *Sorbonne* againſt *Henry* III. dated *Jan.* 7. 1589. at their College *. *Decree of the* Sorbonne *againſt* H. III. 32.

IT

* THE Accounts of the extravagant Inſolencies of the Leaguers upon this occaſion againſt their Sovereign, were taken from the Files and Regiſters at the re-entrance of *Henry* IV. into *Paris*, whereby many of their Villanies were loſt; but if the Reader conſults *Jo. de Buſſieres*, Tom. 4. p. 287. and the Journal *De juſta*,

Q. *Eliz.* It ſeems that this Act which is inſerted among thoſe of 1590, ſhou'd have been plac'd at the Head of the abovemention'd in the preceding Year, becauſe it bears the Date of it, and that *Henry* III. was not alive in 1590.

King of Spain's Articles with the French League. 33. 9. Articles agreed betwixt the King of *Spain* and the League; dated *Jan.* 11. 1590.

That *Philip* II. be declar'd Protector of the League upon the following Conditions.

That in the enſuing Month of *April* he ſhall ſend into *Picardy* 6000 Foot and 1500 Horſe. Into the *Lyonnois* 5000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, with 20 Field-pieces, and 12 battering Pieces. Into *Languedoc* 500 Horſe and 2000 Foot. To *Nantes* 500 Horſe and 3000 Foot, one Ship laden with Ammunition, and 10 with Corn.

Hen. III. *Abdic.* l. 4. c. 38. he will find that they not only deny'd him the Title of King, and made it Capital to have ſo much as his Picture, unleſs it was in the moſt ridiculous and ſhameful Habits and Poſtures that the Painters were pleas'd to draw him in, but they call'd him Heretick, Tyrant, and what not; threw down his Arms and Statues, which they broke to pieces, and dragg'd along the Streets; while their Prieſts falſly accus'd him of Magick from the Pulpit, perſwading their Auditors to fight againſt that *Belial*, to give no quarter to him or his Friends, for the Kingdom was ſick, and nothing cou'd cure it, but a good Draught of *French* Blood. Some made many wicked and malicious Anagrams to render him odious; others thinking thereby to haſten his Death, made little Images of him in Wax, which they ſet on the Altars at Maſs, and prick'd to the Heart; and others carry'd lighted Tapers up and down, repeating ſuperſtitious Words, and then putting them out: And for Libels and Satyrs they were innumerable, the Preſs as well as the Pen labouring continually with infamous Defamations of their Sovereign.

That

THAT he ſhall lend 500000 Crowns ready Money to the League, and 20000 Crowns a Month as long as the War ſhall laſt. *A.* 1590.

THE League engages to repay thoſe Sums in three Years, and to put into his Hands for Security the Towns of *Cambray*, *Abbeville*, and others in *Burgundy*.

THAT by the end of *April*, the League ſhall be ready with 40000 Foot, 5000 Horſe, and 100 Cannon for the Battery and Field.

THAT they ſhall not treat with *Henry* of *Navarre*, but at the Court of the King of *Spain*, or of the Duke of *Savoy*.

THAT the Governors of the Maritim Places ſhall receive the King of *Spain*'s Ships in their Harbours.

THAT during the War, the League ſhall be bound to nothing more, even tho the King ſhou'd make War againſt *England* or *Scotland*; but that after the end of the War, the *French* ſhall furniſh the King of *Spain* with 3000 Horſe, and 28000 Foot, together with 6000 Pioneers upon all Expeditions.

THAT in all the publick Acts the King ſhall be ſtyl'd Protector of the Crown of *France*, and that the ſaid Article ſhall be ſworn to by the League, and by the King who ſhall be elected.

THAT the League ſhall make no Alliance without the Conſent of the King of *Spain*.

10. *HENRY* IVth's Inſtructions to the *Sieur de la Tour* who was to paſs thro' *England* in his way to *Germany*. Henry IVth's *Inſtructions to* la Tour. 36.

HE was to repreſent to the Queen, that as the Duke of *Parma* was to come into *France* in the Month of *March*, 'tis neceſſary to haſten the Succours from *Germany*.

THAT

Q. *Eliz.* THAT the *Spaniards* are to ſend 3000 Men into *Bretagne*, and that the King not being in a condition to ſend Succours thither, deſires the Queen to provide Forces againſt them.

THAT he deſires her to take care that the States General do ſend 7 or 8 Ships to guard the Coaſts of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*.

THAT he cannot recal *M. Buzennal* with Honour, but that nevertheleſs he will do it if the Queen abſolutely inſiſts upon it.

French *Ambaſſadors Letter to the Treaſurer.* 40.

11. LETTER from the Ambaſſadors of *France* to the High Treaſurer; dated *Feb.* 8. 1590. at *London*.

THEY deſire him to haſten the Departure of *Palavicini* for *Germany*.

Henry's *Requeſts to* Elizabeth. 43.

12. A Remembrance of the *French* King's Requeſts made to the Queen; dated *Feb.* 25. 1590. at the Camp before *Chartres*.

Theſe are ſome of the Articles.

TO diſpatch the Succours with all ſpeed to *Bretagne*.

IF the Duke of *Parma* come into *France*, the King deſires the Queen to ſend him 4000 Men for 3 Months, till the arrival of the Army from *Germany*.

IF the Duke of *Parma* does not come, the King promiſes to repair to *Diep*, and to join the *Engliſh* Troops with 6000 *French* Foot, 4000 *French* Horſe, and 5000 *Swiſſers*, in order to recover *Roan*, *Havre de Grace*, and all the Coaſt of *Normandy*, &c.

His Letter to the D. of Longuevillle, *on the Victory at* Mante. 52.

13. *HENRY* IVth's Letter to the Duke of *Longueville*, concerning the Victory at *Mante*; dated at *Raymer* a League from thence, *March* 14. 1590.

14. ANO-

14. ANOTHER from that King to the (Earl of *Stafford*) *Engliſh* Ambaſſador; dated at *Tours* *March* 22. 1590. *A.* 1591. *Others to the Engliſh Ambaſſador.* 53.

'HE thanks the Queen for the Care ſhe 'takes of his Affairs, and deſires ſhe wou'd 'haſten the Succours from *Germany*.' From this and ſeveral other Pieces it may be infer'd, that *Elizabeth* was properly the chief Perſon that gave Motion to the Succours which came to the King from *Germany*.

15. ANOTHER from *Henry* IV. to the Earl of *Stafford*; dated *May* 6. 1590. at the Camp of *Rozenay*. 61.

'HE gives the Queen Information that the '*Spaniſh* Fleet is ready to ſail from the *Groyne*, 'and prays her to ſend a Fleet to take care of '*Bretagne*.

16. A Letter from Sir *Francis Drake* to the Prince of *Dombes*; dated the Ides of *November* 1590. Drake's *to the Prince of* Dombes. 85.

'HE deſires that he wou'd let him know 'what Progreſs the *Spaniards* have made in '*Bretagne*.

17. THE Prince of *Dombes*'s Anſwer to *Drake*. *The Anſwer.* 86.

'HE acquaints him that the *Spaniards* had 'taken *Blavet*, and were beſieging *Hennebond*.

18. A Memorial of Sir *Roger Williams*. *Memorial of Sir* Roger Williams. 88.

'HE ſhews by the State of the Kingdom of '*France* that the Queen is concern'd in Intereſt 'to ſave *Bretagne*, and to ſend 8000 Men into 'that Province or the *Netherlands*, to give a 'Diverſion to the Duke of *Parma*.

19. CREDENTIALS for *Edmund York* ſent into *France*: As alſo his Inſtructions; dated at *Richmond Jan.* 30. 1591. York's *Credentials and Inſtructions.* 89.

THESE Inſtructions relate chiefly to *Bretagne*; and among other things, *York* had Orders to

Q. *Eliz.* to preſent certain Articles to the King, mention'd in the following Anſwer.

Henry IVth's *Anſwer.* 92. 20. THE King's Anſwer to the Articles preſented by Mr. *York*; dated at the Camp before *Chartres, March* 4. 1591.

ARTICLE 1. *What Forces will the King join to the* Engliſh? *At what place are they to join? At what Port ſhall the* Engliſh *land?*

Anſwer. THE King deſires 3000 Men, and propoſes to have as many there himſelf. The Deſcent may be at *Breſt*, *Graveling* or *Cherburg*, at the choice of the *Engliſh*.

ARTICLE 2. *What Orders ſhall be given to furniſh them with Proviſions, and at what Price?*

Anſwer. The *Engliſh* ſhall be treated in the ſame manner as the *French*. But as to Beer, ſince the Country does not afford any, it will be neceſſary perhaps to ſend for ſome from *England*.

ARTICLE 3. *What Port or Harbour ſhall be allow'd that is fit to receive Ships of* 200 *Tuns?*

Anſwer. Becauſe the Queen has ſignify'd her Inclination to ſend 25 or 30 large Ships, on condition of being reimburs'd, the King offers the Port of *Breſt*, with the Town and Territory, for the *Engliſh* to retire to, but not the Caſtle, for fear of offending the Roman Catholicks. That he thinks the Port of *Relanor* to be very convenient, which he offers to allow if it can be retaken, and conſents that this ſhall be the firſt Enterprize.

ARTICLE 4. *What ſecurity will the King give to reimburſe the Expence of raiſing, tranſporting and paying the Troops?*

Anſwer. THE King has ſent a full Power to *La Nocle* his Ambaſſador in *England*, to ſettle this.

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this Article, and to ſign all Obligations and Contracts. *A.* 1591.

21. INSTRUCTIONS to Sir *Roger Williams*, ſent to *Diep* with 600 Men for the ſecurity of that Place. *Inſtructions to Sir* Rog. Williams *ſent with a Reinforcement to* Diep. 94.

THE chief point of theſe Inſtructions is, that *Williams* ſhall not expoſe the *Engliſh* Troops, unleſs the *French* have an equal ſhare in the Danger, at leaſt out of the Town.

22. *HENRY* IVth's Letter to *Elizabeth*, deſiring Succours; dated *May* 21. 1591. at *Buhy*. Fr. *King's Letters to* Elizabeth *deſiring Succours.* 96.

23. ANOTHER which he ſent to her with *M. de Reaulx*: dated *June* 3. 1591. at *Budely*. 98.

HE gives her an Account of the taking of *Louviers*. He deſires her to leave *Williams* in *France*, and to reinforce his Regiment. He tells her that he did not inſtruct his Ambaſſador to deſire that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhou'd command the 4000 Men; but that knowing what a great Eſteem ſhe has for that Lord, he ſhou'd be very glad if ſhe wou'd pleaſe to make that Choice.

24. A Treaty betwixt *Henry* IV. and *Elizabeth*; dated at *Greenwich*, *June* 25. 1591. *His Treaty with* Elizabeth. 102.

The ARTICLES.

1. THAT upon the Queen's ſending 3400 Men into *Normandy*, beſides the 600 already there under the Command of *Williams*, the King undertakes to be at all Expence for the raiſing, tranſporting, and paying the Soldiers, Officers, and General, according to the Bill ſign'd by the Commmiſſioners of *France* and *England*.

2. THAT as to the Pay of thoſe 4000 Men, and of the 3000 that are to be ſent into *Bretagne*,

Q. *Eliz.* *tagne*, and the other Sums which the King owes to the Queen upon ſundry Bonds; the King conſents that the Queen ſhall enjoy the Revenues of *Roan* and *Havre-de Grace* when thoſe two Places are re-taken, till the whole Debt is paid.

3. THE King promiſes to pay the *Engliſh* Troops every Week, after they have ſerv'd two Months, and on Failure thereof, they ſhall be at liberty to go back.

4. THE King obliges himſelf to get theſe Articles, touching the Money, ratify'd by the Parliament and the Chamber of Accompts ſitting at *Tours*.

Inſtructions to Sir Henry Unton, 103.

25. INSTRUCTIONS to Sir *Henry Unton*, going Ambaſſador to *France*; together with the Credentials, dated at *Greenwich* in *July* 1591.

'There is nothing of very great Importance 'in theſe Inſtructions; only the laſt Article im-'ports, that the Queen having Information 'that the King of *France* neglects his Proteſtant 'Subjects, and beſtows all the Governments 'upon the Catholicks, if the Ambaſſador finds 'it true, he ſhall take an Opportunity to talk 'to the King about it in her Name.

26. THE Lord Treaſurer *Burghley*'s Letter to Sir *Henry Unton*, dated *Auguſt* 3, 1591. at *Eaſthorſley*.

'HE tells him, that the Queen having heard 'that the King's Troops had quitted *Bretagne*, 'has given Orders to *Norris* to draw off his 'Troops towards the Sea-Coaſt in order to 'put them on board Ships which ſhe will ſend 'him. He adds, that he ſees no way to hin-'der it, unleſs the King ſpeedily ſend Suc-'cours into *Bretagne*.

Elizabeth's Letter to Hen. IV. III.

27. *ELIZABETH*'s Letter to *Henry* IV. without a Date.

SHE

SHE reproaches him with having abus'd her by drawing her into a Treaty, whereby she was to send him 4000 Men into *France* on pretence of besieging *Roan*, and that afterwards he trifled away the time in the Siege of *Noyon*. She tells him frankly, that the Delay of his most urgent Affairs has done him more harm than the Activity of his Enemies, and gives him some Instances of it. Lastly, she declares that for the future she will keep her Troops for a better purpose, and that she is not in a Humour to expose them, merely to do a Pleasure to the common Enemy. *A.* 1591.

28. A Memorial presented by Sir *John Norris* to the Prince of *Dombes*, containing the Reasons why he cannot consent to let the *English* Troops go out of the Lower *Bretagne* into the Upper; dated *Aug.* 15. 1591. *Sir* John Norris's *Memorial to the Pr. of* Dombes 112.

29. A Letter from the High-Treasurer to Sir *Henry Unton*, dated from the Court at *Cowdrain*, *Aug.* 18. 1591. *Treasurer's Letter to* Unton, 104.

'THIS Letter contains the Complaints 'of the Queen for the Non-performance of the 'Treaty, and imports her Resolution to recal 'her Troops, if the King does not send the 'Succours into *Bretagne*.

30. THE Queen's (Expostulatory) Letter to *Henry* IV. without any Date. *Queen's Letter to* Hen. IV. 116.

'SHE therein tells him without any Ceremo- 'ny, that if the Prince of *Dombes* leave *Bre- 'tagne*, the *English* shall not stay there an Hour 'after him; and that she will not sacrifice her 'Troops, if that Prince does not stay in *Bre- 'tagne*, and if he has not a greater Force.

31. OTHER Letters from the Queen and the High-Treasurer, to the Ambassador, upon the same Subject; dated from *Chichester*, *Aug.* 22. 1591. *Others from the Queen and the Treasurer*, 117.

Q. *Eliz.* 32. THE Challenge which Sir *Henry Unton*, the Queen's Ambaſſador, ſent to the Duke of *Guiſe*.

Unton's Challenge of the D. of Guiſe, 118.

'THE Duke of *Guiſe* having revil'd Queen *Elizabeth*, *Unton* gives him the Lye, and challenges him to a Duel, either on Foot or on Horſeback, with what Arms he ſhall think fit. He tells him that he is deſcended of as good a Family as himſelf; that he had already ſent him two ſuch Challenges before, but never had any Anſwer; and that if he does not anſwer this, he will proclaim him every where for a Poltron.

Treaſurer's Letter to Unton, 119.

33. A Letter from the High-Treaſurer to *Unton*, dated *Sept.* 2. 1591. at *Litchfield*.

'HE tells him that the Queen is very much diſſatisfy'd with the Earl of *Eſſex* for leaving the Camp to follow the King; and that if his Majeſty does not make it appear which way he ſhall be able to pay the *Engliſh* Troops, at the end of the two Months, ſhe will recal them.

Others, 120, 121.

34. ANOTHER upon the ſame Subject, dated *Sept.* 13. 1591. from the Court at Sir *Harry Wallop*'s near *Baſing*.

35. ANOTHER from the Treaſurer to the Ambaſſador; dated the 20th of the ſame Month, at *Odyham*.

'He tells him that the Queen is diſpleas'd with him for not having oppos'd the Journey which the Earl of *Eſſex* undertook to go and confer with the Marſhal *de Biron*, when he travell'd nine Leagues to the Marſhal's three Leagues, and at a time when the Marſhal had broke his word. That in order to pacify the Queen, there was an abſolute Neceſſity for the Earl of *Eſſex* to return to *Eng-*

'*land*

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'*land*, and leave *Leighton* to command the 2500 Men that are to remain in *France*. *A* 1591.

36. THE Queen's Letter to *Unton*, dated *Sept.* 26. 1591. at *Sutton* near *Guildford*. *Queen's Letter to Unton*, 122.

'SHE acquaints him of her Diſſatisfaction at the Conference which the Earl of *Eſſex* had with the Marſhal *de Biron* about the Siege of *Gournay*; that it was directly contrary to her Orders; that ſhe diſapproves alſo of the Ambaſſador's Journey to *Louvieres*, to make his Compliments to the King at a Juncture when ſhe has ſo much Cauſe to complain of him. She orders him to retire to ſome place near *Roan*, that if the King came thither he may go to him; and that if he behave otherwiſe ſhe will recal him.

37. THE High-Treaſurer's Letter to *Unton*, dated *Sept.* 24. 1591. at *Farnham*. *Another to him from the Treaſurer*, 123.

'He ſays that the Queen has not alter'd her Purpoſe; that ſhe is determin'd to recal her Troops, becauſe the King has not kept his word, and given no Aſſurance how they were to be paid at the end of the two Months; that ſhe has order'd the Earl of *Eſſex* to return to *England*; and that all his Friends ſhould exhort him to Obedience. That upon Advice that *Unton* intended to go and wait upon the King at *Louvieres*, ſhe had order'd Letters to be diſpatch'd for his Recal. That if he was already at *Louvieres*, ſhe commanded him immediately to leave the Place, being unwilling that her Ambaſſador ſhould do Honour to a Prince who abus'd her. That to heighten the Queen's Diſpleaſure, the Ambaſſador of *France* has preſented a Memorial, requiring that the Earl of *Eſſex* with his Forces might follow the King into *Champagne*, a

Q. *Eliz.* ‘ Demand which could not be made at a more ‘ unſeaſonable time.

Haqueville's *Letter to the Queen*, 124. 38. A Letter from M. *de Haqueville* to the Queen, dated at the Siege of *Gournay*, *Oct.* 4. 1591.

‘ He tells her that the Earl of *Eſſex* is at ‘ the Siege of *Gournay*, where he performs Won- ‘ ders; that her Ambaſſador is there alſo, and ‘ that if ſhe will pleaſe to ſend 2000 Men more, ‘ ſuch a Supply will very much advance the ‘ King's Affairs. That the King is expected ‘ with the Army from *Germany*.

Articles mention'd in Unton's *Inſtructions*, 125. 39. A Copy of the Articles formerly mention'd in the Inſtructions ſent to Sir *Henry Unton*. Vide *Pag.* 122.

Treaſurer's Letter to him, 126. 40. A Letter from the High-Treaſurer to *Unton*, dated *Oct.* 12. 1591. from the Court at *Richmond*.

‘ He tells him that the Earl of *Eſſex* being ‘ juſt ready to embark, the Queen has given ‘ him leave to return to his Poſt. That ſhe is ‘ ſtill very much diſſatisfy'd with the King for ‘ having broke his Promiſe with reſpect to the ‘ Siege of *Roan*, and not offering the leaſt ‘ thing to her in Excuſe; but that ſhe begins ‘ to be in a better Temper upon hearing that ‘ the *French* Ambaſſador is to communicate the ‘ King's Letters to her containing his Reaſons, ‘ which, ſays the Treaſurer, would have been ‘ more welcome at another time.

Another. 128. 41. Another from the Treaſurer to the Ambaſſador, dated *Oct.* 15. 1591.

‘ He ſays the Queen does by no means ap- ‘ prove of the King's Reaſons, which are mere ‘ Evaſions; and that to the end the King may ‘ not imagine ſhe will put up with ſuch Pleas, ‘ ſhe has order'd that the Reaſons of her Diſ- ‘ ſatisfaction be imparted to him. She com- ‘ mands

'mands him to repreſent to the King how ill 'he has kept his Word with reſpect to *Bre-* 'tagne. *A.* 1591.

42. A Letter from Sir *George Williams* to the Queen, without a Date. *Sir* Geor. Williams's *Letter to the Queen,* 131.

'TIS an Account of the Audience which 'he had of *Henry* IV. when, according to his 'Inſtructions, he ſignify'd to him the Queen's 'Complaints for delaying the Siege of *Roan*; 'as alſo of the King's Anſwers, who engages 'at laſt to undertake that Siege, and demand 'certain things of the Queen.

''TIS remarkable that when *Williams* ask'd 'the King which way he propos'd to pay the '*Engliſh* Troops according to his Engagement; 'the King was oblig'd to own that it was im- 'poſſible for him to do it, becauſe he had not '500 Crowns in his Coffers; that if the Queen 'recall'd her Troops, the *Germans* would alſo 'abandon him, and that it would be to no 'purpoſe to talk any more of the Siege of '*Roan*. He ſays moreover, that he confeſs'd 'himſelf guilty in ſeveral Articles, and that 'the Queen's Diſſatisfaction was a very ſenſible 'Affliction to him.

43. INSTRUCTIONS to *Thomas Grove*, employ'd to guard the Mouth of the *Seine* during the Siege of *Roan*. Grove's *Inſtructions,* 137.

44. LETTER from the High-Treaſurer to *Unton*, dated *December* 1. 1591. at *Weſtminſter*. *Treaſurer's Letter to* Unton, 137.

'HE acquaints him that there have been 'ſent to *Diep* 400 Pioneers, 50 Miners, 25 'Laſts of Gunpowder, and 7 Bands of old Sol- 'diers fetch'd out of the *Low Countries*.

45. THE Queen's Letter to the Prince of *Anhalt*, dated *Dec.* 3. 1591. at *Weſtminſter*. *Queen's to the Pr. of* Anhalt, 138.

Q. *Eliz.* ‘ She desires him to wait with Patience ‘ for the Money which the *French* King had ‘ promis'd for the Pay of the *German* Troops, ‘ and that he would continue to serve at the ‘ Siege of *Roan*.

The Treasurer's to Unton, 140. 46. A Letter from the High-Treasurer to *Unton*, dated *Dec.* 4. 1591. at *Westminster*.

‘ He tells him the Queen is very well pleased that he did not give the King nor the ‘ Prince of *Anhalt* hopes of any more Succours from her.

Another, 141. 47. Another from the Treasurer to the Ambassador, dated from the Court at *Whitehall*, *Dec.* 6. 1591.

‘ He tells him that the Queen will be at no ‘ further Charges for the King; that he will ‘ do well to admonish the King privately, not ‘ to press the Queen so importunately, and to ‘ have more respect for her; that the Queen ‘ has given the Earl of *Essex* leave to set out, ‘ but with Orders to return if there be no ‘ hopes of taking *Roan* in a reasonable time.

Letter from Eliz. *to* H. IV. 142. 48. Letter from *Elizabeth* to *Henry* IV. without a Date.

'Tis a very severe Letter, wherein she complains how much he has abus'd her by trifling Promises.

The Treasurer's to Unton, 143. 49. Letter from the High-Treasurer to *Unton*, dated *Dec.* 15. 1591. from the Court at *Westminster*.

‘ He tells him that the Queen is vex'd with ‘ him for his having so much press'd the Succours desir'd by the King of *France*; that she ‘ suspects him to have a secret Understanding ‘ with the Earl of *Essex*, and the Earl with ‘ the King; that she thinks it very strange that ‘ the King should demand 5000 Men of her to ‘ give Battle to the Duke of *Parma*, who is to ‘ be

'be in a Fortnight near *Roan*; as if it was 'poſſible for 5000 Men to be ready in ſo ſhort 'a Space of time, and in the midſt of Winter. 'That ſhe does not care that the Earl of *Eſſex* 'ſhould take on him the Command of ſuch a 'ſmall Number of Troops, and that ſhe was on 'the Point of recalling him. *A.* 1591.

50. LETTER from the Council to *Unton*, dated *Dec.* 23. 1591. from the Court at *Whitehall.* *Council's Letter to Unton*, 146.

'THEY require him to adviſe the Earl of 'Eſſex to return ſpeedily to *England*, and to 'ſollicit the King to give him the ſame Ad- 'vice.

51. A Memorial containing the Queen's Reaſons for ſending no more Troops to *Normandy*. *Queen's Reaſons for ſending no more Troops to Normandy*, 149.

'THESE Reaſons are founded intirely on the Complaints already mention'd.

52. NEW Conventions concerning *Bretagne*. *Conventions about Bretagne*, 151.

'THE Queen being inform'd that the King 'is treating of a Peace with his rebellious Sub- 'jects, agrees to ſend Succours into *Bretagne* 'and *Normandy* as ſoon as ſhe has Aſſuran- 'ces,

'THAT the King will make no Peace, un- 'leſs his Subjects oblige themſelves to aſſiſt 'him to drive the *Spaniards* out of *France*; or 'at leaſt not to give them any Succours.

'THAT ſhe ſhall be included in the Peace.

'THAT after theſe Aſſurances, and after the 'King has ſent 2000 Foot and 1000 Horſe into '*Bretagne*, and when the *United Provinces* are 'ready to ſend the Succours thither which they 'have promis'd, ſhe will then give Orders that 'the Number of *Engliſh* in that Province be aug- 'mented to 4000.

Q. *Eliz.* ‘ That before the *Engliſh* are tranſported, the King ſhall engage to give them a ‘ Sea-Port, and a wall'd Town, for the conveniency of retiring thither, and ſending for ‘ Recruits.

‘ That the King ſhall have 4000 Foot, ‘ and 1000 Horſe in *Bretagne*.

‘ That 7 pieces of Cannon with Powder and Ball which lye at *Diep*, ſhall be tranſported into *Bretagne*.

‘ That within 4 Months, the King ſhall ‘ engage to reimburſe the Queen in a Year's ‘ time for thoſe 4000 Men, and for the Cannon ‘ and Ammunition.

Queen's Letter to Unton. 154.

53. A Letter from the Queen to *Unton*; dated *Feb.* 19. 1592. at *Weſtminſter*.

‘ She acquaints him that ſhe has given Orders to ſend 1600 Men into *France*; and bids ‘ him deſire the King in her Name to ſpare ‘ the *Engliſh* Troops more than he has done.

The Treaſurer's to Unton. 156.

54. Letter from the High Treaſurer to *Unton*; dated *March* 13. 1592.

‘ He ſays that the Queen is very much diſpleas'd with the King upon account of *Roan*, ‘ and *Bretagne*; and that ſhe is ſending *Wilkes* ‘ into *France* with Inſtructions, which he has ‘ Orders to communicate to him the Ambaſſador.

Another from the Queen. 157.

55. A Letter from the Queen to *Unton*; dated at *Weſtminſter*, *March* 16. 1591.

56. A Memorial preſented to the Queen by an Envoy of the Duke *de Montpenſier*.

‘ He demands 5000 Men, and promiſes ‘ great things. But it does not appear that ‘ this Memorial was very much regarded.

H. IVth's *Letter to the Ambaſſador of* England. 159.

57. A Letter from *Henry* IV. to the Ambaſſador of *England*; dated *March* 28. 1592. from the Camp before *Roan*.

‘ He

'HE deſires him to ſollicit Succours from *A.* 1592.
'*England*, conſidering the Duke of *Parma*'s
'Deſigns that were diſcover'd by intercepted
'Letters.

58. A Letter from *Henry* IV. to the Queen; dated from the Camp at *Varycarnille May* 1. 1592. *To the Q.* 160.

'HE acquaints her of the Advantage he
'gain'd over his Enemies at *Yvetot*, and ſays
'that they cannot avoid a Battle.

59. INSTRUCTIONS to *Burnham* who is to conduct 2000 *Engliſh* Foot, and 100 Horſe from the *Low Countries* to *France*. *Inſtructions to* Burnham. 161.

60. A Letter from the Prince of *Dombes* to the High Treaſurer; dated *May* 26. 1592. at *Vittre*. *Letter from the Prince of* Dombes *to the Treaſurer*. 164.

'HE tells him that he has been defeated by
'the Duke of *Mercœur*, and demands a freſh
'ſupply.

61. A Letter from the High Treaſurer to *Unton*; dated *May* 29. 1592. *From the Treaſurer to* Unton. 165.

''TIS relating to the ill News which came
'from *Bretagne*. He tells him that he had ra-
'ther *Paris* and *Roan* were never recover'd
'than that *Bretagne* ſhou'd be loſt.

62. ANOTHER from the Treaſurer to the Ambaſſador; dated *June* 6. 1592. *Another.* 166.

'HE tells him that the Queen is ſending
'Arms and Money into *Bretagne*, and orders
'him to inſiſt upon the demand of a Sea-
'Port.

63. THE Queen's Anſwer to the Memorial preſented by *M. de Sancy*, the Ambaſſador of *France*. *The Q.'s Anſwer to the* French *Ambaſſadors Memorial.* 167.

'THAT ſhe hears the King is treating with
'his rebellious Subjects, and that he is willing
'to reſtore them all their Governours. That
'if, as 'tis affirm'd, they demand that the

Q. *Eliz.* 'King of *Spain* be included in the Treaty, 'ſhe does not conceive for what Reaſon ſhe 'ought not to be included in it likewiſe.

'As to the Demand of 6000 Men, and 100 'Horſe for the Service of the Artillery of *Bre-* 'tagne, and of 1200 Men to follow the King 'into the *Iſle of France*, of 8 or 10 Men of 'War to ſerve in the *Garonne*, and all this at 'the Queen's Expence, ſhe thinks it ſo ſtrange 'that ſhe cou'd not have believ'd it came from 'the King, if *M. de Sancy* was not ſufficiently 'authoriz'd to make it.

English *Commiſſioners Anſwer.* 168.

64. THE Anſwer of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners to the Memorial of the Ambaſſador of *France*.

'THIS Anſwer contains the Conditions 'upon which the Queen offers to ſend 4000 'Men into *Bretagne*, which are almoſt the 'ſame with thoſe in the Conventions con- 'cerning *Bretagne* in *P.* 151. of this Vol. of 'the *Fœdera*.

Sir John Norris's *Inſtructions.* 173.

65. INSTRUCTIONS for Sir *John Norris*.

'SIR *John Norris* having propos'd to the 'Queen to ſend 1000 Men more to *Bretagne*, 'beſides the 4000, on Condition whereof he en- 'gag'd to make himſelf Maſter of a certain 'Sea-Port, and offering to engage for the 'Pay of the ſaid thouſand Men for two Months, 'the Queen agrees to it, and orders her Ships 'to favour the Undertaking. She alſo en- 'joins him to take Care that after the Expi- 'ration of the two Months, the King take 'upon him to pay the ſaid thouſand Men.

His Memorial of the State of France. 174.

66. A Memorial from Sir *John Norris* concerning the State of *France*.

'HE ſays that the Duke of *Parma* did not 'go from *Roan* with a deſign to abandon the beſieged

'besieged, but to meet his Reysters *, and gives A. 1593.
'his Reasons for it.

'HE doubts whether the King is in a condition to take *Roan*, and shews the sad Pass 'to which he will be reduc'd, if he is compell'd to raise the Siege, or if he cannot force 'the Duke of *Parma* to a Battle.

'THAT tho the King promise, yet 'tis not 'possible for him to send Succours into *Bretagne*, and that the Preservation of the said 'Province absolutely depends on the Queen's 'assistance.

67. THE Reasons given to the Queen's Privy Council to the Ambassadors of *France*, why she desires to be excus'd for the future, from giving any Succours to the King of *France*; dated in 1593. *Reasons for sending no more Succours to the* French K. 194.

'AS this Piece is very long, I shall abridge 'it as much as possible. 'Tis necessary to take 'notice of it, because it contains a brief Summary of what the Queen had done for the 'King of *France*, and how she was all along 'requited for it.

'IN *September* 1589, Messieurs *de Beauvoir* 'and *de Fresnes* were bound for the King, to pay 'to the Queen 20000 *l. Sterling*, besides 2000 *l.* 'more, and 383 *l.* for Ammunition, amounting in the whole to 22383 *l.* which is still 'due.

'IN *October* following, the same Gentlemen 'engag'd for the Sum of 15700 *l. Sterling*.

'IN the Month of *May* 1590, there was another Obligation of Messieurs *de Beauvoir*, 'and *de Saldagne*, to pay in *November* following 'to the Lord Mayor of *London* 2100 *l.* which 'is still unpaid.

* THIS was the old word for the *German* Cavalry.

IN

Q. *Eliz.* ‘ In *Sept.* 1590, there was another from ‘ *M. de Beauvoir* for 10000 *l.* payable in *June* ‘ following.

‘ Moreover the Queen has ſent Ammu- ‘ nition and Artillery into *Normandy* to the ‘ value of 2600 *l.*

‘ ’Tis pretended that the King is inſol- ‘ vent, but he has punctually paid the other ‘ Foreigners in his Service.

‘ The *Engliſh* have never had any Place ‘ of Retreat in *France*, tho it has been often ‘ promis'd, which has occaſion'd the Deſtruc- ‘ tion of great Numbers of her People.

‘ The King engag'd himſelf to pay the ‘ 4000 *Engliſh* two Months after their arrival ‘ in *France*, which he has not perform'd; and ‘ thoſe Troops are ſtill left to be paid by ‘ the Queen.

‘ It ought to be remember'd how long the ‘ Earl of *Eſſex* and his Troops remain'd in the ‘ Neighbourhood of *Diep*, without being em- ‘ ploy'd, tho the King had promis'd to begin ‘ the Siege of *Roan* immediately after their ar- ‘ rival. By that means the Duke of *Parma* had ‘ time to march into *France*, and to cauſe the ‘ Siege of *Roan* to be rais'd.

‘ In the Month of *June* 1592, new Con- ‘ ventions were made, and the Queen was ‘ pleas'd to engage her ſelf to ſend 4000 Foot, ‘ and 1000 Horſe into *Bretagne*, as ſoon as ſhe ‘ ſhould be inform'd that the King had ſent ‘ 2000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe thither, and that ‘ the States of the *United Provinces* had ſent thi- ‘ ther the Quota they had promis'd; but it was ‘ on Condition that the King ſhou'd pay thoſe ‘ Troops, and allow them a wall'd Town to ‘ retire to. But the Queen having ſent her ‘ Troops before the King had made good his

‘ Promiſe,

'Promiſe, ſhe cou'd never ſince obtain the *A.*1593.
'place of Retreat as promis'd her, tho the
'King had it in his Power.

'THE Queen having ſent freſh Troops 'ſince that time, as well from *England* as from 'the *Netherlands* to ſerve in *Bretagne*, they have 'been forc'd to reſide in *Normandy*, *Anjou* and '*Maine*. The Duke *d'Aumont* did not go in-'into *Bretagne* with 4000 Foot, and 1000 'Horſe, nor did the *Sieur de St. Luc* repair 'thither as was promis'd. By that means the '*Engliſh* Forces were oblig'd to quit *Bretagne*, 'and to retire to the neighbouring Countries, 'to wait for Orders from the Duke *d'Aumont*. 'Conſequently, all this Expence has prov'd to 'no purpoſe.

'THE Ambaſſador of *France* having no-'thing to alledge againſt theſe Facts, he is 'deſir'd that for the future, care be taken ei-'ther to make no Promiſes at all, or elſe to 'ſee them better obſerv'd.

68. The *French* Ambaſſador's Letter to *Henry* IV. dated *March* 18. 1593. at *London*. Fr. *Ambaſſador's Letter to his Maſter.* 199.

'HE acquaints him that the Queen being 'inform'd that the King's Deſign was only to 'block up *Roan*, ſhe has given Orders to *York*, 'at the Peril of his Life, not to put his Troops 'aſhore till he is certain that *Roan* is beſieg'd.

69. LETTER from the Duke of *Main* to *Guyonelle*; dated *March* 21. 1593. from the Camp at *Noyon* on the Sea. *Duke of Main's to Guyonelle.* 199.

'HE commands him to come and join him 'with all the Troops of his Government, in 'order to give Battle.

70. A Narrative of a Conference between *Henry* IV. and ſome Princes, *&c.* about the Hugonots. *Conference about the Hugonots.* 210.

'THE

Q. *Eliz.*

'THE King in this Conference eſpous'd the 'part of the Hugonots, and ſpoke ſharply 'to the Cardinal *de Bourbon* on that Head.

'AFTER this, we meet with no other im- 'portant Act in this Period relating to *France*. 'Tis ſurprizing that we don't find the offen- 'ſive and defenſive Alliances concluded in '1595 and 1596.

ARTICLE III.

Elizabeth's *Affairs with the* United Provinces.

E. of Leiceſter *complain'd of by the States, and recall'd by the Queen.*

THE Earl of *Leiceſter*, to whom the States of the *United Provinces* had given more Power than the Queen wiſh'd, ſoon abus'd that exorbitant Grant. He aim'd to make himſelf abſolute Lord of the Country, by ſeizing the greateſt Towns all at once, as the Duke of *Anjou* had done before him. This View of his being timely diſcover'd, was the reaſon that, upon the Complaint of the States, the Queen recall'd him, and appointed *Peregrine Bertie*, Baron of *Willoughby*, to ſucceed him. But he was not truſted with ſo large a Power as the Earl of *Leiceſter* had *.

Her Union with the States.

FROM that time to the Year 1595, nothing conſiderable occur'd in the Tranſactions betwixt the Queen and the States, who maintain'd a good Union with each other; the States having always a great deal of Reſpect and Complaiſance for the Queen, tho at the ſame time they conſtantly maintain'd their Prerogatives and their Liberty with Vigor,

* MR. *Rapin* obſerves in his large Hiſtory, that he had no other Commiſſion than to command the *Engliſh* Troops.

as often as the Queen's Ambaſſadors, or her Commiſſioners who had admittance to the Council of State, offer'd to exceed the Limits of their Commiſſion. This good Underſtanding was a little diſturb'd in the Year 1595. *Henry* IV. having complain'd ſharply of the States, who, as he ſaid, had occaſion'd the Loſs of *Cambray*, and threatning to make a Peace without them, they thought it neceſſary to pacify him, by ſending him two Regiments, and a great quantity of Corn, and by lending him ſome Money. Upon this the Queen demanded the Money due to her from the States, and ſaid that ſince they had Treaſure enough to lend to the King of *France*, ſurely they had enough to pay their Debts. The States alledg'd in their behalf the Treaty they had made with her, by which they were not oblig'd to pay her till after the end of the War. She made anſwer, that this Article was only inſerted in the Treaty, becauſe it was not ſuppos'd they wou'd be able to pay her during the War; but that ſince they were rich enough to make Payments before the Peace, ſhe wou'd be paid now. This Affair bred ill Blood; but at laſt it was accommodated for the preſent, by an Engagement which the States enter'd into, to pay the *Engliſh* Troops for the future, and to eaſe the Queen of that Burden.

A. 1595. *K. of* Fra. *complains of them, who ſend him Men and Money.* *The Q. demands her Debt of them.* *An Accommodation for the preſent.*

NEVERTHELESS, in 1596, the Queen renew'd her Demand with more earneſtneſs; but having receiv'd Advice that the King of *Spain* was preparing to make a great Effort againſt *England*, ſhe by degrees drop'd it. *The Q. again demands Payment of her Debt.*

'TWAS in this very Year, that the Queen made a new offenſive and defenſive Alliance with

Q. *Eliz.* with *Henry* IV. into which the States enter'd, tho it was not without difficulty. The Queen inſiſted that they ought not to be included in it, as Sovereigns, but as aſſociate Towns under her Protection; and it was only owing to the preſſing Inſtances of the King of *France*, that ſhe relax'd upon this Article.

They are admitted into the Treaty betwixt England *and* Fran.

THE Peace of *Vervins*, which was concluded in 1598, without the Participation of the Queen or the States, oblig'd this Princeſs to take new Meaſures. The Point in Debate was, whether ſhe ought to make a ſeparate Peace with *Spain*, or to continue the War in Conjunction with the States. The firſt of theſe two Reſolutions wou'd have been eaſy to form, and put in Execution. *Philip* wou'd undoubtedly have left the Queen a *Chart blanche* if ſhe had been inclin'd to have abandon'd the States: But the Conſequences of ſuch a Peace might have been fatal to *England*; for thereby the States wou'd have been forc'd to ſubmit to *Spain*, and the Queen wou'd have been left without Friends and without Allies, and expos'd to ſtand ſingly upon her own Defence, the firſt time that *Philip* ſhou'd be inclin'd to pick a Quarrel with her. She judg'd therefore without Heſitation, that it was her Intereſt to carry on the War, and to unite more ſtrictly with the States. But ſhe took care not to let them know her full Reſolution: on the contrary, ſhe caus'd a Repreſentation to be made to the States, that ſhe was not able to ſupport ſo heavy a War, and that ſhe had a ſtrong Inclination to a Peace. The States being alarm'd at this Declaration, made all poſſible Efforts to incline her to carry on the War. They were not in

The Q's reaſons for continuing the War with Spain.

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a condition to diſſemble as ſhe did, becauſe their All was at Stake, and that if they ſhou'd be abandon'd by *England*, they cou'd not avoid relapſing under the Dominion of *Spain*. *Elizabeth* did not deny that they were in great Danger, but this very Plea ſhe made uſe of to convince them that their Intereſt and not hers, was the point in queſtion. Conſequently, ſhe made them own that if the War ſhou'd be continu'd, it wou'd be only to maintain them in their Liberty. From thence ſhe infer'd that there was a neceſſity for a new Treaty upon this Principle; and it was not poſſible for the States to get off on't. Therefore a new Treaty was concluded, wherein all the Advantage was on the Queen's ſide, which was the whole that ſhe had in View from this Negotiation. *A.* 1596.

Her Treaty with the Dutch.

THE Death of *Philip* II. which happen'd about a Month after the ſigning of this Treaty, gave the Allies ſome Reſpite; and even the Court of *Spain* ſeem'd to wiſh for a Peace, becauſe the Archduke *Albert* caus'd it to be propos'd immediately after his return from *Spain*; but it appear'd afterwards that it was only a Snare to divide the Allies; and the Conference which there was at *Bruges* on this Subject, was to no purpoſe, or rather broke off as ſoon as it began. For the *Spaniards* having felt the Pulſe of the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries relating to a ſeparate Peace, and finding there was no room to expect it, inſiſted firmly on the Article of Precedency which *Spain* claim'd of *England*, and the Conference was quaſh'd before they were able to hold an Aſſembly for it.

THE

Q. *Eliz.* THE Acts in this XVIth Vol. of the *Fœdera* which relate to the *United Provinces* are theſe.

Patents for the Governments in the Netherlands. 2, 4, 5.

1. THREE Patents, for conferring, 1. The Government of *Fluſhing* and *Rammekins*, vacant by the Death of Sir *Philip Sidney*; upon Sir *William Ruſſel*; 2. That of the *Brill*, vacant by the ſurrender of Sir *Thomas Cecil*, upon *Thomas* Lord *Burghe*; and 3. The Poſt of Treaſurer of the *Engliſh* Army in the *Netherlands* on Sir *Thomas Shirley*. They are dated at *Weſtminſter* the *1ſt*, and *6th*, and *27th* of *February* 1587.

Prince of Friesland's Letter to the Qu. 6.

2. A Letter from the Count of *Eaſt-Frieſland*, to *Elizabeth*; dated *June* 15. 1587. at *Aurich*.

'HE complains in very ſtrong Terms, that 'he is perſecuted by the *Dutch*, who diſturb 'the Commerce of his Subjects, and plunder 'them, on pretence that he favours the *Spaniards*; 'which he diſowns, and accuſes them in his 'turn of furniſhing *Spain* with ſuch Merchan-'dize as it wants. He prays the Queen to 'protect him, *&c.*

Order for Protections in the Netherlands. 9.

3. AN Order to the Lord Chancellor to diſpatch all the neceſſary Protections for thoſe who ſerve in the *Netherlands* under the Earl of *Leiceſter*; dated *June* 26. 1587. at *Weſtminſter*.

Lord Willoughby's Patent. 13.

4. THE Patent for conferring the Command of the *Engliſh* Troops in the *Netherlands*, upon *Peregrine Bertie*, Baron of *Willoughby*, after the recal of the Earl of *Leiceſter*; dated *Nov.* 10. 1587. at *Weſtminſter*.

'THE Queen ſays, that ſhe has recall'd 'the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that he may be near 'her Perſon, and aſſiſt her with his Coun-'ſels.

5. AN

5. AN Order of Council to——, to make a general Muſter of the *Engliſh* Troops in the *United Provinces*, and to require the States to appoint Commiſſioners to aſſiſt therein; dated from the Court at *Richmond*, *Jan.* 4. 1590. *A.* 1590. *A Muſter of the Engliſh Forces in the Netherlands.* 31.

'THE Council ſends him certain Inſtruc-'tions, which he is to communicate to the 'Council of State, to the end that if they ſhall 'ſee Cauſe, they may add to them.

6. THE Anſwer of the States General to *Bodley*, the Queen's Counſellor there; dated as above at the *Hague*. *The States Anſwer to the Qu's Counſellor* Bodley. 33.

'THEY tell him they are extremely ſur-'priz'd at his Memorial, becauſe it is notorious 'that all their Reſolutions tend to the Wel-'fare of the Country. That they did not ex-'pect ſuch a Memorial from him, who has 'bound himſelf to them by an Oath. That 'the College of the States General is the chief 'College of the Republick, and that he ought 'to treat them with more reſpect. Finally, 'they declare to him by way of Advertiſe-'ment, that they act by virtue of the Power 'they derive from their Principals, and that 'they are not oblig'd to give an Account to 'any body of their Power or of their Affairs.

7. A Letter from the Miniſters of God's Word in *Weſt-Frieſland* to the Queen; dated in the Month of *January* 1590. *Letter to the Queen from the Miniſters of* W. Frieſland. 34.

'THEY congratulate her upon the De-'ſtruction of the *Spaniſh* Fleet.

8. THE form of the Oath to be taken by the Reformed Miniſters in the ſeveral Towns. *The Miniſters Oath.* 39.

9. THE Council of State's Remonſtrance to the States General; dated *Feb.* 20. 1590.

'IT relates to the Projects of the enſuing 'Campaign.

Q. *Eliz.* 10. A Memorial concerning the Government of the *United Provinces*; dated *Feb.* 28. 1590, at the *Hague*.

Memorial concerning the Government of the United Provinces. 44.

'TIS probable that this Memorial was penn'd by *Bodley*, who was very much incens'd against the States General.

'HE endeavours to ſhew that the Government of the *United Provinces*, ſuch as it was after the Departure of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, is contrary to the Treaty made with the Queen. He demonſtrates the Inconveniencies of it, and the Prejudice which both the Queen and the Country thereby ſuſtain; that the States General uſurp all the Authority. He inſinuates that the beſt way to remedy the whole, wou'd be to re-eſtabliſh the Authority of Lieutenant General, which the Earl of *Leiceſter* had, unleſs the Queen wou'd pleaſe, according to the Deſire of all good People, to accept of the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*.

Letter from the States General to the Q's Council. 50.

11. A Letter from the States General to the Queen's Council; dated *Feb.* 28. 1590. at the *Hague*.

'THEY complain of a Letter written by the Council to the Magiſtrates of *Fluſhing*, commanding them to permit certain *Engliſh* Merchants to ſend Cloths, *&c.* to be diſtributed, as well in the Cautionary Towns as in the others, without paying any Duty; to which the States ſay they cannot conſent, and they give their Reaſons for it. They complain alſo of an Order ſent to the Governour of the *Brille*, to detain during a whole Tide, all Ships that paſs by; againſt which they pray the Council to provide a Remedy, conſidering the Damage that the Merchants receive from it.

12. A

12. A Letter from the States General to the Queen; dated *March* 24. 1590. at the *Hague*. *A.* 1590. *Another to the* Q. 54.

'THEY remonſtrate to her, that a Year is 'already expir'd ſince they ſent Ambaſſadors 'to her to complain of the Injuries done to 'their Subjects by the *Engliſh*, to the value of '600000 Florins; and that tho the Queen 'promis'd to ſend ſome Perſon of Diſtinction to 'them, in order to ſettle that Affair with them, 'no body has come ever ſince that time; that 'the Merchandize has not been reſtor'd, and 'that the Depredations continue, for which 'they demand Satisfaction.

13. LETTER from the Council of *England* to ——; dated *April* 7. 1590. from the Court at *Greenwich*. *Letter from the* Engliſh *Council about* Oſtend. 55.

'THEY order him to requeſt the States to 'draw no more Companies from the Gariſon 'of *Oſtend*.

14. LETTER from the States General to the Council of *England*; dated *April* 30. 1590. at the *Hague*. *States Letter to the Council.* 57.

'THIS is an Apology from the States. 'Tis very apparent that *Bodley*, or ſome body 'elſe, endeavour'd to ſow Diſcord betwixt 'the Queen and the States. They wonder 'they have not yet ſeen any body from the 'Queen to regulate the Affairs of which they 'complain'd.

15. LETTER from the Council of *England* to *Bodley*, touching the Complaints of the States General; dated *May* 8. 1590. from the Court at *Greenwich*. *The Council's Letter to* Bodley. 61.

'THE Council returns nothing poſitive in 'Anſwer, but refer to the Perſon whom the 'Queen is to ſend. They ſay that the Death 'of Secretary *Walſingham* is the cauſe of the

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Q. *Eliz.* ‘ Delay, becauſe he had kept the States Let-
‘ ters without imparting them to the Council.

The Q's Letter about the Union of Groningen. 63.

16. A Letter from the Queen, authorizing *N*—— to promiſe her Protection to the City of *Groningen*, if the Citizens will ſhake off the Yoke of *Spain*, and join to the *United Provinces*; dated *May* 12. 1590. at *Greenwich*.

Philip *of* Spain's *Negotiation of a Peace with the* Dutch. 64.

17. *PHILIP* IId's Inſtructions to Don *Guillen de St. Clement*, for treating of a Peace with the *United Provinces*, under the Mediation of the Emperor; dated *May* 16. 1590. at *Aranjuez*.

‘ He ſays, for fear the Negotiation ſhou'd
‘ break off at the beginning, the Affair of Re-
‘ ligion ought to be poſtpon'd to the laſt, and
‘ that he muſt acquaint the Emperor that there
‘ is nothing to be abated on that Article.

Q's Declaration concerning the United Provinces. 66.

18. A Declaration by the Queen concerning the *United Provinces*; dated *May* 27. 1590. at *Greenwich*.

‘ She entirely diſavows thoſe who under
‘ pretence of doing her Service, have aim'd
‘ to ſow Diſcord betwixt her and the
‘ States, and declares that 'tis her Intention,
‘ that as well her Subjects, who are in the
‘ Service of the States, as thoſe of the States
‘ themſelves, ſhall obey the Government as it
‘ is eſtabliſh'd.

Q's Letter to Bodley *about* Wilkes. 72.

19. The Queen's Letter to *Thomas Bodley*, authorizing him to join with *Thomas Wilkes*, her Majeſty's Envoy in *Holland*, in the Affairs committed to his Charge; dated *June* 18. 1590. at *Greenwich*.

‘ Probably this *Wilkes* was the Perſon
‘ of Diſtinction ſo long expected.

Another about the States Demand for their Ships. 73.

20. The Queen's Letter to *Bodley* touching the Demands of the States for 44 of their Ships, which help'd to ſeize the *Germans* Corn

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in the *Tagus*; dated *June* 24. 1590. from the Court of *Greenwich*. *A.* 1598.

'THE Queen does not think the Pretensions of the States reasonable.

21. A Discourse upon the Importance of the City of *Groningen*, and how easy it wou'd be to take it without much Expence. *The importance of* Groningen. 74.

22. THE Queen's Letter to *Bodley* and *Wilkes*; dated *Aug.* 11. 1590. at the Court at *Otelands*. *Q.'s Letter in favour of Sir* Ed. Norris. 82.

'SHE orders them to recommend Sir *Edward Norris* to the States to be Governour of *Ostend*.

23. ANOTHER to the same Persons; dated *Sept.* 10. 1590. at *Windsor-Castle*. *Another*; 84.

'SHE orders them to press the States to make an Incursion into *Flanders* without delay, while the Duke of *Parma* is in *France*.

24. AN Allowance under the Privy Seal, of 40 Shillings a Day to *Thomas Bodley*, who is again sent to *Holland*; dated *May* 4. 1594. *Her Allowance to* Tho. Bodley. 241.

25. A Treaty betwixt the Queen and the States General; dated *Aug.* 16. 1598, and the Ratification of it by the latter; dated the 20th of *September* following. *Her Treaty with the States*. 340.

'THEY declare themselves Debtors to the Queen in the Sum of 800000 *l. Sterling*, and promise to discharge half of the Sum during the War, by paying 30000 *l. Sterling per Annum*. If a Peace be made before the entire Payment of the first 400000 *l.* the Payments to continue at 20000 *l. Sterling* only *per Annum*. And as to the Payment of the other half, it shall be settled after the Peace is made.

THERE are some other Conditions with respect to the Troops.

ARTICLE IV.

Elizabeth's *Affairs with* Scotland.

ALTHO the XVth Volume of the *Fœdera* extends no farther than to the Month of *November* 1586, and tho the Queen of *Scots* was not executed till *February* 1587, yet I mention'd her Death in the laſt Account of *Elizabeth*'s Affairs with *Scotland*, that I might not leave that Article imperfect.

James *of* Scotland's *Reſentment for the Execution of his Mother.*

IN 1587, immediately after *Mary*'s Death, *Elizabeth* ſent her Couſin *Carew* * to the King of *Scotland*, with a Letter, in which ſhe gave him to underſtand that the Sentence upon the Queen his Mother had been executed againſt her Intention. *James* fretted and fum'd to a degree, and ſeem'd reſolv'd upon the moſt deſperate Meaſures to take Revenge for the Queen his Mother: but his Paſſion was ſoon over; for *Elizabeth* found means to pacify him, firſt of all, by ſacrificing *Daviſon* the Secretary of State to him, whom ſhe accus'd, contrary to the Truth, of having exceeded her Orders by producing that which ſhe had ſent to him for Execution. It wou'd be too tedious to give all the particulars of this Affair. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay in a word, that the Queen drew the Secretary into her Snare, and that afterwards ſhe made him ſuffer dearly for his Obedience. This I take to be the greateſt Blot in *Elizabeth*'s Life. The ſecond Expedient ſhe made uſe of to pacify the King of *Scotland*, was to

Elizabeth's *Repreſentations to him.*

* HE was related to the Queen by her Mother *Anne Bolleyn*. This was *Robert Carew*, Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, who was Governour of *Berwick*.

get

get a Repreſentation made to him by his own Miniſters, whom ſhe had taken care to ſecure in her Intereſt, that if he fell out with her, he wou'd run a riſque of being for ever excluded from the Throne of *England*; whereas if ſhe ſaw him in a calm Temper, ſhe wou'd make it her Buſineſs to repair the wrong ſhe had done to the Queen his Mother, and wou'd ſecure the Succeſſion to him. *James* gave Ear to theſe Arguments, and from that time ſeem'd ſo eaſy that not a word more was ſaid of *Mary*'s Death. *A.* 1588. *He is pacify'd.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this, *Elizabeth* was ſtill miſtruſtful that the King of *Scotland* was ſecretly hatching a Revenge. This Suſpicion was conſiderably confirm'd in 1588, when the invincible Armada was juſt ready to make its appearance on the Coaſts of *England*. She apprehended that *James* wou'd ſuffer himſelf to be drawn away by the King of *Spain*, and ſhe thought ſhe had the more reaſon to fear it, becauſe ſhe knew that *Philip* II. had a Party in *Scotland*, and that this Party long'd for nothing more than to favour the Deſigns of the *Spaniards*. At this Juncture therefore ſhe ſent an Ambaſſador to the King of *Scotland*, to deſire him not to favour the *Spaniards*, and at the ſame time to aſſure him of her Affection, and of her deſign to procure the Crown of *England* for him after her Death. This very Ambaſſador actually gave the King hopes that the Queen wou'd grant him a conſiderable Penſion, but 'tis pretended that he made this Offer without the Queen's Order. One might eaſily judge from the Character of *Elizabeth*, that ſhe had given Orders to her Ambaſſador to offer as it were of his own accord, and without making any poſitive Engagement, whatever he ſhou'd Elizabeth *ſtill ſuſpects, and therefore careſſes him.*

Q. *Eliz.* think proper to hinder the King of *Scotland* from laying hold of this opportunity to revenge the Death of his Mother. Be this as it will, it appear'd that *James* had enter'd into no Engagement with *Spain*. He aſſur'd the Ambaſſador of it, and actually wrote a Letter to the Queen upon this Subject, with which ſhe was very well ſatisfy'd.

His Marriage negotiated.

In the laſt Account I gave of the Affairs of *Scotland*, by a mere Miſtake I was guilty of an Impropriety, in mentioning the Marriage of the King of *Scotland*, which was not concluded till 1589. But as I only touch'd it *en paſſant*, what I ſhall now add upon the ſame Subject, cannot be reckon'd as an unneceſſary Repetition.

The King of *Scotland* having a deſign to marry, in 1585 he caſt his Eyes upon the Princeſs, eldeſt Daughter of *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*. This Prince having had ſome ſecret Intelligence of it, ſent an Embaſſy into *Scotland*, on pretence of renewing the Alliance betwixt the two Kingdoms, in order to give King *James* an opportunity of propoſing this Marriage. But at that time the Earl of *Arran*, the King's Favourite, who had already been corrupted by *Elizabeth*, together with *Wotton*, Envoy from that Queen, who was become a ſort of Favourite too with the King, did all that was in their Power to ſow a miſunderſtanding betwixt the two Kings, to the degree even of affronting the *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors. Nevertheleſs *James* being better advis'd afterwards, treated the Ambaſſadors with more Civility, but did not mention one word to them about the Marriage. The Earl of *Arran* and *Wotton* acted by the Direction of *Elizabeth*, who wiſh'd to hinder the King's Marriage, at leaſt

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leaſt with an *Engliſh* Woman. And if we may believe *Melvil*, ſhe had actually form'd a Conſpiracy to have the King of *Scotland* deliver'd up to her, and 'twas with this Deſign that ſhe ſent *Wotton* to him. Tho the King had not propos'd his Marriage, yet he ſtill kept it in View. For not long after this, he ſent one of his Chaplains to *Copenhagen*, to thank the King for his Embaſſy, and to aſſure him that he wou'd quickly ſend him the like. The ſecret motive of this Meſſage was, that the Chaplain might ſee the two Princeſſes, Daughters to the King of *Denmark*, and make a report thereof to his Maſter. *A.* 1589.

THIS Affair ſpun out ſome time by the Artifices of Queen *Elizabeth*, who after the Fall of the Earl of *Arran*, drew in the Earl of *Maitland* the Great Chancellor, and moſt of the Members of the Council of *Scotland*, to her Party. Mean time as the King was abſolutely reſolv'd on this Marriage, they cou'd not avoid ſending an Embaſſy to *Denmark* to propoſe it. But the Power of the Ambaſſadors was ſo limited, that *Frederick* knew not what Judgment to make of a Propoſal ſo unauthoriz'd. At the ſame time, one * *Du Bard*, a *French* Poet, going to *Edinburgh* on ſome pretence or other, ſpoke to the King about Princeſs *Catherine*, Siſter to the King of *Navarre*. He prais'd her to the Skies, ſignify'd that ſhe wou'd be perfectly agreeable to the King of *Scotland*, and that he

* THE Name being ſpelt after this manner in *Melvil's* Memoirs. Mr. *Rapin* did not think fit to vary from his Author; but he is of Opinion that it ſhou'd have been *Du Bartas*, that celebrated Poet and Stateſman, who was actually ſent into *Scotland* by the King of *Navarre*, tho 'tis not certain whether it was that ſame Year. *De Thou.* Tom. 5. p. 100.

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Q. *Eliz.* did not doubt but it wou'd be eaſy to obtain her of the King her Brother. *James* being ſet on Fire by the Enumeration of *Catherine*'s fine Qualities, ſent the Lord *Tungland* (*Melvil*'s Brother) to the King of *Navarre*, on pretence of ſome Negotiation with the King, but on purpoſe that he might ſee her, and make his Report to him accordingly. *Melvil* will have it, that *Elizabeth* acquainted the King of *Denmark* of Lord *Tungland*'s being ſent to *France*. 'Tis certain however that the King of *Denmark* not reliſhing ſuch looſe Propoſals as had been made to him on the part of the King of *Scotland*, gave his eldeſt Daughter to the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

THIS did not diſhearten the King of *Scotland*, who, that he might not miſs his Aim a ſecond time, in the Year 1589, made a poſitive Demand on the King of *Denmark* for Princeſs *Anne*, his ſecond Daughter. *Frederick* agreed to it, on condition that he wou'd demand her by a ſolemn Embaſſy before the Month of *May*. But that Prince dy'd before the departure of the Embaſſy from *Scotland*, leaving his Crown to his Son *Chriſtian* who was under Age. Notwithſtanding *Frederick*'s Death, *James* did not deſiſt from his Project. But when he was pleas'd to propoſe to his Council the ſending of an Embaſſy to *Denmark*, it was repreſented to him, that he wou'd provoke *Elizabeth* to the laſt Degree, if he marry'd without acquainting her with the Match. Therefore he was under an abſolute Neceſſity to conſult the Queen, who did not fail, as the Council plainly foreſaw, to oppoſe the Marriage, and to repreſent the various Inconveniencies that attended it. At the ſame time ſhe propos'd the King of *Navarre*'s Siſter as a Match for the King, and offer'd

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fer'd to ſtand his Friend in the Courtſhip. The Queen's Anſwer being read in Council, there was not one of the Members but approv'd of it. Mean time the King who perceiv'd, no doubt, from whence all theſe Obſtructions came, ſet the Provoſt of *Edinburgh* at work, who rais'd a Sedition in the City, ſo that the Chancellor and Counſellors were threaten'd to be knock'd o'th' Head, if the King's Marriage with the Princeſs of *Denmark* was not forthwith concluded. Theſe Menaces oblig'd the Council to conſent to the King's ſending Ambaſſadors into *Denmark*. But, by the Artifices of the Chancellor, their Power was ſo limited, that when they arriv'd at *Copenhagen*, they found themſelves oblig'd to ſend the Lord *Donegal* to the King, to deſire his Majeſty either to recall them, or to grant them more ample Powers. This Envoy came to wait on the King at the very time when the Chancellor and moſt of the Miniſters were abſent. Conſequently the King taking hold of the Opportunity, diſpatch'd that Power with his own Hands which his Ambaſſadors deſired, and the Marriage was quickly concluded to his great Satisfaction. By this we may learn what an Influence Queen *Elizabeth* had in the King of *Scotland*'s Council. *A.* 1589.

NOT long after this, the new Queen was put into the Hands of the *Scots* Ambaſſadors, but as ſhe was on her Voyage to the King her Husband, a Storm forc'd her to put into one of the Ports of *Norway*. The Wind was contrary ſo long, that *James* impatient to ſee his new Bride, went on board a little Veſſel with a ſmall Retinue, and ſail'd to *Norway*, and ſtay'd the whole Winter either in that Country or in *Denmark*, without going to *Scotland* till *The King mtees his Bride in* Norway.

Q. *Eliz.* till the Month of *May* in the Year following, which was 1590.

When the King was return'd, he found his Kingdom as full of Diviſion and Trouble as ever. This Prince being extremely good natur'd, was eaſily wrought upon by thoſe in whom he plac'd his Confidence; and being moreover naturally inconſtant, he frequently chang'd his Miniſters and Favourites, juſt as he was impreſs'd by the different Parties that gain'd his Ear. There had been always two Factions in *Scotland*, that of *Elizabeth*, and that of the King of *Spain*. When the Queen's prevail'd, it kept the King in a ſtate of Bondage; as we have ſeen in the Affair of the Marriage. But it was the King's unhappineſs that he cou'd not get rid of this Yoke, without abandoning himſelf to the *Spaniſh* Party, which was much more dangerous. *Elizabeth*'s Aim was only to prevent ſuch Turns in *Scotland* as might be to her Prejudice; whereas the View of the *Spaniards* was to incenſe the King againſt the *Engliſh*, in order to be able to attack *Elizabeth* by the means of *Scotland*. Conſequently whenever the King diſcover'd any Byaſs for this Party, the Queen, or her Emiſſaries in *Scotland*, never fail'd to excite Troubles and Broils to oblige him to continue in the way, from which he diſcover'd an Inclination to depart.

His Character.

Parties in Scotland.

In the Year 1592, the Chancellor and the other Miniſters being of the *Spaniſh* Faction, Earl *Bothwel*, Son to a Baſtard of *James* V. who had been accus'd of Sorcery, and made his Eſcape from Priſon, undertook to make himſelf Maſter of the King's Perſon, alledging that his Miniſters kept him captive in his own Palace; and he narrowly miſs'd of executing his Deſign, for he was advanc'd with his Men as far

Attempts of Earl Bothwel *to ſeize the King's Perſon.*

far as the King's Chamber Door, to which he had ſet Fire, and he endeavour'd to break open the Door of the Queen's Chamber; but the King being timely aſſiſted, he was oblig'd to retire. After his Friends had procur'd him a Pardon for this Crime, he made a ſecond Attempt while the King was at *Falkland*. He had ſo good an Intelligence at Court, that he found means to repair on a ſudden to the Palace, where the King was oblig'd to barricade himſelf in his Chamber till Aſſiſtance came to him, when *Bothwel* and his Friends were forc'd to fly, and the Earl eſcap'd to *England*. I ſhou'd be loth to affirm that this was done by the Direction of *Elizabeth* or her Miniſters, but as the *Scots* Miniſtry at that Juncture was not in her Intereſt, 'tis highly probable that *Bothwel* hop'd to be ſupported either by the Queen her ſelf, or by the Party ſhe had in *Scotland*. *A.* 1593.

She is ſuſpicious of Scotland, and ſends an Ambaſſador to the King.

ELIZABETH taking Occaſion from thoſe Troubles, ſent an Ambaſſador to the King in 1593, to tell him that ſhe had certain Advice that the *Spaniards* were plotting ſome Miſchief in *Scotland*, in which they had engag'd the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Errol*; and that as this was what he cou'd not be ignorant of, ſhe deſir'd him to take ſpecial Care what Perſons he employ'd in his Councils, and to inform her of the Plots that were contriv'd againſt her in *Scotland*. *James* return'd a very ambiguous Anſwer to the Ambaſſador, and ſaid that ſince 'twas the Queen's deſire that he ſhou'd proſecute the Lords whom the Ambaſſador had mention'd, he expected that the Queen ſhou'd be at the Charge. He demanded alſo the ſurrender of *Bothwel* according to their Treaty, and ſoon after ſent an Am-

His Anſwer.

Elizabeth refuſes to ſurrender Bothwel.

Q. *Eliz.* Ambaſſador to her to demand him in form. The Queen reply'd that by the Treaty ſhe was not oblig'd to contribute to the Expence of any but a War againſt Foreigners. That as to the Rebels, it was at her Option according to the ſame Treaty, either to deliver them up, or to baniſh them out of her Dominions. That as *Bothwel* retir'd to *England* without her knowledge, and as ſhe knew not where he was, all that ſhe cou'd do was to forbid her Subjects to entertain him; which ſhe did afterwards by a Proclamation, and *Bothwel* being unable to ſtay longer in *England*, went and conceal'd himſelf in *Scotland*.

Bothwel gets a Pardon from the King.

But *Bothwel*'s Party ſoon after increas'd ſo much, by means of the Faction that oppos'd the Miniſters, that he had the Aſſurance to go to the King without being call'd, and falling at his Feet, humbly beg'd his Pardon. The King had no Intention to pardon him; but perceiving to his great ſurprize, that the whole Court, except his Miniſters, were of *Bothwel*'s Party, and that it wou'd not be an eaſy matter to arreſt him, he was forc'd to grant him his Pardon, on condition that he wou'd depart the Kingdom. *Bothwel* accepted the Condition, but he left ſo ſtrong a Party at Court, as well as in the Country, that the King was under an abſolute neceſſity to diſmiſs the High Chancellor, the High Treaſurer, and ſome others of his Miniſters. This was a ſort of Violence upon the King, but it did not hold long; for he aſſembled the States, and having declar'd to them that he had been forc'd to pardon *Bothwel*'s Crimes, he deſir'd them to ſupport his Authority, and to deliver him from the Yoke of Slavery which had been laid upon him. The States having declar'd for him

The Fall of his Party.

him he recall'd his Miniſters, and baniſh'd all thoſe of the oppoſite Party from Court. *A.* 1596.

MEAN time in order to give ſome Satiſaction to the People who were very much uneaſy with the Miniſters, and ſuſpected them to be contriving ſomething in favour of the R. Catholicks, the States made a Decree for confirming the Eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Religion in *Scotland.* But thro' the Intrigues of the Miniſters, this Decree was thought ſo uncapable of ſecuring the Religion, that it only confirm'd the People in their Suſpicions, who complain'd againſt the uſe of Lenitives at ſuch a Juncture as this, when it manifeſtly appear'd there had been a deſign to ſubvert the Religion; and that therefore the Authors of thoſe Conſpiracies ought to be proſecuted with Vigor. *Suſpicions of the K's Affection to the Papiſts.*

ELIZABETH being well inform'd of what paſs'd in *Scotland*, ſent the Lord *Zouchy* to the King, to ſhew him the Inconveniencies that might attend his neglect to puniſh, or rather the Protection he granted to thoſe, who aim'd at the Ruin of the Religion. The King anſwer'd at firſt after his uſual manner, that he wou'd do what was beſt for the Intereſts of his Kingdom, and that he wou'd actually proſecute the Lords whom the Queen ſuſpected, provided ſhe wou'd contribute to the Expence of the War. The Ambaſſador not being ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, and continuing to preſs him to do what the Queen deſir'd, he anſwer'd with ſome Paſſion, that the Queen had nothing to do to preſcribe to him after what manner he ſhou'd govern his Kingdom. At the ſame time he demanded that ſhe wou'd deliver up *Bothwel*, who was retir'd to *England.* *Q. ſends him an Ambaſſador.* *His Anſwer.*

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Q. *Eliz.*

ELIZABETH finding the King obſtinately reſolv'd to ſupport his Miniſters, and the *Spaniſh* Faction, did probably aſſiſt *Bothwel* in his Return to *Scotland*. Be this as it will, he put himſelf at the Head of 400 Men, and took *Leith*, a Place, about a Mile from *Edinburgh*, where he publiſh'd a Manifeſto, containing the very ſame things which the Lord *Zouchy* had repreſented to the King, *viz.*

Bothwel's *Return to* Scotland.

His Manifeſto, and appearance in Arms.

'That there was a *Spaniſh* Party in the Kingdom which aim'd at the Reſtoration of the Catholick Religion, and to incenſe the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*, in order to excite a War between the two Kingdoms. That the R. Catholicks were very much elevated, and caus'd Maſs to be ſaid in publick: That the *Spaniards* were on the point of invading the Kingdom, and that there was no poſſibility of avoiding the Evils threaten'd, but by delivering the King out of the Hands of thoſe pernicious Miniſters who were the Authors of thoſe dangerous Conſpiracies.' *James* was at no great Loſs to comprehend the true Cauſe of *Bothwel*'s Inſolence and Confidence. But that he might not ſeem to truckle to thoſe that had a mind to govern him, he rais'd Troops, march'd againſt the Rebel, and oblig'd him once more to retire to *England*. As ſoon as *Elizabeth* was inform'd of it, ſhe caus'd Proclamation to be made on the Frontiers, ſtrictly forbidding any Reception or Shelter to be given to *Bothwel*. This Proceeding gave the King an opportunity to be reconcil'd to her. He perceiv'd at laſt how much it was in her power to make him uneaſy, if he ſhou'd obſtinately perſiſt to favour her Enemies, and what a riſque he ran of loſing the Crown of *England*, if he did not alter his Courſe. Being

James *alters his Conduct.*

ing therefore reſolv'd to pleaſe *Elizabeth*, he chang'd his Miniſters, aſſembled the States, caus'd new Laws to be made in favour of the Proteſtant Religion, and a general Aſſociation was enter'd into in *Scotland* for maintenance of that Religion. Afterwards, the Lords of the Romiſh and *Spaniſh* Party were baniſh'd out of the Kingdom. *Elizabeth* was very well ſatisfy'd with all theſe Proceedings, and *Scotland* continu'd in Peace till the Year 1600, when the Sons of the Earl of *Gowry* who had been beheaded, form'd a Plot againſt the King, from which he only eſcap'd by a ſort of Miracle. But this does not fall in with my Subject, becauſe neither *England* nor *Elizabeth* had any Concern in it. *A.* 1601.

IN the Year 1601, the Earl of *Eſſex* having form'd a Conſpiracy againſt the Queen, wrote word to the King of *Scotland*, that the Queen's Miniſters, of whom *Cecil* the High-Treaſurer was the Chief, had a Project on foot to exclude him from the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*. He told him that it was Time that he ſhou'd demand by a ſolemn Embaſſy to be declar'd Preſumptive Heir and Succeſſor to *Elizabeth*, and that his Ambaſſadors ſhou'd be ſeconded. 'Tis not very clear whether the Deſign of the Earl of *Eſſex* was to place the King of *Scotland* upon the Throne of *England* before the Death of *Elizabeth*, but 'tis very probable that *James* thought ſo for theſe three Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe *Camden* who wrote the Annals of *Elizabeth* by that Prince's Order, has not decided this Point clearly, tho he might eaſily have known it. *Secondly*, King *James* when he came to the Crown of *England* call'd the Earl of *Eſſex* his Martyr. *Thirdly*, The Embaſſy which the Earl had deſir'd from

E. of Eſſex's *Plot againſt the Queen.*

Q. *Eliz.* *Scotland* arriv'd in *England*. But the Ambaſſadors being inform'd upon the Road, that the Earl of *Eſſex* had miſs'd his Blow, and that he was a Priſoner, took care not to ſay one word about the Succeſſion. The Queen tho very well inform'd, feign'd as if ſhe knew nothing of the matter, and the two Courts liv'd in a good Underſtanding till 1603, when the Queen on her Death-bed nam'd the King of *Scotland* for her Succeſſor.

The Acts relating to Scotland.

K. James's Letter to Elizabeth. 18. 1. A Letter from *James* VI. to *Elizabeth*; dated *Aug.* 4. 1588. at *Edinburgh*.

'HE offers her his Forces againſt the *Spaniards*. He thanks her for the Offers ſhe caus'd to be made to him by her Ambaſſador, and deſires her to put them ſpeedily in Execution. He adds that he does not propoſe to ſuccour the *Engliſh* as a foreign Prince, but as a Countryman and Natural Son of *Elizabeth*.

Her Anſwer. 18. 2. *ELIZABETH*'s Anſwer.

'SHE ſends a Gentleman to him to declare her Intentions, but does not ſay one word of the Offers. She tells him that the *Spaniſh* Fleet having been beaten, was drove by the Wind towards the Coaſts of *Scotland*, where ſhe hopes that the *Spaniards* will find no Favour; unleſs the *Scots* Lords who have promis'd them Protection in the King's Name be protected themſelves. She prays him not to ſuffer it, adding that he will thereby gain the Affection of the *Engliſh*.

Another of his Letters. 27. 3. A Letter from the King of *Scotland*, written probably to the Lord *Hunſdon*, Warden of the

the Marches of *England*; dated *Oct.* 2. 1589. *A.* 1590. at *Leith*.

'HE gives him an account of a Voyage he 'is going to make to *Norway*, and that he 'leaves Lord *Hamilton* in Charge to take care 'of the Peace of the Frontiers.

4. A Letter from the Council of *Scotland* to *Elizabeth*; dated *Nov.* 6. 1589. at *Edinburgh*. *From the Scots Council.* 28.

5. ANOTHER from the Council to the Queen; dated *Jan.* 2. 1590. at *Edinburgh*. 30.

'THE Tenor of theſe two Letters, is on- 'ly to aſſure the Queen of the Diſpoſition 'of the Council to ſee the Peace maintain'd 'upon the Frontiers, according to the King's 'Orders.

6. A Letter from the Council of *Scotland* to the Queen; dated *Jan.* 31. 1590. at *Edinburgh*. 36.

''TIS to inform her of the Advice brought 'by a *Scots* Ship from the *Canaries* of the great 'Preparations making in *Spain*.

7. A Letter from the King of *Scotland* in *Norway* to the Lords of his Council; dated *Feb.* 19. 1590. at the Caſtle of *Tronebrughe*. *K. of Scotland's Letter to his Council from Norway.* 41.

'THIS Letter contains ſome Orders for 'his Reception, when he arrives in *Scotland* 'with the Queen.

8. ANOTHER to the ſame, upon the ſame Subject; dated *March* 4. 1590. at *Copenhagen*. *Another.* 51.

'HE orders them moreover to retain in 'Priſon the 3 *Spaniards* who were taken with '*Colvill* their Pilot.

9. A Proclamation from the King of *Scotland* in favour of the *Danes* who have accompany'd the Queen. It has no Date. *Proclamation in favour of the Danes.* 59.

10. THE King of *Scotland*'s Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors who were ſent into *Germany*; dated at *Holyrood-Houſe*, *June* 9. 1590. *Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors in Germany.*

Q. Eliz. ‘ THESE Inſtructions tend to the advance-
‘ ment of the Proteſtant Religion.

K. of Denmark's *Anſwer to the* Scots *Ambaſſadors.* 81. 11. THE King of *Denmark*'s Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland*; dated *July* 29. 1590.

‘ HE ſays that he approves of the Prote-
‘ ſtant League, and that he will contribute
‘ what he can to the Succeſs of it.

Proclamations againſt Bothwel. 100. 108. 12. THE King of *Scotland*'s Proclamation againſt *Francis Bothwel.*

13. ANOTHER commanding the Inhabitants of the Marches to take Arms, and to repair to *Edinburgh* in order to march againſt *Hume* and *Bothwel*; dated *Aug.* 2. 1591. at *Edinburgh.*

Againſt Hume. 107. 14. A Proclamation by the King of *Scotland* againſt *Alexander Hume*; dated *July* 28. 1591. at *Edinburgh.*

Aſſociation of the Scots *Nobility.* 109 15. AN Aſſociation of certain of the *Scots* Nobility to remove from the King's Preſence Perſons of mean Birth that govern him. It has no Date.

‘ THE Names of thoſe confederated Lords
‘ are not ſubſcrib'd.

Hudſon's *Account of* Scotland. 148. 16. *JAMES Hudſon*'s Relation at his Return from *Scotland.*

‘ HE ſpeaks of the State of the Court of
‘ *Scotland*, of the Queen's Aſcendant over the
‘ King her Husband, of the Deſigns of *Both-*
‘ *wel* and others, of the King's Poverty. He
‘ gives a very mean Character of that Prince's
‘ Ability.

Peace of the Frontiers. 183. 17. ARTICLES propos'd by the Warden of the North Marches of *England*, for maintaining the Peace on the Frontiers.

Bothwel's *Apology.* 186. 18. A Declaration of the Earl of *Bothwel*, containing his Apology.

19. SEVE-

19. SEVERAL Depoſitions againſt the Earls of *Angus* and *Errol* touching their Correſpondence with *Spain.* *A.* 1593. *Depoſitions againſt* Angus *and* Errol.

20. INSTRUCTIONS from the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *Scotland* to *George Nicholſon* his Secretary when he ſent him to Court. 190 *to* 194.

'THE moſt material thing to be pick'd out 'of theſe Inſtructions, is that the Queen had 'an Underſtanding with *Bothwel*, and that ſhe 'endeavour'd to obtain a Permiſſion for him 'to ſtay in *Scotland.* Engliſh *Ambaſſador's Inſtructions to his Secretary in* Scotland.

21. A Petition of the general Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*, touching the Earls of *Huntley*, *Angus* and *Errol*, under Excommunication. 219. *Petition of the Church of* Scotland *touching ſome excommunicated Lords.*

22. THE King's Anſwer to ſeveral Articles of the Petition; dated *Oct.* 20. 1593. at *Edinburgh.* 222.

'IT appears by this Anſwer that the King 'favour'd the three Earls.

23. INSTRUCTIONS to the Lord *Zouchy* who is going Ambaſſador to *Scotland* in 1593. *Lord* Zouchy's *Inſtructions.* 225.

'THE King of *Scotland* being govern'd at 'that time by the *Spaniſh* Faction, had got the 'States to paſs a Decree, whereby the Earls 'of *Huntley*, *Angus*, and *Errol*, had Liberty to 'depart the Kingdom on condition of enjoying their Eſtates. The Queen thinking this 'Decree too favourable to the 3 Earls, and 'tending to introduce the *Spaniards* into *Scotland*, orders her Ambaſſador to impart the 'Reaſons of her Diſſatisfaction with it to the 'King. Theſe Reaſons ſhew how diffident 'the Queen was of the King and his Council.

'IF the King return an equivocal Anſwer, 'the Queen orders *Robert Bowes* her Ambaſſador in ordinary, to addreſs himſelf to the 'Council, and there to exhibit the Reaſons

'ſhe

Q. *Eliz.* ‘ ſhe has to complain of the King and his Miniſters, and of the Indulgence he gives on account of Religion. The Lord *Zouchy* is to add, that it muſt not be imagin'd that the Queen ſo little underſtands her own Intereſts as to ſuffer any Intrigues to be carry'd on in *Scotland*, for the bringing in of the *Spaniards* in order to attack *England* from that Country, and that ſhe will employ the means which God has put into her Hands to prevent it.

‘ If the King alledge that the Queen her ſelf made Sollicitation in favour of the three Earls, the Ambaſſador is to make Anſwer, that Sir *Robert Melvil* has miſreported her Words; that ſhe only ſaid that the King might pardon them if they acknowledg'd their Fault, and gave Sureties for their Behaviour in time to come; but not at the bare Interceſſion of their Friends.

529. 24. Other Inſtructions to the Lord *Zouchy*.

‘ He is order'd to endeavour to form a Party in *Scotland* againſt the King and his Miniſters, and to aſſure the Confederate Lords that they ſhall be ſupported by the Queen.

Lord Zouchy's Audience of the K. of Scotland.

25. The Lord *Zouchy*'s Account of his Audience and Conference with the King of *Scotland* in 1594.

230. ‘ The Ambaſſador complain'd that the King triſled with the Queen in the Affair of the three Earls, and the Chancellor reproach'd the Queen for protecting *Bothwel*. The King burſt out ſeveral times into a Paſſion, and ſaid that the Queen accompted of him no more than if he was her Lieutenant, and was to learn of her to go-

‘ vern

'vern his Kingdom. The Ambaſſador inti- *A.* 1594.
'mates that the King and the Council are
'very ill diſpos'd towards the Queen. He
'gives an Account of ſome ſecret Practices,
'and ſays that the Lord *Hamilton* has pro-
'mis'd to keep *Dumbarton* for the Queen,
'provided ſhe ſend him 100 Laſts of Gun-
'powder.

26. THE King's Proclamation againſt the Earls of *Huntley*, *Angus* and *Errol*; dated *March* 9. 1594. at *Edinburgh*. *Proclamation againſt the 3 Earls.* 238.

'THIS Proclamation is only a Conſe-
'quence of the Decree of the States above-
'mention'd, and favour'd the three Earls un-
'der pretence of puniſhing them.

27. THE King of *Scotland*'s Anſwer to the Ambaſſador of *England*. *King of* Scotland's *Anſwer to the* Engl. *Ambaſſador.* 240.

'HE ſays that he will proſecute the three
'Earls, on condition that the Queen will de-
'liver up *Bothwel*, or baniſh him from her
'Dominions, and furniſh him with ſome Mo-
'ney.

28. INSTRUCTIONS to *Robert Bowes* Ambaſſador in *Scotland* in 1594. *Inſtructions to* R. Bowes. 242.

'HE is to tell the King, that if the Queen
'perceive he acts ſincerely, ſhe will not refuſe
'him ſome Money: That ſhe will not pro-
'tect *Bothwel*, but that 'tis her Opinion he
'ſhou'd be let alone while the three Earls are
'proſecuted, for fear of giving them a Han-
'dle for their Defence.

29. INSTRUCTIONS for the King's Commiſſioners to the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland* in 1594. *Proceedings of the Commiſſioners to the general Aſſembly of the Ch. of* Scotland, 244.

30. PROPOSALS made by the Commiſſioners to the ſaid General Aſſembly.

31. THE Anſwer of the Synod of *Edinburgh*.

THESE 247, 248.

Q. *Eliz.* THESE three Acts having no Relation to the Affairs of *England*, I only direct to them.

A menacing Letter from the 3 Earls to the Magistrates of Aberdeen. 256.

32. A Letter from the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, and *Errol*, to the Magistrates of *Aberdeen*, threatning them with Fire and Sword, if they don't instantly deliver up 3 foreign Gentlemen of their Party lately come into *Scotland*. 'Tis dated *July* 19. 1594.

Locke's *Instructions for his Conference with* Bothwel. 257.

33. A Memorandum of what Mr. *Henry Locke* is to say to the Earl of *Bothwel* on the part of the Queen in 1594.

'HE is to tell him. 1. That the Queen 'does not approve of his disrespectful Behaviour to the King. 2. That she approves 'however of his Offers, and those of his Companions, to provide for the Security of the 'King, by opposing the Popish Lords; and 'that they may depend upon it she will not 'abandon them.

Baptism of the Prince of Scotland. 259.

34. INSTRUCTIONS to the Earl of *Sussex* who is going to *Scotland*, to be Surety in the Queen's Name, at the Baptism of the Prince the King's Son, *Anno* 1594.

'TWAS properly to inform him of what 'he should answer, in case any thing was said 'to him of the Affairs of *Bothwel* and the 3 'Earls.

263. 35. A Memorandum concerning the Celebration of the Baptism of the Prince of *Scotland*, on the 30th of *August* 1594, in the Chapel Royal at *Sterling-Castle*.

Notification of the King of Spain's *Design upon* England, 286.

36. THE King of *Scotland*'s Proclamation, informing his Subjects of the King of *Spain*'s Designs to attack *England*, and commanding them to hold themselves in a readiness to march; dated *January* 2. 1596. at *Holyrood-House*.

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37. A Narrative of the Affairs of *Scotland* by *Robert Bowes*, Ambaſſador in that Kingdom; dated in 1597. *A.* 1597. *Narrative of* Scots *Affairs.* 304.

'HE ſpeaks, 1. Of the Baptiſm of the 'Princeſs at *Holyrood-Houſe*, on the 28th of '*November* 1596. 2. Of the Earls of *Angus* 'and *Errol*, and intimates that a Conſpiracy 'is on foot to bring in Popery, and the *Spa*'*niards*, into the Kingdom, and that the King's 'Miniſters are in the Plot. 3. He gives a 'circumſtantial Account of the King's Dif'ferences with the Church of *Scotland*.

38. ARTICLES propos'd on the part of the King to the Synod of *Edinburgh* in 1597. *Proceedings of the Church at* Edinburgh 309, 310.

39. THE Synod's Anſwer.

40. ARTICLES propos'd to the Presbytery of *Aberdeen*. *And* Aberdeen. 310.

'THESE three Articles are capable of 'giving ſome Light into the Differences be'twixt the King and the Church.

41. THE Queen's Letter to Sir *William Bowes*, one of her Commiſſioners for Border Cauſes in *Scotland*; dated *April* 27. 1597. at *Weſtminſter*. *Q.'s Letter to Commiſſioner* Bowes. 312.

'SHE orders him to complain of the Out'rages committed by the *Scots* upon the Fron'tiers, and to tell the King that ſhe will take 'Meaſures to revenge the Injury done to her 'Subjects.

42. ANOTHER to *Robert Bowes* Eſq; her Ambaſſador in *Scotland*; dated the 7th of *June* following at *Greenwich*. *To Ambaſſador* Bowes. 318.

'SHE enjoins him to tell the King that ſhe 'will be trifled with no longer.

43. LETTER from the King of *Scotland* to *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1597. *K. of* Scotland's *Letters to* Elizabeth. 322.

'IT contains Excuſes for what had hap'pen'd on the Frontiers.

44. ANO-

Q. *Eliz.* 44. ANOTHER Letter from the King of *Scotland* to *Elizabeth*, in 1598.

336. 'HE returns Thanks to the Queen for all 'her Favours, and gives her Intelligence of the 'great Preparations making in *Spain*.

330. 45. ANOTHER from the King to the Queen, dated *July* 30. 1598. at his Palace of *Falkland*.

'HE vindicates himſelf from certain Calumnies forg'd againſt him, and prays the 'Queen to ſuſpend the Execution of the Slan'derer till ſhe hears from him.

Sir Will. Bowes *to the Queen.* 373. 46. A Letter from Sir *William Bowes*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary in *Scotland*; dated *May* 31. 1599. at *Edinburgh*.

'THIS Letter contains a Narrative of the 'Audience which the Ambaſſador had of the *Story of* Valentine Thomas. 'King of *Scotland*, 1. Concerning *Valentine* 'Thomas. We are able to collect from this 'Account that *Valentine Thomas* had inform'd 'the Queen of ſome Deſign of the King of '*Scotland* againſt her, and that he had offer'd 'to prove it at the Peril of his Life. The 'Queen not believing it, or feigning not to be'lieve it, got him accus'd of having ſlander'd 'the King of *Scotland*, but did not bring him 'to Trial. It looks as if the King was afraid 'of his being brought to a Trial, and that '*Valentine Thomas* would produce too ſtrong 'Evidence of what he had advanc'd. The 'Queen knew it well, but ſhe did not think fit 'to puſh the Affair, and only detain'd *Valen'tine* in Priſon. *James* at his Arrival in *London* 'in 1603. caus'd this Man to be hang'd.

2. 'THIS Narrative gives a particular Ac'count of the Complaints made to the King 'by the Ambaſſador, and of the Cauſe which 'the

'the King had given for thoſe Complaints by his Conduct. *A.* 1602.

'3. HE mentions the Efforts made by the *Spaniſh* and Popiſh Faction, and ſays that the honeſt Party is by much the moſt numerous.

47. A Letter from *Elizabeth* to the King of *Scotland*, *An.* 1602. Elizabeth *to the K. of* Scotland, 427.

'SHE thanks him for the Intelligence he gave her of the Preparations of the *Spaniards*, and for his Offers on that Head.

48. THE King of *Scotland*'s Credentials to the Queen for the Earl of *Mar*, and the Abbot of *Kinlos*, his Ambaſſadors, dated *Feb.* 18. 1602. at *Holyrood-Houſe*. *Credentials of his Ambaſſadors*, 427.

'THE Execution of the Earl of *Eſſex* was on the 25th of *February*, which was probably before the *Scots* Ambaſſadors Arrival at *London*.'

ARTICLE V.

ELIZABETH's *Tranſactions with the Hanſe-Towns, and others relating to Commerce.*

IN the 12th Century, ſeveral good Towns ſituate upon the Sea, and which for that reaſon were called *Hanſe-Towns*, had form'd a Society for the Security of their Commerce. They had ſeveral Offices or Warehouſes for the Sale of their Goods, of which one of the chief was at *London*, where a Society of *German* Merchants was form'd, call'd the *Still-yard Company*, to which *Edward* I. had granted great Privileges. This Company was become ſo powerful, that by little and little it engroſs'd almoſt all the Cloth-Trade. *In 1552. under the Reign Hanſe-Towns. Still-yard Company's Hiſtory.

* *See* Stat. 19. of *Hen.* VII. cap. 23. Alſo *Acta Regia*, Vol. I. *p.* 192. Vol. III. *p.* 406. and Sir *John Hayward*'s Life of *Edward* VI.

Q. *Eliz.* of *Edward* VI. it was made appear, that in the preceding Year they had ſent 50000 Pieces of Cloth out of the Kingdom, and that all the *Engliſh* together had ſhipp'd off but 1100 Pieces. Upon Complaints hereof by the *Engliſh* Merchants, the Parliament revok'd all theſe Privileges, becauſe of the Damage which the *Engliſh* Nation thereby receiv'd. But *Mary*, who aſcended the Throne in the Year following, having taken a Reſolution to marry *Philip*, Son to the Emperor, ſuſpended the Execution of this Act for three Years; and order'd that during that time the *Still-yard* Company ſhould enjoy their antient Privileges. After that time the Privileges of the ſaid Company were no longer regarded, either by reaſon of ſome new Statute that was made, or in purſuance of that enacted in the Reign of *Edward* VI. The *Hanſe-Towns* made ſome Efforts to recover what they had loſt, but 'twas to no purpoſe.

Hanſe-Towns *Complaints for the Seizure of their Corn in the Tagus, and the Queen's Anſwer.*

* In 1589. in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, an Accident happen'd to the farther Mortification of the *Hanſe-Towns*. The *Engliſh* Fleet commanded by Sir *Francis Drake*, entring the *Tagus*, met ſixty Ships there laden with Corn belonging to the *Hanſe-Towns*: He took out the Corn, and return'd the Ships to the Merchants. The *Hanſe-Towns* complain'd of it to the Queen; who made Anſwer, That the Neutrality which they pretended to obſerve, did not warrant them to ſend ſuch Contraband Goods to her Enemy as Proviſions were, the rather becauſe they had been warn'd not to do it: That even tho they ſhould enjoy all the Privileges which they had heretofore obtain'd

* See *Camden*'s Annals of this Reign.

from

from *Edward* I. the very Original Patent expreſly forbad them to carry Merchandize to the declar'd Enemies of *England*. *A.* 1589.

THOSE Towns not being able to obtain the Reſtitution of their Corn, carry'd their Complaints to the Diet of the Empire; and the Queen ſent an Ambaſſador thither to declare her Reaſons. The King of *Poland* intereſted himſelf likewiſe in this Affair, becauſe the City of *Dantzick* was under his Protection. At laſt the Emperor excluded the *Engliſh* Company of Merchant Adventurers, who had conſiderable Factories at *Stade*, *Emden*, *Bremen*, *Hamburgh* and *Elbing*, from all Trade in the Empire. The Queen ſtrove hard to preſerve the Commerce of the *Engliſh* in *Germany*; and there were ſeveral Negotiations on this Head, which are the Subject of a very great Number of Pieces in the beginning of the 16th Volume of the *Fœdera*. *Engliſh Merchants forbidden to trade in Germany.*

ELIZABETH had alſo ſome Diſputes with the King of *Denmark* about the Fiſhery and Commerce, and likewiſe with the Cities of *Cologn* and *Augsburgh*. One of the grand Articles of Complaint againſt the *Engliſh* was, that when they took any *Spaniſh* Ship, they confiſcated every thing they found on board, whether the Merchandize belong'd to the *Spaniards*, or to the Merchants of other Nations.

Some of the Acts in this Volume relating to theſe Matters, are as follow;

1. A Letter from the Magiſtrates of *Cologn* to the Queen, deſiring her to make Reſtitution of certain Merchandize belonging to the Mer- *Magiſtrates of Cologn's Letter to the Queen,* 10.

Q. *Eliz.* Merchants of that City, taken on board a *Portugueſe* Ship: 'Tis dated *July* 29. 1587.

From the K. of Denmark, 80. 105.

2. A Letter from *Chriſtian* IV. the King of *Denmark*, to the Queen, touching the Cuſtoms at *Helſinbourg*; dated *July* 24. 1590. at *Colding*.

3. ANOTHER from that King, complaining of certain Outrages committed by the *Engliſh*, againſt the *Danes*; dated *July* 4. 1591. at *Copenhagen*.

'HE threatens Repriſals, if the Queen does 'not make him due Satisfaction.

From the C. Palat. of the Rhine, 106.

4. A Letter to the Queen from *Caſimir*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*; dated *July* 27. 1591. at *Heidelberg*.

'HE tells her, that he will heartily inter-'cede with the Emperor for re-eſtabliſhing the 'Engliſh at *Stade*, when he is better inform'd 'of the Cauſe of the Difference.

From the El. of Saxony, 111.

5. A Letter from *Chriſtian*, Elector of *Saxony*, to the Queen, upon the ſame Subject; dated *Aug.* 12. 1591. at *Waltheim*.

From Elbing, 135.

6. ANOTHER from the Magiſtrates of *Elbing*, to the Queen, relating to their Differences with the *Hanſe-Towns*; dated *Oct.* 31. 1591. at *Elbing*.

From the K. of Poland, 154.

7. A Letter from *Sigiſmund*, King of *Poland*, relating to the Confirmation of the Settlement of the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Elbing*; dated *Jan.* 20. 1592. at *Warſaw*.

The Daniſh *Ambaſſad. Memorial* 169.

8. A Memorial preſented to the Queen by *Paul Knibbius*, Ambaſſador of *Denmark*, containing the Complaints of the *Daniſh* Merchants againſt the *Engliſh* in 1592.

Letter from the Hamburghers, 171.

9. A Letter to the Queen, from the Magiſtrates of *Hamburgh*, upon the like Affair; dated *Aug.* 24. 1592.

10. ANO-

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10. ANOTHER from the City of *Elbing*, concerning the Reſidence of the *Engliſh* Merchants in that City; dated *Dec.* 23. 1592. at *Elbing*. *A.* 1597. *From* Elbing, 179.

11. A Letter from *Edward* and *Octavian Fuggers*, certain Merchants of *Augsburg*, relating to Merchandize taken on board a *Spaniſh* Ship; dated *April* 15. 1593. at *Augsburg*. *From* Augsburg, 204.

12. A Letter from the Emperor *Rodolph*, to the Queen, in favour of the Merchants above-mention'd; dated *Aug.* 26. 1593. at *Prague*. *From the Emperor*, 218.

'HE ſays, that he cannot refuſe them his 'Protection; the Queen's Reaſons being not 'valid.

13. A Letter from the King of *Denmark* to the Queen; dated *July* 8. 1595. at *Copenhaghen*. *From the K. of* Denmark, 278.

'HE ſays, that he has cauſe to complain of 'the *Engliſh* Fiſhermen; yet he conſents to 'their fiſhing upon the Coaſt of *Iſeland*, ex-'cepting the Iſle of *Weſtmon*, which is reſerv'd 'for the Court.

14. A Letter to the Queen, from the City of *Emden*; dated *Oct.* 8. 1597. *From* Emden, 323.

'THE Magiſtrates of *Emden* ſay, that 'they are not at all concern'd in the Com-'plaints made by the *Hanſe-Towns*, tho their 'City is included in the Emperor's Edict 'which prohibits Commerce with the *Engliſh*.

15. A Letter to the Queen from the Duke of *Sleſwic*; dated at the Caſtle of *Gottorp*, in the Calends of *December* 1597. *From the Duke of* Sleſwic, 327.

'HE ſays, that 'tis with Regret that he 'cannot excuſe himſelf from obeying the Em-'peror's Edict, concerning the *Engliſh* Mer-'chants.

Q. *Eliz.* 16. LETTER from the Magiſtrates of *Groningen*, to the Queen; dated *Oct.* 31. 1597.

From Groningen, 326. ‘THEY offer to admit the *Engliſh* Mer-
‘chants into their City.

Differences with Daniſh *Merchants*, 344, 347. 350, 352, 17. SEVERAL Letters, *&c.* relating to ſome Differences between the *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* Merchants; dated in *October* and *November* 1598.

Letter to the Queen from Emden, 353. 18. LETTER from the City of *Emden* to the Queen; dated *Nov.* 10. 1598.
‘THE Magiſtrates grant the *Engliſh* Free-
‘dom of Commerce in *Emden*; and deſire
‘certain Favours of the Queen.

Daniſh *Ambaſſador's Speech to her*, 355. 19. THE Speech of an Ambaſſador from *Denmark*, to the Queen, upon the Outrages committed by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Danes* in 1598.

Commiſſion to examine their Complaints, 362. 20. A Commiſſion from the Queen, to examine the Complaints of the *Danes*; dated *Jan.* 3. 1599. at *Weſtminſter*.

And the French, 363. 21. ANOTHER of the like Nature, and of the ſame Date, to examin the Complaintse of the *French*.

Proclamat. 364. 22. A Proclamation, which regulates the Conduct to be obſerv'd to Foreigners by the Commanders of Ships that have leave to fall upon the *Spaniards*; dated *Feb.* 8. 1599. at *Weſtminſter*.

K. *of* Denmark *to the Queen*, 379. 23. A Letter to the Queen from the King of *Denmark*; dated *July* 24. 1599. at *Copenhagen*.
‘THE Subject of it is the ſame as that of
‘the former Letters.

The Q. to the K. 395. 24. A Letter from the Queen to the King of *Denmark*; dated in *Febr.* 1600. at *Richmond*.
‘SHE deſires him not to hinder the *Engliſh*
‘from fiſhing in the High-Sea.

25. A

25. A Letter to the Queen from the Commissioners of *Denmark*, who were sent to *Emden* to settle the Affairs of Commerce with the *English*; dated *May* 8. 1600. at *Emden*. *A.* 1620. *From the* Danish *Commiss. at* Emden, 396.

'THEY say they have waited a Month at 'Emden for the Arrival of the *English* Commis-'sioners, and that hearing nothing from them, 'they are upon their Return to *Denmark*.

26. A Letter from the Magistrates of *Stade*; dated *Febr.* 3. 1601. at *Stade*. *From* Stade, 408.

'THEY recal the *English* Merchants to 'Stade.

27. A Letter to the Queen from the Duke of *Brunswic*; dated at *Hamburgh* the Day before the Calends of *March* 1602. *From D. of* Brunswic, 427.

'HE prays her to favour the Deputies of 'Staden, who are going to *England*, there to 'settle the Affairs of Commerce.

28. INSTRUCTIONS to the *English* Ambassadors, who went in 1602 to treat with the *Danes* about Commerce. Danish *Commerce*, 429.

29. A Proclamation against the *English* Pirates; who under Colour of serving the Queen, plunder the Ships of Foreigners. 'Tis dated *March* 19. 1602. at *Richmond*. *Proclamat. against Pirates*, 436.

30. A Letter from the Queen to the King of *Denmark*; it has no Date. *Q. Letter to the K. of* Denmark, 438.

THIS Letter contains Complaints of the Outrages committed by the *Danes* against the *English*.

31. THE Queen's Commission to her Ambassador in *Denmark*, to offer her Mediation of the Differences betwixt the King of *Denmark* and Prince *Charles* of *Sweden*; dated *May* 15. 1602. at *Greenwich*. *She offers Mediation between* Sweden *and* Denmark, 440.

32. LETTER to the Queen from the King of *Denmark*; dated *May* 29. 1602. at *Cronenberg*. Denmark *to the Q.*

Q. *Eliz.*

'It carries new Complaints againſt the 'Engliſh.

The Q. to Denmark, 451.

33. LETTER on the ſame Subject, from the Queen to the King of *Denmark*; dated *July* 15. 1602. at *Greenwich*.

From the Emp. to the Baron de Munkwitz, 458.

34. A Letter from the Emperor, to the Baron *de Munkwitz*; dated *Aug.* 3. 1602. at *Prague*.

'HE approves of what the Baron has done, 'in order to compaſs a Treaty betwixt the 'City of *Stade* and the *Engliſh*, and nominates 'him his Commiſſioner in conjunction with the 'Duke of *Holſtein-Sleſwic*, with a Power to 'meet the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries at *Bremen*.

To the D. of Holſtein, 459.

35. A Letter from the Emperor, to *John Adolph* Duke of *Holſtein*; dated as above. He nominates him his Commiſſioner to the Congreſs of *Bremen*.

From Denmark *to the Queen,* 460.

36. A Letter from the King of *Denmark* to the Queen; dated *Aug.* 4. 1602. at *Copenhagen*.

HE complains of an *Engliſh* Pirate.

Her Anſwer, 462.

37. THE Queen's Anſwer.

Her Letter to Bremen, 463.

38. A Letter from the Queen to the Archbiſhop of *Bremen*; dated *Aug.* 27. 1602. at the Palace of *Otelands*.

To Stade, 464.

39. ANOTHER to the Magiſtrates of *Stade*, dated as above.

To Bremen, 464.

40. ANOTHER to the Magiſtrates of *Bremen*, of the ſame Date.

Treaty with the Danes, 464.

41. THE Queen's full Power to her Ambaſſadors, to treat at *Bremen* with the Ambaſſadors of *Denmark*; dated *Aug.* 29. 1602. at *Otelands*.

Congreſs of Bremen *from* 466 *to* 472.

42. SEVERAL other Acts relating to the Congreſs.

IT muſt be noted, that this Congreſs of *Bremen* was principally deſign'd to adjuſt the Differences betwixt *England* and *Denmark*. But

But there were two other Affairs which were likewiſe to come upon the Carpet, *viz.* The Diſputes between *England* and the *Hanſe-Towns*, and thoſe between the Count of *Eaſt-Frieſland* and the City of *Emden*. Yet we don't find here the Iſſue of any of thoſe three Affairs. *A.* 1598.

ARTICLE VI.

Domeſtick Affairs.

OF all the Domeſtick Affairs of this latter part of *Elizabeth*'s Reign, I ſee not one that requires a particular Explanation, except that relating to the Earl of *Eſſex*; to which ſome of the Acts of this XVIth Volume refer.

History of the Earl of Eſſex's Family.

ROBERT D'Evereux Earl of *Eſſex*, was the Son of *Walter D'Evereux*, the firſt Earl of *Eſſex* of that Family. He had ſo much of *Elizabeth*'s Favour, that upon all Occaſions ſhe gave him ſingular Marks of her Eſteem. But this Favour made him exceſſively inſolent. It was unhappy for him that he imagin'd it was due to his Merit, rather than to I know not what to call it, which made the Queen prefer him before many others; and this was the reaſon that he thought himſelf the leſs oblig'd to the Queen for what ſhe did for him. In fine, he perſuaded himſelf that he was abſolutely neceſſary, and this Thought made him very troubleſom both in the Council and elſewhere; becauſe he was for carrying every thing with a high Hand, and could not bear to be contradicted: But he was never able to make the Queen his Property; who on the contrary, mortify'd him ſeveral times, in order by degrees to bring down his Pride. When

His Preferment and Vanity.

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Q. *Eliz.* he commanded the *Engliſh* Troops in *France*, he excus'd himſelf to the very laſt from obeying the Orders of the Queen who recall'd him to *England*, and was fain to exert all her Authority to make him return. This made her uſe the greater Precaution, to convince him, that notwithſtanding her Affection for him, ſhe did not intend that he ſhould govern her. At his Return from the Expedition at *Cadiz*, where he had perform'd great Services, he found that the Queen had given the Poſt of Secretary of State to *Robert Cecil*, Son to the Lord Treaſurer, tho he had recommended *Thomas Bodley* to it. This produc'd a mortal Enmity betwixt the Earl and *Cecil*, which prov'd very prejudicial to the Earl.

His Hatred of Cecil.

Quarrel with Raleigh;

In the Year following, *viz.* 1597. the Earl having the Command of a Fleet againſt *Spain*, had a great Quarrel with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was treated with the laſt degree of Diſdain, and forc'd to truckle becauſe he was under the Earl's Command; but at his Return he did him ill Offices, and joyn'd himſelf to *Cecil*'s Party. Not long after this, the Earl of *Eſſex* receiv'd a freſh Mortification. The Queen made Admiral *Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*; and in the Enumeration ſhe gave in his Patent of the Services which the Admiral had done to the Crown, ſhe aſcrib'd to him the Taking of *Cadiz*. The Earl of *Eſſex* was extremely diſguſted at it; and his Vexation was the greater, becauſe the Admiral being made an Earl, ought to take place of him according to an Order of *Henry* VIII. But the Queen, to make him eaſy, gave him the Poſt of Earl Marſhal of *England*, which ſecur'd him the Precedency before the Earl of *Nottingham*.

And with Howard.

In

IN 1598. the Earl of *Tyrone*, who had rebell'd in *Ireland*, making a very great Progreſs in that Iſland, it was reſolv'd to ſend a new Governor thither. The Queen and the Earl of *Eſſex* differing in Opinion, as to the Choice of a proper Perſon, the Earl talk'd and behav'd with ſo much Inſolence upon this Occaſion, that the Queen gave him a Box o'th' Ear. The Earl complain'd and threaten'd; but at length his Friends reconcil'd him to his Duty, and the Queen reſtor'd him to her Favour: But this Affront took deep root in his Heart. *A.* 1598. *His Inſolence to the Queen.*

NOT long after this, the Affairs of *Ireland* growing worſe and worſe every Day, the Queen aſſembled her Council for the Choice of a Governor. The Earl of *Eſſex* highly blam'd the Neglect of the former Governors for not purſuing the Rebel from place to place; adding, that to this was owing the Continuance of the War, and the great Expence of the Queen, and that the only way to make a ſpeedy End of the Affair was, to ſend a General into *Ireland*, who had Experience and Reputation, and who would not let the Rebel have a Moment's Reſt. In ſhort he ſpoke in ſuch a manner, as gave a plain Indication that he wanted to be the Man, tho he did not name himſelf. The Queen therefore made him Viceroy of *Ireland*, and gave him a much larger Patent than any of his Predeceſſors. When he was arriv'd in *Ireland*, he acted the very reverſe to the Advice he had given in Council. Tho he had a very conſiderable Army, he did nothing of great Importance, and continually call'd for freſh Succours. Inſtead of directly attacking the Earl of *Tyrone*, he carry'd his Army another way, and did not march againſt the Rebel till his Troops were too much diminiſh'd to make any

Is made Viceroy of Ireland. *His Arrival and Conduct there.*

Q. *Eliz.* any great Progreſs. He had alſo ſeveral Conferences with the Earl of *Tyrone*, and granted him a Truce very prejudicial to *England*. The Queen beginning to ſuſpect him, wrote him a pretty ſharp Letter, which made him immediately reſolve to go over to *England* with the Flower of his Army: But the Queen, who had timely Notice of it, caus'd Troops to be rais'd in *England* to oppoſe his Deſigns. This made him act with Deliberation, but nevertheleſs he return'd to *England* without Leave, and took with him a great Number of Officers; who, at their Arrival diſpers'd. He had but ſix to accompany him to Court, where after having had a very cold Audience of the Queen, he was arreſted and committed to the Cuſtody of the Lord Privy-Seal. Being examin'd, he made a very ill Defence; and yet the Queen reſerv'd a Kindneſs for him, ſhe having no other Deſign in the arreſting of him than to humble his Pride. But the Efforts which his Friends made to ſtir up the Populace in his Favour, determin'd the Queen to give Order for his Trial in the * Star-Chamber, in order to convince the People that ſhe had not proceeded againſt him thus without a Cauſe. According to the Queen's Direction, the Sentence paſs'd upon him was not the moſt ſevere, tho he was remov'd from ſeveral of his Employments; and the Queen being deſirous to leave him ſome Hopes of recovering her Favour, caus'd him to be ſet at Liberty. The Earl appear'd very humble for a while, and fell into a Fit of Devotion. But the Queen who knew him ve-

His Return to England *without Leave.*

His Humility.

* *Camden* ſays that the Hearing was not in the Star-Chamber, but at the Keeper's own Houſe.

ry

ry well, being desirous to make a longer trial of his Humility and Repentance, he cou'd not digest his Disgrace so long, but abandon'd himself to the Counsels of his Friends and Domesticks, who gave him to understand that the Queen was resolv'd utterly to ruin him, and made him take Measures to extricate himself from his imaginary Danger. They who put the most favourable Construction upon his Designs, said that his Project was to make himself Master of the Queen's Person, and to drive his Enemies from the Court. But the Letter he wrote to the King of *Scotland* denotes something more. Be this as it will, having not Patience to stay any longer for his Restoration to his former favour, he kept open House for all the Malecontents, and particularly his intimate Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, for whom the Queen had no Kindness. He resolv'd afterwards to make a Rising in the City of *London*, imagining that the Populace wou'd take Arms whenever he beckon'd them. To bring this Plot to bear, he assembled three or four hundred of his Friends at his own House. The Queen at the same time being better inform'd of his Designs than he imagin'd, sent the Keeper of the Privy Seal to him, with two other Lords of the Council, to demand the Reason of that Assembly of armed Men. These three Lords were admitted thro' the Wicket, and their Retinue left without. As soon as they were enter'd, the Earl of *Essex* led them into a Chamber and lock'd them in, leaving a Guard at the Door. Immediately upon this he march'd with all his Men into the City, crying out that his Life was in Dan-

A. 1602.

His Design to seize the Queen.

The Queen sends three Lords to him whom he detains Prisoners.

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Q. *Eliz.* Danger, and desiring the People to take Arms; but finding no body that was willing to declare for him, he was oblig'd to return to his House, [where he was immediately invested, and oblig'd at last with all that were in it to surrender at Discretion. He was beheaded on the 25th of *February* 1602, and dy'd with abundance of Constancy, The Earl of *Southampton* tho condemn'd, was detain'd in Prison. Some of the Accomplices were executed, but the Queen gave all the rest their Lives.

He is taken in his own House.

His Execution.

THE following are the Acts that relate to Domestick Affairs, among which I shall insert those relating to the Church, because 'tis needless to make a separate Article of that Subject.

Horace Palavicini *made a Denizen.* 1.

1. A Patent for the Denization of *Horace Palavicini* a *Genoese*; dated *Nov.* 2. 1586. at *Westminster.*

'THE King makes Denizens, and the Parliament Naturalizes.

'*HORACE Palavicini* was employ'd by 'the Queen in her Negotiations with the 'German Princes.

Clergy's Subsidy to the Queen. 50.

2. AN Act by which the Queen accepts of a Subsidy of three Shillings in the Pound, granted to her by the Clergy, besides the six Shillings already granted; dated *March* 9. 1587. at *Westminster.*

'THE Acceptance of this Subsidy granted 'without the Intervention of Parliament, 'did not make so much Noise as that which 'was given after the same manner to *Charles* I.

Frobisher's *Commission* 23.

3. A Commission to *Martin Frobisher* to command certain Ships bound for the *North* and *South*

South Seas; dated *Aug.* 30. 1589. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1596.

4. BENEFICES granted in *Commendam* to the Biſhop of *Oxford*. By an Act dated *Dec.* 13. 1589. at *Weſtminſter*. *Benefices granted to the Biſhop of* Oxon. 30.

5. A very ſpecial Protection for the Lord *Patrick Dunſanye* an *Iriſhman*, and *John Mathews* of *London* againſt their Creditors; dated *May* 10. 1591. at *Weſtminſter*. It has this Clauſe. *Protection to Debtors.* 95.

'BY our Royal Prerogative, which we will 'not have argued, nor call'd in queſtion.

6. A Letter from *William* Duke of *Brunſwick* to the Queen; dated *Decemb.* 23. 1591. at *Harbourgh*. *Duke of* Brunſwick *to the Q.* 145.

''TIS to deſire the Continuance of the 'Penſion granted to his late Uncle the Count 'of *Eaſt-Frieſland*, who dy'd the 29th of *Sep-'tember*.

7. A Letter from the Duke of *Brunſwick* to the Queen; dated *Dec.* 24. 1591. at *Harbourgh*. *Another.* 147.

'HE deſires the ſame Penſion for his Son, 'Nephew to *John*, the late Count of *Eaſt-'Frieſland*, by his only Siſter. He calls the 'late Count of *Eaſt-Frieſland*, *Cliens & Penſi-'onarius Regiæ veſtræ Majeſtatis*.

8. A Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *London* and others, to make Inquiry after Papiſts, Jeſuits, Prieſts, *&c.* who are come into the Kingdom ſince the 31ſt Year of the Queen's Reign, and to diſcover falſe Coiners; dated *March* 26. 1593. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commiſſion to inquire after Papiſts.* 204.

9. A Patent by which the Emperor *Rodolph* II. makes *Thomas Arundel* a Count of the Empire; dated *Dec.* 14. 1595. at *Prague*. Arundel *made a* German *Count.* 284.

10. THE Queen's Letter to the Emperor *Rodolph* II. dated *March* 13. 1596. at *Richmond*.

'SHE

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Q. *Eliz.*

'SHE complains againſt the Emperor for 'his creating *Thomas Arundel* a Count of the 'Empire, who, tho of a good Family, is but 'the Son of a Knight. She ſays that the *Engliſh* Nobility is offended at it, and that ſhe 'her ſelf has the more reaſon to complain of 'it, becauſe 'twas done without her Know-'ledge, and is a thing unprecedented; for 'which Reaſon ſhe has forbid him to take that 'Title, and to come to Court.

Emperor's Anſwer. 301.

11. THE Emperor's Anſwer to the Queen; dated *Aug.* 5. 1596. at *Prague.*

'HE tells her that he wonders the Queen 'ſhou'd be offended at what he has done for '*Arundel*, and that for his own part he does 'not take it ill when his Subjects are ho-'nour'd with Titles by other Princes. There-'fore he deſires her to reſtore the ſaid *Arundel* 'to her Favour *.

Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions. 291.

12. AN Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion for the Obſervation of the Laws made concerning Religion and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; dated *June* 16. 1596. at *Weſtminſter.*

324.

13. ANOTHER Commiſſion of the like Nature; dated *Octob.* 10. 1597. at *Weſtminſter.*

Conſtitutions of the Province of Canterbury. 329.

14. THE Queen's Royal Aſſent to the Conſtitutions made by the Province of *Canterbury*

* HE was made a Count of the Empire for his Valour in *Hungary* againſt the *Turks*, (tho but very young) which Title was to deſcend to every of his Children, and three Deſcents of both Sexes, and all the Privileges thereof. But upon his Return to *England*, there being a great Diſpute among the Peers, whether ſuch a Dignity given by a Foreign Prince ſhou'd be allow'd of here, as to Place and Precedence, or other Privilege, it was voted in the Negative. Upon which K. *James* I. created him Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*. And from him the preſent Lord is deſcended in a direct Line. See the *Britiſh Compendium* printed for Mr. *Betteſworth*.

in

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in the Synod or Convocation held on the 25th of *Octob.* 1597; dated *Jan.* 18. 1598. at *Weſtminſter.* *A.* 1602.

'THE Conſtitutions are inſerted in this 'Act.

15. A Patent conſtituting the Earl of *Eſſex* Governour or Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, with a very large Power; dated *March* 12. 1599. at *Weſtminſter.* *Earl of* Eſſex's *Patent as Viceroy of* Ireland.

16. A Commiſſion to the Earl of *Nottingham* to command all the Troops on this ſide *Trent*; dated *Aug.* 10. 1599. at *Nonſuch.* 366. Nottingham's. 383.

17. AN Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion againſt Schiſmaticks; dated *Nov.* 24. 1599. at *Weſtminſter.* *Commiſſions againſt Schiſmaticks.* 386.

'IT was chiefly to enforce the Obſervance 'of the Act of Uniformity in matters of Re'ligion.

18. ANOTHER Commiſſion of the like Nature; dated *Feb.* 3. 1601. at *Weſtminſter.* 400.

19. A Proclamation againſt the Earl of *Eſſex* and his Accomplices; dated *Feb.* 9. 1601. at *Weſtminſter.* *Proclamation againſt* Eſſex *and his Accomplices.* 409.

'THE Earl of *Eſſex* had been apprehend-'ed the Day before, ſo that this Proclama-'tion has a View properly to his conceal'd 'Accomplices.

20. A Commiſſion to compound with the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Accomplices that were accus'd and not attainted, or even ſuch as were not yet indicted; dated *April* 28. 1601. at *Weſtminſter.* *Compoſitions with them.* 422.

21. ANOTHER of the ſame Nature; dated *May* 5. 1601. at *Weſtminſter.* 423.

22. A Proclamation which forbids the building of new Houſes at *London*, and three Miles round; dated *June* 22. 1602. at *Greenwich.* *Proclamation againſt new Buildings in* London. 448.

Q. *Eliz.*

23. PARDONS to ſeveral of the Earl of *Eſſex's* Accomplices; dated *July* 26. 1602. at *Greenwich.*

Pardons to Eſſex's Accomplices. 457.

24. A Proclamation againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits; dated *Nov.* 5. 1602. at *Weſtminſter.*

Proclamation againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits. 473.

'SUCH Prieſts and Jeſuits as are Foreigners 'are order'd to depart the Realm, and the 'Engliſh who are Abroad, are forbid to re-'turn Home.

Another. 489.

25. A Commiſſion to proceed againſt the Jeſuits, and againſt the Prieſts come from foreign Seminaries; dated *Jan.* 29. 1603. at *Weſtminſter.*

Acts that are independent, or omitted under the preceding Articles.

Letter to the Queen from Geneva. 20.

1. A Letter to the Queen from the Syndicks of *Geneva*; dated *Aug.* 23. 1589. at *Geneva.*

'THEY repreſent to her the ſad State of 'the Republick, attack'd by the Duke of 'Savoy, and pray her to relieve them with a 'Sum of Money.

From the Landgrave of Heſſe. 62.

2. A Letter to the Queen from *William Landgrave* of *Heſſe*; dated *May* 12. 1590. at *Caſſel.*

'HE ſays that he will contribute his Ef-'forts for the Succeſs of the Deſign of a 'Proteſtant League, which has been commu-'nicated to him by *Horace Palavicini.*

From the Elector of Saxony. 67.

3. ANOTHER of the ſame Nature from *Chriſtian*, Elector of *Saxony*: dated *June* 5. 1590. at *Dreſden.*

Philip's Anſwer to the Emperor's Offer of Mediation. 64.

4. THE Anſwer of *Philip* II. to the Emperor's Propoſal of his Mediation of a Peace with the *United Provinces*; dated *May* 16. 1590. at *Aranjuez.*

'HE

'HE accepts of the Mediation, and af- *A.* 1602.
'ſerts that ſince the Hereticks maintain that
'Subjects are oblig'd to conform to the Re-
'ligion of their Sovereigns, he expects the
'ſame Conformity to his own.

5. *PHILIP* IId's Inſtructions to Don *Guillen de St. Clement*, his Ambaſſador to the Emperor: dated as above. *Inſtructions to his Ambaſſador.* 65.

'HE orders him to continue his good Offi-
'ces in favour of the Roman Catholicks of
'*France*, and not to ſuffer any Ambaſſador
'from the Prince of *Bearn* to be admitted to
'the Conferences with the Title which he
'takes, *&c.* This Prince of *Bearn* was *Henry*
'IV. of *France*.

6. A Letter to the Queen from *Eder Baſſa*, written from *Salle*, *June* 26. 1590. Eder Baſſa's *Letter to the Q.* 74.

'IT relates to a Difference betwixt the
'*Ottoman Porte* and *Poland*, which was com-
'promis'd out of pure Regard to *Elizabeth*.

7. A Letter from the College of Cardinals to the *Pariſians*; dated *Octob.* 16. 1591. at *Rome*. *From the College of Cardinals to the* Pariſians. 129.

'THEY inform them of the Death of Pope
'*Gregory* XIV. which happen'd on the 15th
'of *October* at Night, and exhort them to
'continue ſtedfaſt to the Holy See.

8. A Letter to the Queen from *Philip Lewis*, Count *Palatine*; dated *Nov.* 13. 1592. at *Newburgh* on the *Danube*. *From the* C. Palatine *to the Q.* 177.

'IT relates to the Differences betwixt the
'Lutherans and Calviniſts in the *Palatinate*.
'He complains that the Elector eſpouſes the
'Cauſe of the latter.

9. ARTICLES agreed on betwixt *Henry* IV. and the *German* Troops commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*. *Agreement betwixt* Hen. IV. *and the* German *Troops.* 180, 182.

Q. *Eliz.* 10. A Letter from the Queen to the Emperor *Rodolph* II. dated *April* 21. 1593. at *London*.

Q's Letter to the Emperor. 206.

'SHE clears her self of the Charge of having excited the *Turks* against him.

Letter to her from Saxony. 213.

11. A Letter to the Queen from *Frederick William*, Administrator of the Electorate of *Saxony*; dated *July* 29. 1593. at *Soraw*.

'HE says, that he will do every thing that '*Parkins* her Ambassador has recommended to 'him from her.

From the Duke of Brunswick 214.

12. LETTER from *Ernest* Duke of *Brunswick* to the Queen; dated *Aug.* 7. 1593. at *Zell*.

'HE says, that he gives no Credit to the 'Libels publish'd, accusing the Queen of 'having excited the *Turks* against the Em-'pire, and that he has suppress'd them in his 'Dominions.

From the E. Palatine. 215.

13. A Letter to the Queen from *Frederick*, the Elector *Palatine*; dated *Aug.* 18. 1593. at *Heydelberg*.

''TIS properly an Answer to the Letter 'from Count *Philip Lewis* abovemention'd.

Emperor's Proposals to the Dyet. 249.

14. PROPOSALS from the Emperor to the Diet of *Ratisbon* to engage the *German* Princes to defend *Hungary* and *Austria*, against the Attacks of the *Turks*; deliver'd *June* 11. 1594.

Parkins's *Negotiation at the Emperor's Court.* 252.

15. AN Account of the Negotiation of *Christopher Parkins* the Queen's Ambassador to Emperor in the same Month.

'THE Business of this Embassy was, '1. To justify the Queen on account of a 'certain Memorial which it was pretended 'her Ambassador at *Constantinople* had present-'ed to the Grand Vizier, and which had 'been sent to the Emperor. *Parkins* disown'd 'this Memorial, alledg'd that it was fictitious,

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'wrote to the Ambaſſador of *England* at *Conſtantinople*; and the Emperor ſeem'd content. The 2d Point was the Peace between the Chriſtian Princes. *Parkins* declar'd that the Queen was ready to contribute to it with all her Power. The 3d related to a Libel againſt the Queen reprinted at *Prague*. The Emperor caus'd it to be ſuppreſs'd. *A.* 1593.

16. A Commiſſion to Sir *Thomas Wilford*, eſtabliſhing him Provoſt Marſhal, with a Power to cauſe thoſe to be hang'd who ſhou'd be convicted of Riots; dated *July* 18. 1595. at *Weſtminſter*. *Sir* Tho. Wilford *Provoſt Marſhal.* 279.

'THIS ſort of Commiſſions, tho they are no Grievance to the Subject under good Princes, may be of terrible Conſequence upon ſome Occaſions. The Earl of *Strafford* in the Reign of *Charles* I. paid dear for having made uſe of the like Power in his Government of *Ireland*. *Reflections on his Commiſſion.*

17. A Letter to the Queen from *Charles* Prince of *Sweden*; dated at *Nykoping* the day before the Nones of *July* 1597. *P. of* Sweden's *Letters to the Queen.* 320.

'HE vindicates himſelf againſt ſeveral Calumnies publiſh'd againſt him, and particularly the Charge that he aims at the Crown.

18. ANOTHER from him upon the ſame Subject; dated at *Orebro*, the third of the Nones of *October*, 1598. 348.

19. A Patent conſtituting Sir *Walter Raleigh* Governour of the Iſland of *Jerſey*; dated *Aug.* 26. 1600. at *Weſtminſter*. Raleigh *made Governour of* Jerſey. 398.

20. A Commiſſion to the Earl of *Nottingham* and others, to regulate with the Commiſſioners of *France* the method of trying Pirates; dated *Jan.* 27. 1602. at *Weſtminſter*. *Trial of Piracies.* 425.

James I.

Mr. *Rapin* having given an Account of ſo much of the XVIth Tome of the *Fœdera* as relates to the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, proceeds now to the laſtet part of that Volume, which takes in the firſt 14 Years of the Reign of King *James* I.

In the firſt 14 Years of the Reign of *James* I. we muſt not expect to find any ſignal Events which are of very great importance to the Readers. For firſt of all, the foreign Affairs we ſee in that Period are very few. And in the ſecond place, the Domeſtick Affairs, if we except the Gunpowder-Plot, are in themſelves of little Importance. Nevertheleſs 'tis abſolutely neceſſary to be well inform'd of this Reign, if one wou'd have a juſt Idea of what paſs'd in thoſe that ſucceeded. And the Reaſon of it is, becauſe in this Reign we find the true Spring and Origin of the Revolutions that have happen'd in *England* for about a hundred Years paſt. Now in order to have a right Underſtanding of the Reign of *James* I. a Man muſt of neceſſity be fully acquainted with that Prince's Genius and Character, and with his Maxims and Principles, as to Government and Religion. This will be the Subject with which I ſhall begin, before I enter into the Narrative of thoſe Events to which the Acts of the *Fœdera* have a Relation.

Proclamation of K. James I. *by the Council.*

Six hours after the Death of *Elizabeth*, *James* VI. King of *Scotland* was proclaim'd King of *England* by the Name of *James* I. As it was the Council that caus'd him to be proclaim'd, one might fairly ask the Queſtion, who had given the Council that Power; becauſe neither *James*, nor the Queen his Mother had ever been recoguiz'd as the Preſumptive

Reflections on it.

KING IAMES THE I.ST

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ſumptive Succeſſors of *Elizabeth*, nor did the deceaſed Queen till ſhe was at the very point of Death, reſolve with her ſelf to declare that ſhe look'd upon the King of *Scotland* as her lawful Succeſſor. The Council, 'tis true, had for their Foundation three ſorts of Titles concentring in the Perſon of King *James*. The firſt was a Nuncupative and Teſtamentary Right, from his having been nominated by Queen *Elizabeth* for her Succeſſor, and ſuch Nomination appearing to be confirm'd by her Will. But that Title was too weak a Baſis to ſupport the Council in the Proclamation I have juſt now mention'd. It was a Maxim till then not known in *England*, that either a King or Queen had the Power to leave the Crown to whom they pleas'd by a bare Nomination, or even by a Will, without the Intervention and Concurrence of Parliament. Thus *Edward* VI. transfer'd the Crown to *Jane Grey*, who relying only upon this Title, cou'd not ſtand her Ground. *A.* 1602.

His Titles to the Crown examin'd.

THE ſecond Title on which the Council founded their Proclamation, was *James*'s being *Elizabeth*'s neareſt Heir. This cou'd not be diſputed. But *Henry* VIIIth's Will, authoriz'd by an Act of Parliament which had never been revok'd, had regulated the Succeſſion after another manner. It was the turn of the Deſcendants of the Queen (Ducheſs of *Suffolk*) to aſcend the Throne after the Death of *Elizabeth*. Therefore to proceed regularly, it wou'd have been neceſſary in the firſt place to have made that Act null and void, and to have quaſh'd the Will of *Henry* VIII. in order to let the Succeſſion run in a free Channel, and to preſerve the Rights of the elder Branch. Conſequently, this ſecond Ti-

James I. tle was liable to Objections which the Council had no Power to decide. We see an evident Proof of what I here advance in the Precautions taken by the late Parliament with regard to the Settlement of the House of *Hanover*, that it may not be left to the Discretion of the Council to decide, on whom the Crown is to devolve after the Death of Queen *Anne* *, and that it may not be in their Power to cause whomsoever they think fit to be proclaim'd.

KING *James*'s third Title may be call'd a Parliamentary Right, because it was deriv'd from a Statute made in the Reign of *Henry* VII. whereby the Succession to the Crown was settled in that King's Family according to the Order of Nature, by constantly preferring the elder Branches to the younger. This third Title was undoubtedly the *best*, and yet *Henry* VIIIth's Will, which was authoriz'd by Act of Parliament, was directly against it. Notwithstanding these Objections, the Council decided the Point, and caus'd *James* to be proclaim'd, as having an indisputable Right for his Foundation. There's no doubt but Secretary *Cecil*, who had great Credit in the Council, and who was devoted to the King of *Scotland* some time before *Elizabeth*'s Death, and kept a secret Correspondence with him, serv'd him with Zeal upon this occasion. *James* accepted of the Crown of *England*, which he had impatiently wish'd for a long time, without giving himself the trouble of a nice inquiry into the Foun-

* THE Reader is to observe by the way, that Mr. *Rapin* wrote these Reflections towards the close of Q. *Anne*'s Reign.

dation

dation on which they had caus'd him to be proclaim'd. But when he was ſeated on the Throne, he rejected the three ſorts of Titles that I have been ſpeaking of, and choſe to ſtand upon no other Foundation than an Hereditary Right, which deriv'd no Force from any Act of Parliament; as if the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* was in it ſelf Hereditary, and had no need to be ſupported by any Statutes. No King of *England* before him had form'd any ſuch Pretenſion; or at leaſt, if any there was of that Opinion, he never made it known. For this was a Claim liable to ſo many Objections and Difficulties, that 'tis aſtoniſhing how this Prince, who was well acquainted with the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, cou'd be ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſs'd upon this Head. This is what I am now going in a few words to ſhew. *A.* 1602. *A Diſſertation upon Hereditary Right.*

IF we examine the Hiſtory of *England* from the beginning of the Monarchy to our own Time, we ſhall find no Law, no Cuſtom, on which 'tis poſſible to found the Hereditary Succeſſion to the Crown, independently of Acts of Parliament. Not to mention the Days of the *Engliſh Saxons*, where we find, during the ſpace of 600 Years, ſuch a number of Examples contrary to any ſuch Law or Cuſtom, 'tis certain that the five firſt Kings who reign'd after the Conqueſt, including *William* the Conqueror, did not aſcend the Throne by Hereditary Right. If the Succeſſion after the Demiſe of the laſt of thoſe five Kings had prevail'd in favour of the neareſt Heir, and had been but ſeldom or never diſcontinued, then indeed it might be ſaid that Cuſtom ſupplies the place of Law. But ſince 'tis evident, that ſuch Succeſſion has been very often inter-

James I. terrupted, and that from *William* I. to *Henry* VIII. there never were above three Kings following one another that ſucceeded from Father to Son, what ground can there be for ſuch Hereditary Succeſſion, if we reject the Acts of Parliament which have ſettled the Succeſſion in certain Families? But ſuppoſing ſuch Hereditary Right of Succeſſion independent on Acts of Parliament were perfectly prov'd, it wou'd follow that *Henry* VII. from whom *James* I. deriv'd his Origin, was not a lawful King, becauſe he was neither the legal Heir of *Richard* III. whom he ſucceeded, nor the legal Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; and becauſe that Family was not the legal Heir of *Richard* II. *Henry* VIII. had ſo mean an Opinion of this Hereditary Right, that in his Will he ſilently paſs'd over the Right of his elder Siſter's Branch, to ſettle the Succeſſion on the younger. *Edward* VI. had as little ſcruple about it as *Henry* VIII. and he choſe to transfer the Crown to *Jane Grey*, to the prejudice of his two Siſters. Nevertheleſs this Hereditary Right of Succeſſion independently of the Parliament, pretended to be indefeaſible, tho ſo often alter'd, took ſuch ſtrong Root in the Reign of *James* I. that it has been impoſſible to pluck it up to this Day. 'Tis even now urg'd as an undeniable Principle, to ſhew that the Parliament has no Right to change the Order of Succeſſion, let what will happen. But on the other hand, 'tis certain that this was never the Sentiment of the Nation repreſented in Parliament *.

* *Le Clerc* obſerves, that the antient *Scots* had the ſame Cuſtom, and that it was with great difficulty, and very late, that the contrary was introduc'd, as may be ſeen by *Buchanan*'s Hiſtory of *Scotland*.

IT will be demanded perhaps what Intereſt *James* I. had more than his Predeceſſors to inſiſt upon this Right, which was ſo very uncertain. To be ſhort, he was prepoſſeſs'd to Infatuation *in* favour of the abſolute Power of Kingly Government, and he thought that a Power which depended upon Acts of Parliament, or upon the Approbation of the People, cou'd not be ſo abſolute as that which was founded upon a Law of Nature, or an unalterable Cuſtom from the beginning of Monarchy. This conſtitutes one of the chief Characters of this Prince, and is a neceſſary help to form a true Notion of him *. *A.* 1602. K. James's *fondneſs for abſolute Power.*

* *Le Clerc* obſerves in another Note upon this Paſſage, that it wou'd have been much better both for himſelf and his Poſterity, if they had follow'd other Maxims. He refers here to what he had formerly ſaid, p. 199. of his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, Tom. VIII. where he has the following Reflection. 'That if *James* VI. had 'made a right Improvement 'of his Tutor *Buchanan*'s 'Lectures, he wou'd not 'have had ſuch unhappy diſ'putes with his Parliaments; 'and if his Son had been 'well read in *Buchanan*'s 'Works, and enter'd into 'his Sentiments, he wou'd 'not have left his Head up'on a Scaffold: And his 'Grandſon perhaps, who was 'of his own Name, if he 'had been train'd up in the 'ſame Notions, wou'd have 'dy'd in Peace upon the 'Throne. If they had been 'all perſuaded that they were 'the Protectors, and not 'the Maſters of the Laws 'of their Kingdom, they 'wou'd undoubtedly have 'liv'd happily. If in Mo'narchical States, Princes 'were *Republicans*, their 'Subjects wou'd become all '*Royaliſts*, by reaſon of 'the Confidence they wou'd 'repoſe in their Kings. 'Princes never have more 'Authority than when they 'think and ſeem fully con'vinc'd, that they have no 'right to augment ſuch Au'thority *ad infinitum*; and 'the People are never more 'obedient than when they 'are induc'd by the Mode'ration of their Princes.

AFTER

James I.

Richard IId's *Example a Warning to his Succeſſors.*

After the ſad Cataſtrophe of *Richard* II. the Kings of *England* were cautious of referring their Prerogative to Arbitration, but avoided it as a dangerous Rock, chuſing rather to leave that Point in the Obſcurity in which they found it, than to make Efforts to clear it up to their Advantage; becauſe they were afraid of alarming the *Engliſh*, who have always been very jealous of their Liberties. *Richard* II. miſcarry'd in ſuch a manner, that no wonder his Misfortunes gave his Succeſſors reaſon to be apprehenſive of the like Fate. To know how far the Royal Prerogative extended, and wherein the Privileges of the People really conſiſted, was a very delicate and difficult Queſtion. The Hiſtory of *England* ſhews that the moſt prudent, and moſt able of its Kings, even they who were the moſt abſolute, have with exceeding Care avoided to trump up all Queſtions of this nature. All that they aim'd at was, to accompliſh by the help of a Parliament, what they thought conducive to the Welfare of the Nation, or their own Intereſts, without affecting to act by an abſolute Power. If any of them ever deviated from this Rule, it was but ſeldom, and in ſuch a manner that the Subjects were not alarm'd at it, becauſe they did not ſee that they pretended to found the Extent of their Prerogative upon ſuch general Principles as admitted no Bounds. They regarded ſome particular Caſes, in which the Kings ſeem'd to go too far, as ſuch that wou'd have no influence upon the reſt of their Conduct. The Civil Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, were in this reſpect very lucky for the Subjects, becauſe their Sovereigns were thereby under a neceſſity of their Aſſiſ-

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Assistance. By Consequence that was not a favourable Conjuncture to extend the Royal Prerogative. *Henry* VIIIth, the most absolute of the Kings of *England*, attempted only once to break down the Fence, by advice of Cardinal *Wolsey*; but when he saw that the People began to take Alarm, he chose rather to truckle than to support the Enterprizes of his ambitious Minister. Without taking upon himself therefore to decide what he was able to do by virtue of his sole Prerogative, he continually back'd it with the Authority of Parliament, and by that means did whatever he pleas'd, without raising the Jealousiy of his Subjects. *Edward* VI. *Mary*, *Elizabeth*, pursu'd the same Maxims, and therein found their account. *James* I. arriv'd from *Scotland* with a Mind fraught with other Principles, and other Prejudices. Not that the Kings of *Scotland* were more independent than those of *England*; on the contrary, he had a Notion that Kings were no where so dependent as in *Scotland*, and that in *Scotland* it cou'd be nothing but an Usurpation of the People. He had reign'd 36 Years in that Kingdom, and cou'd never extricate himself from that uneasy Dependency. It was the People, or States, who had plac'd him on the Throne during the Life of the Queen his Mother, and they maintain'd him on it. It was that same People who murmur'd, and actually rose in Arms, as often as the King or his Ministers did not govern to their Mind, and who oblig'd him to keep in one certain Path whenever he shew'd an Inclination to go out of it. It was that which render'd his Dependency hateful to him, and which made him think it the greatest Happiness of a King to be deliver'd from that Yoke

A. 1602.

His mistaken Notion about the Prerogative of Kings, and his Passion for absolute Authority.

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James I. Yoke of which he had long felt the Pain. It was alſo for this very Reaſon, that while he ſtudy'd Politicks, he approv'd of the Arguments us'd by ſeveral Authors in favour of the Independency of Kings in general, as if there ought to be no difference at all between Monarchical Governments. That was his Favourite Maxim. It was this that he inceſſantly countenanc'd, ſometimes openly, at other times more obſcurely; and the only way to pleaſe him was to be, or at leaſt to ſeem to be, perſuaded that Kings had a Right to do whatever they liſt. Yet he cou'd never get the *Scots* to admit this Principle; nevertheleſs he hop'd for better Succeſs in *England*, where he knew, that ſince the Reign of *Henry* VII. the Kings and Queens had done what they pleas'd with the People. But inſtead of aſcribing this Power to the Prudence of thoſe Monarchs, who had the Policy never to ſeparate the Royal Prerogative from the Authority of Parliament, he attributed it to another Cauſe, *viz.* the natural Right of Sovereigns. The thing which rivetted this Notion in him, was the Flattery of ſome *Engliſh* Courtiers, who ſoon perceiving his Genius and Character, endeavour'd to creep into his Favour thro' that Paſſage. It was reported that an honeſt *Scotſman* in his Retinue obſerving theſe Flatteries, cry'd out, *that they were enough to ſpoil the beſt King in the World.* Be this true or not, *James* made Efforts, as long as he liv'd, to reconcile the People to that Arbitrary Power which he aim'd at, not only by his Conduct, but by his Speeches. He us'd however a little Artifice, which was quickly diſcover'd, and that was this. The *Engliſh* being oblig'd to own that there was a Royal Prerogative, which he himſelf

ſelf extended to a Degree of abſolute Autho- *A.* 1602.
rity, he complain'd perpetually that they ſtruck at the Royal Prerogative, if they departed ever ſo little from his Principles. 'Twas this that bred Animoſities and Quarrels betwixt him and his Parliament; which made him always unhappy, notwithſtanding the Peace he enjoy'd during the whole courſe of his Reign. From theſe Diſputes aroſe frequent Diſſolutions of Parliaments, and by neceſſary Conſequence Monopolies, and the other illegal Methods which the King's Miniſters put in practice in order to help him to Money. This occaſion'd Complaints and Murmurings among the People, by which he loſt their Eſteem and Affection; and in the end, Foreigners put Contempt upon a Prince who had no hopes of any great Aſſiſtance from his Subjects. I ſhall ſay no more of it upon this Head, becauſe I have no Deſign to write a Hiſtory of King *James* here; but only to ſhew what were his Principles with regard to the Authority of Kings.

His Principles of Religion.

IT is much more difficult to know exactly what was this Prince's Religion. His Father and Mother were both Roman Catholicks, but he had been train'd up from his Infancy in the Proteſtant Religion as it was eſtabliſh'd in *Scotland*, namely the Presbyterian, yet was almoſt always ſuſpected to favour the Popiſh. As ſoon as he arriv'd in *England*, he profeſs'd the Religion of the *Engliſh* Church, and ſeem'd, at leaſt in outward Appearance, to be join'd to it all the remaining part of his Life. He diſcover'd an implacable Hatred to the Presbyterians or Puritans with whom he had been educated, while upon all Occaſions he openly favour'd the Roman Catholicks; and there are ſome Perſons who ſtick not to affirm, that he

James I. had made a Promiſe not long before his Death, that he would embrace the Roman Catholick Religion. I ſhall not here pretend to examine all the ſeeming Contradictions to this Aſſertion, but ſhall only make ſome Remarks which may ſerve to ſet them in a clear Light.

In the firſt place, it muſt be remember'd what I ſaid in the laſt Reign, that Queen *Elizabeth* being always in fear of ſome Storm from *Scotland*, had form'd a powerful Party in that Kingdom, which conſiſted altogether of Proteſtants, and particularly of Miniſters of the Reformed Church, who never fail'd to inſpire the People with terrible Apprehenſions of the Danger of their Religion, as often as the King ſeem'd to depart from the Intereſts of *England*. If the King adher'd to this Party, he was kept in Bondage; and if he abandon'd it, he preſently ſaw his own Court and the whole Kingdom full of Troubles and Diviſions. This was enough to make him hate the Agents that *Elizabeth* made uſe of, as well as the Religion which ſerv'd them for a Cloak. On the other hand, the Catholicks, who had no other means to execute their Projects but the King's Goodwill, flatter'd him to an extraordinary degree; and, in order to attach him to their Party, endeavour'd to convince him that the Principles of the Proteſtant Religion were againſt the Authority of Kings, as he found by fatal Experience; for if he ſcrupled ever ſo little to behave as the Synods would have him, the whole Church roſe againſt him. They ſuggeſted moreover, that the Presbyterian Government of the Church of *Scotland* was a continual Source of Rebellions, and that the Presbyterians not being able to bear a Head in the Church, follow'd the ſame Principles with reſpect to the Govern-

His Enmity to the Presbyterians.

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Government of the State. By these Insinuations the King was more and more embitter'd against the Presbyterian Government, and at last he came to hate it mortally: But he did not dare to give too publick Proofs of it, till ascending the Throne of *England*, he found himself at full liberty to declare War against it. *A.* 1602.

My second Remark is, that *James* I. having a Notion that the Presbyterians, who thought the Government of their Church the most perfect, could not but have the same Opinion touching the Government of the State, he inferr'd from thence that they were Enemies to Kingly Power; and he confounded these two things continually as if they had been inseparable. He look'd upon the Presbyterians as Enemies to Monarchy, and all that had not the same Notions with himself, of the unlimited Power of Kings, as real Puritans. Therefore there was a two-fold Puritanism in *England*, during the whole course of his Reign, the one of Religion, and the other of the State; which nevertheless the King and his Ministers affected incessantly to confound with one another, because they hated both alike. This Notion has been perpetuated to our Times, and makes it so difficult to define the Nature of *Toryism* and *Whiggism*, because the Principles of those two Parties refer sometimes to the State, at other times to Religion.

I shall observe in the third place, that *James* I. being naturally timorous, had an extraordinary Aversion to War. Having in the then Situation of Affairs in *Europe* no War to fear but from the Roman Catholicks, he endeavour'd to gain their Good-will by favouring their Religion as much as was in his Power. Therefore nothing

Q. *Eliz.* nothing could give him greater Uneaſineſs than to be treated as a Perſecutor of the Catholicks. He defended himſelf againſt that Charge with ſo much Zeal and Vigour, that, in order to let the World ſee he did not perſecute the Catholicks, he fell into the other Extreme, and gave reaſon to believe that he thought the Perſons of both Religions had an equal Title to his Favour, as evidently appear'd by his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*. The *Jeſuits* were the only Perſons he could not bear with, by reaſon of the Doctrine they held that Kings might be depos'd, and even murder'd. There was too great a Harmony betwixt this Doctrine and Puritaniſm, for him to perceive it without Anxiety. By purſuing this Method, the King hop'd to live in Peace with the whole World; with the Proteſtants by actually profeſſing the Religion of the Church of *England*, and with the Roman Catholicks by exempting them from the Severity of the Laws which were in force againſt them. But he did not obtain by this Conduct what he propos'd. The Catholicks were not contented with this ſmall Favour, and the Proteſtants thought he was a Catholick in his Heart.

My fourth and laſt Remark is, That this Prince, who had ſtudy'd a great deal, and had a vaſt Opinion of his own Knowledge, had form'd to himſelf in all appearance a particular Religion to his own Taſte. Puritaniſm was in all likelihood entirely excluded out of the Plan which he had form'd, and the Hierarchy admitted, excluſive of a Power over crown'd Heads. As to the Doctrines which make a Separation betwixt the two Religions Catholick and Proteſtant, *James* ſhew'd upon ſeveral Occaſions, and even in his Speeches to the

the Parliament, that he only look'd upon them as meer School-Queſtions, and that they might either be believ'd or not believ'd without any danger to Salvation. Therefore it ſeems that in the Plan which he had form'd to himſelf, he had no regard to Religion, farther than as it might be uſeful or prejudicial to Government, and eſpecially to the abſolute Power of Kings. This, according to him, was the only thing neceſſary. Every thing that oppos'd this Principle was to be rejected, and what made neither for nor againſt it might be tolerated. If it were not for fear of being too tedious, I could ſupport what I aſſert by ſuch Proofs as are far beyond Conjecture. *A* 1603.

AFTER what I have now ſaid of the Principles of *James* I. with regard to Government and Religion, it will be eaſy to account for all his Actions that fall within theſe two Articles. It remains now for me to mention ſome other things which may help to give a fuller Diſplay of his Character. And I chuſe to inſiſt the longer upon this Matter, becauſe the few conſiderable Events of this Reign are but Conſequences and Dependencies of the King's Humour and Genius.

His Averſion to War.

I have already ſaid that this Prince was ſenſible he had no martial Qualities. So that with all poſſible Care he avoided a War, and ſometimes even to the Prejudice of his Honour, and of the Intereſt of his State. He cover'd his natural Timorouſneſs with the ſpecious Pretext of Juſtice and Equity, which did not allow Princes to cauſe Blood to be ſhed for Trifles. This Principle was very good in it ſelf, but he puſh'd the Conſequences of it ſo far, that he thought himſelf in no caſe oblig'd to the Neceſſity of taking Arms. He ſaw the Deſigns

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James I. which were form'd at *Rome*, in *Spain*, in *France*, in *Germany*, to ruin the Proteſtant Religion, without thinking himſelf oblig'd to concern himſelf about them, otherwiſe than by Recommendations, which were always unſucceſsful, becauſe the foreign Princes well knew that they might reject them with Impunity. By this means he had indeed the good Luck to live out all his Reign without a War, which he deſir'd might be remark'd as the Perfection of Happineſs. But with all this, one may venture to affirm, that before his, there was no Reign more unhappy or more inglorious for the *Engliſh*.

His Pedantry.

James I. had been a great Student: He had for one of his Preceptors the famous *Buchanan*, one of the greateſt Genius's at that time in *Europe*. But I know not whether it was thro' his own Fault or his Preceptor's, who had not rightly diſtinguiſh'd the Learning fit for a King, from that which is only proper for private Men, that he had acquir'd a certain pedantic Knowledge which was only admir'd by Flatterers, but ridicul'd by Men of Honour. He lov'd to make long Harangues full of Diviſions and Sub-diviſions, more like the Lectures of a Profeſſor than the Speeches of a King. But an Oſtentation of his Learning was not his only View; what he chiefly aim'd at was, to convey into thoſe artful Pieces ſuch Principles as he had at Heart touching Government. In the beginning he affected the Uſe of Expreſſions which were capable of a Senſe favourable to the Subject, but ſuch as in the main were not prejudicial to his own Principles. For Example, in his firſt Speech to the Parliament he ſaid, 'That the Difference be-'twixt a rightful King and an uſurping Ty-'rant

'rant is this, *viz.* The proud and ambitious *A.* 1603.
'Tyrant thinks that his Kingdom and People
'are ordain'd for the Satisfaction of his unrea-
'ſonable Appetites. But the juſt King ac-
'knowledges on the contrary, that he is only
'ordain'd to procure the Wealth and Proſpe-
'rity of his People, and he makes his greateſt
'Felicity therein to conſiſt.' All that can be gather'd from theſe words is, that a juſt King conducts himſelf by other Maxims than a Tyrant. It might even be inferr'd from it, that the Speech-maker had a Deſign to follow the Rules of Juſtice and Equity. But there was not one word in it which tended to ſhew that the Subjects might refuſe to obey a Tyrant when he departed from thoſe Maxims. This appear'd manifeſt, becauſe upon another Occaſion he told the two Houſes, in plain Terms, that it *was as much Sedition in the Subjects to diſpute what a King might do in the Height of his Power, as it was Blaſphemy to pretend to ſet Bounds to the Power of God.* It muſt be own'd that he was a great Maſter in the Art of chuſing Expreſſions of this ſort, which ſeem'd to carry a great deal in them, but ſignify'd nothing; or others, which tho he ſeem'd to make uſe of without Deſign, conceal'd a meaning in them of great importance; as for Example, when in the above-mention'd Speech he thank'd the People of *England for having receiv'd and embrac'd him as their lawful and undoubted King.* If I had room here, I could produce a great Number of other Examples.

Remark on his Speeches to Parliament.

YET theſe Methods did not anſwer his Hopes. Some did not underſtand him, and others feign'd not to underſtand him, till at length he was oblig'd to explain himſelf more clearly, both by word of Mouth, and by his

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James I. Actions. Consequently it could no longer be doubted that he challeng'd a Right of governing with a despotic Power; tho he would always have it suppos'd that it was not his Intention to make use of that Power to the Oppression of his Subjects. For this reason, he thought it very strange, that the Parliament should offer to intermeddle in any Affair which related to the Government of the State, or to examine the Abuses of it. This, according to him, was a Matter above the Capacity of the Parliament, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam: Tractent fabrilia Fabri.* If the necessity of his Affairs engag'd him sometimes to permit the two Houses to inquire into the Grievances of the People, he pretended that they had no other Right than to represent those Grievances to him, and that from his Equity they ought to wait for what Remedy he thought convenient. And if they offer'd to go farther, he dissolv'd the Parliament, and committed to Prison such Members as had appear'd the most zealous for supporting the Liberties of the People. He chose rather to go without the Money he ask'd, than to suffer any Inquiry to be made into the Extent of his Prerogative. By this means he was under an absolute Necessity to employ unusual Methods to get Money; such as Monopolies, forc'd Benevolences, and other things of that nature. But as these Methods did not always answer his Expectation, and finding himself oblig'd to call another Parliament, he was willing that his Consent to the Abolition of those Monopolies should be interpreted as the pure Effect of his Complaisance, and of his great Affection for his People, and he expected large Subsidies for his Reward. On the other hand, when he saw himself oblig'd to stoop so low as to

His Straits for Money.

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to desire Money of the House of Commons, he did it with so much Haughtiness, and such an Air of absolute Power, as if he had been a warlike triumphant King, with a victorious Army at the Gates of *London*, tho his Fleet and his Troops were always in a sorry Condition. *A.* 1603.

His frequent Proclamations.

THESE Principles concerning absolute Power were the Cause also that he put out frequent Proclamations. Twenty of the preceding Reigns had not produc'd so many as this alone. The King would fain have given the same Force to them as to Acts of Parliament; but he could not succeed in it because of the Resistance of the common People and the Judges. No wonder if with such Principles he never agreed with his Parliaments. The Commons especially were not in the Humour to suffer themselves to be robb'd all at once of the Privileges which they look'd upon as an Hereditary Right of the *English* Nation. On the other hand, the King was vex'd to the last degree that he could not beat his Maxims into them, neither by his Address, nor by his Menaces. This Disagreement betwixt the King and Parliament makes up the most considerable part of the History of this Reign; tho we find but few Traces of it in the Acts of the *Fœdera*.

His Disagreement with his Parliaments.

IT will be thought strange, perhaps, that a Prince who never had any War upon his hands, should so often be in want of extraordinary Supplys from his Parliament, or that he should make use of unusual Methods to augment his Revenues. But the Wonder ceases, when 'tis consider'd that the Finances were never manag'd with less Regularity and Precaution than in this Reign: The King was liberal, or rather

His Lavishness, and Mismanagement of the Finances.

James I. ther prodigal to an Exceſs. He gave without Diſcretion, and without enquiring whether there was Money in his Coffers, and ſcarce ever call'd for an Account of his Finances. He maintain'd three Courts, *viz.* His own, the Queen's, and that of the Prince his Son, with an incredible Expence. He lov'd to enrich thoſe who were about his Perſon, as well *Scots* as *Engliſh*; and all theſe things together made him always poor and deep in Debt. He would fain have had the Parliament to furniſh him with all the Money neceſſary to ſatisfy his profuſe Temper, but he neglected the Uſe of the moſt proper means to gain their Affection.

After having given a general Idea of the Temper, the Genius and Character of *James* I. I ſhall lightly paſs over the firſt fourteen Years of his Reign, in which we find but few Facts of importance. To do this with the greater Clearneſs, I ſhall divide what I have to ſay into five Articles. The firſt, ſhall be Domeſtick Affairs; the ſecond, thoſe which relate to Religion; the third, Affairs with *France*; the fourth, Affairs with *Spain*; the fifth, Affairs with the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*.

Article I.

Affairs Domeſtick.

James's *joyful Reception in* England.

JAMES being inform'd of the Death of *Elizabeth*, and that he had been proclaim'd King of *England*, ſet out a few days after for *London*. He was receiv'd every where in his new Kingdom with ſuch Acclamations, and ſuch extravagant Joy, that it look'd as if the

the People had been vaſt Gainers by this Change of their Sovereign. *James* was charm'd with all the Marks of Love and Eſteem which he ſaw in the People of *England*. Yet he gave them two Cauſes of Diſcontent upon the very Road; firſt, by cauſing a Pickpocket who had been taken in the Fact, to be hang'd upon the Spot without any Form of Law, in which he acted directly contrary to the Privileges of *Engliſhmen*. In the ſecond place, he caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd, forbidding the great Concourſe of People about his Perſon, either for fear of ſome Miſchief intended to him, or elſe becauſe he thought that ſo much ſtriving to come near his Perſon to ſee him, ſhew'd too little reſpect. *Robert Cecil*, Secretary of State, who held a ſecret Correſpondence with him during the laſt Years of *Elizabeth*, went to preſent his Reſpects to him at *York*, and was very well receiv'd by him; quite contrary to the Opinion of thoſe, who being ignorant of this Secret, and knowing that he had been a great Enemy to the Earl of *Eſſex*, were perſuaded that in this new Reign he would be diſgrac'd; for indeed he was the only one of that Earl's Enemies who found favour with the King. Sir *Walter Raleigh* and ſome others of the ſame Party, were receiv'd very coldly. The King ſtopp'd ſome days at *Theobalds**, a Seat of Secretary *Cecil*'s, and there conferr'd Honours and Dignities upon a great Number of People.

A. 1603.

His firſt Act of Arbitrary Power.

His Proclamation againſt the Crowds of Spectators.

His Stay at Theobalds.

* Mr. *Rapin* has a Note in his large Hiſtory of this Reign, that the King bought this Houſe afterwards, and that it belong'd to the (late) Duke of *Portland*.

James I. THE Face of the Court of *England* was entirely chang'd by the Acceſſion of King *James* to the Crown. The late Queen's chief Favourites were diſgrac'd in this new Reign, *Cecil* only excepted, who was afterwards made Earl of *Salisbury*. The *Howard* Family, who never had Acceſs to *Elizabeth* after the tragical Death of the Duke of *Norfolk*, was advanc'd to the Pinnacle of Honour. The Brother of that Duke was made Earl of *Northampton*, Governor of the Cinque-Ports, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal; and the Son of that Duke was made Earl of *Suffolk*, and Great Chamberlain. The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, whom the deceaſed Queen had always look'd upon as her Enemies, were admitted into the new King's Privy-Council. But in all this there's nothing ſurprizing, becauſe 'tis no more than what commonly happens in every new Reign. Nor is it very ſtrange to find *James* advancing many *Scotſmen* to *Engliſh* Dignities, tho it could not be done without raiſing the Jealouſy of the *Engliſh*. And on the other hand, 'tis no wonder that ſome Perſons could not ſee theſe Changes without murmuring, and without making Efforts to change a Government which was againſt their Intereſt. Not long after *James*'s Arrival at *London*, a Conſpiracy, or rather a Project of a Conſpiracy was form'd to place *Arabella Steuart* on the Throne. She was firſt Couſin to the King, being the Daughter of the younger Brother of the King his Father. This Circumſtance alone ſhews how raſh this Project was, ſuppoſing it to have been real; becauſe *James* did not aſcend the Throne of *England* by the Right of his Father, but that of his Mother. By conſequence, *Arabella*, who tho of the *Steuart* Family, ſtood in a very remote degree of Relation to the late Queen

Cecil *made Earl of* Salisbury.

Advancement of the Howard *Family.*

A Plot to ſet up Arabella Steuart *on the Throne.*

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Queen *Mary*, had no Claim to the Crown of *England*, the rather becauſe *James* had three Children. The Authors of this Conſpiracy were the Lords *Gray*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and two Prieſts, named *Clarke* and *Watſon*. Theſe Conſpirators apply'd themſelves to the Count *d' Aremberg*, who was come to *London* from the Arch-duke *Albert*, in order to congratulate the King upon his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*. Their aim was to get 600000 Crowns from the Arch-duke, which they were to ſhare among them. 'Tis very probable that the Count *d' Aremberg* only gave ear to the Propoſal on purpoſe to ruin Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who of all the *Engliſh* was the moſt formidable to the *Spaniards*; and that this very Ambaſſador diſcover'd the Conſpiracy to the King. However this be, the Conſpirators were apprehended and condemn'd to die; but none of them were executed, except a Brother of the Lord *Cobham*, and the two Prieſts. The King order'd that the others ſhould be remanded to the Tower, and *Raleigh* liv'd there twelve Years; during which, he wrote his *Hiſtory of the World*. *A.* 1604.

THE Coronation of the King and Queen was perform'd at *Weſtminſter* with the uſual Solemnities, upon the 25th of *July* 1603. being *St. James's* Day. *Coronation of K. James and his Queen.*

THE Plague which rag'd in *London* when the King arriv'd there, did not permit him to aſſemble the Parliament before the 25th of *March* 1604. The Proclamation which he iſſued for the calling of this firſt Parliament was drawn up in an extraordinary Style. The King told the Electors what ſort of Men he would have them depute to the Houſe of Commons, and not only exhorted them to make *His extraordinary Proclamation for calling his firſt Parliament.*

James I. make ſuch a Choice, but even threaten'd them in caſe they did not obey his Proclamation, and declar'd before-hand that the Corporations which neglected to put his Orders in execution, ſhould for ſuch their Diſobedience be for ever depriv'd of their Liberties and Privileges. This was what no King of *England* ever did before *James*.

Character of his firſt Speech.

His firſt Speech to the Parliament was of an extraordinary Length, and very much confounded with Diviſions and Subdiviſions, ſo that at firſt reading 'tis ſcarce intelligible. This Confuſion gave him an Opportunity to drop ſome Maxims in it, of which few People perhaps knew the Drift at that time; tho his Method of Government made it very plain in the Sequel. This Speech was generally diſapprov'd by reaſon of its exceſſive Length. The Puritans in particular were very much diſguſted at it, becauſe the King ſaid *They were inſufferable in any well govern'd Commonwealth.* The People in general took it very ill that the King in ſo ſolemn an Act ſhould ſo publickly diſcover his Biaſs to the Romiſh Religion, and his Deſign to protect and favour the Profeſſors of it: Nor were the Catholicks themſelves pleas'd with his cautious Conduct towards them. They had expected greater Favours from him. But what was moſt offenſive to the *Engliſh*, was the King's Demand in Parliament for the uniting of the two Kingdoms into one State, in which they ſaw no Advantage. He expatiated very much upon this laſt Article, and with extraordinary Force diſplay'd all the Reaſons he could think of to bring the Parliament into this Union, among which were ſome that appear too childiſh. For example, he ſaid that he was the Head of the

the two Kingdoms; that he wes the *Shepherd*, and the two Nations his *Flock*; that he was the *Husband*, and the Iſland of *Great Britain* the *Wife*. By favour of theſe Compariſons he had inferr'd, that it would be unreaſonable to offer to oblige him to ſeparate himſelf from a part of his Body, to *divide his Flock* into two Parts, and to engage him in *Polygamy*, by forcing him to maintain *two Wives*. Nevertheleſs, he was ſo very much conceited of the Solidity of thoſe Arguments, that he made no ſcruple to tell the Parliament that he did not apprehend he ſhould meet with any Opponents, but the Ignorant, the Blind, the Turbulent and Diſſaffected. He went ſtill farther after the Seſſion of the Parliament was at an end: For the two Houſes having appointed Commiſſioners to conſider of the Advantages and Diſadvantages of this Union, without ſtaying for the Report of thoſe Commiſſioners, he publiſh'd a Proclamation, wherein by his ſingle Authority he united the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* into one Body; and of his own accord, aſſum'd the Title of King of *Great Britain*, till ſuch time as the Parliament of the two Kingdoms ſhould confirm this Union. It muſt be obſerv'd that this Proclamation was publiſh'd about a Month after another appointing the Day and Place where the Parliament's Commiſſioners were to aſſemble. He alſo caus'd new Money to be coin'd, on which the Union was repreſented by Emblems and Inſcriptions; and all this was done even before the Commiſſioners met. But we ſhall find afterwards, that he had the Mortification to ſee this Union which he had ſo earneſtly deſir'd, rejected by the Parliament.

A. 1604.

He proclaims the Union of England *and* Scotland *by his ſingle Authority.*

THO

4

James I.

They confirm his Title to the Crown.

THO the King did not desire the two Houses to strengthen his Title to the Crown of *England*, as thinking he had no need of it; yet they made an Act to confirm it, which was perhaps a great Mortification to him.

His Quarrel with the Commons about a controverted Election.

IN this first Parliament happen'd the first Quarrel betwixt the King and the Lower House, on account of a Controverted Election. The House having determin'd the Question which was put upon that Head, the King undertook to make them alter their Vote, and order'd the Commons to have a Conference with the Lords. They absolutely refus'd to take a Step so contrary to their Privileges, and gave the Council their Reasons, which in all appearance the Council thought very strong: Nevertheless, the King after his desisting from the Demand of their Conference with the Lords, sent an absolute Order to the Lower House to confer upon that Head with the Judges of the Kingdom. It was not without a vast deal of Difficulty that the Commons comply'd so far, tho they were resolv'd at the same time to make no Alteration in their Vote. But the Moderation of the * Member whose Election had been confirm'd, prevented a Breach betwixt the King and the House. He desisted from his Right, and so the House was at liberty to order a new Election. Thus early did the King attempt to domineer over the House of Commons.

Charter for a Monopoly of the Trade to Italy *and* Spain.

THE King having made a Peace with *Spain* this Year, granted Letters Patent to a Company of Merchants for the sole Trade to *Spain*

* This Member was *John Fortescue*, who was elected Knight of the Shire for *Buckingham*. See *Coke's Detection*.

and *Italy*. But this Monopoly which did a very great Prejudice to the Nation, was aboliſh'd the Year following by an Act of Parliament. *A.* 1605.

IN 1605, while the King was in a very happy quiet State to all Appearance, he was in extreme danger, tho he knew it not, from one of the moſt horrid Conſpiracies that ever was invented: I mean the Gunpowder-Plot, the Story of which is ſo well known, that it wou'd be loſs of time to inſiſt upon it here. 'Tis ſufficient to ſay in two words, that certain Papiſts, aſſiſted by two Jeſuits, had concerted Meaſures to blow up the King, Prince, and the two Houſes of Parliament, by means of ſome Barrels of Powder which they had plac'd in a Cellar; and that this Conſpiracy was diſcover'd by a ſort of Miracle. The Parliament being aſſembled ſome Days after this, the King according to Cuſtom made a long Speech, the purport of which was only to excuſe the Romiſh Religion, and to throw the Conſpiracy which the People held in Abhorrence, at the Doors of ſome private Perſons. *Yet it is true*, he ſaid in this Speech, *That many honeſt men blinded perhaps with the Opinions of* Popery, *as if they be not found in the* real Preſence, *the Number of the* Sacraments, *and ſome ſuch* School-Queſtions, *do either not know, or not believe at leaſt, all the true Grounds of* Popery, *which is indeed the* Myſtery of Iniquity. *And therefore we juſtly confeſs that many Papiſts, eſpecially our Forefathers, laying their only Truſt upon Chriſt and his Merits, may be ſaved; deteſting in that Point, and thinking that Cruelty of Puritans worthy of Fire that will allow no Salvation to any Papiſt.* 'Tis manifeſt, that his Deſign was to divert the Indignation of the People upon the Puritans. But the Pretence he had for it was ill choſen, becauſe if there were any

Gunpowder Plot.

King's Speech upon it.

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James I. any Puritans who were guilty in this reſpect towards the Papiſts, it wou'd have been a Rarity to have found one Papiſt who was innocent of that Charge with regard to the Proteſtants.

Execution of ſome of the Conſpirators.

In 1606, notwithſtanding the King ſo much deſir'd to turn the animoſity of the People upon the Puritans, he cou'd not help bringing eight of the Conſpirators to a Trial, who were condemn'd and executed, beſides the two Jeſuits who were convicted not only of being privy to the Conſpiracy, but of having likewiſe approv'd it. That was all the Revenge which was taken on the Conſpirators, tho they were a much greater number.

Oath of Allegiance adminiſter'd.

It was upon occaſion of the Gunpowder-Plot that the Parliament order'd every Subject to take an Oath, call'd the *Oath of Allegiance*, by which they own'd the King to be entirely independent on every foreign Power, and that the Pope had no Authority either over his Perſon or his Dominions. But before this Oath paſs'd in Parliament, the King took care to correct certain Terms of it which might have been offenſive to the honeſt Catholicks, I mean ſuch as were not entirely devoted to the Pope. Notwithſtanding this, the Court of *Rome* made ſuch Efforts to divert the Papiſts of *England* from taking this Oath, that the King was oblig'd to publiſh a long Apology, in which he ſhew'd that he had always favour'd his Roman-Catholick Subjects equally with the Proteſtants.

His Apology for it.

His Reception of the K. of Denmark, *and of the Pr.* Vaudemont.

The Parliament being pretty well ſatisfy'd with the King, granted him a very conſiderable Sum, tho he was at that time in Peace with all the World. This Money came very ſeaſonably to enable him to give a moſt magnificent Re-

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Reception to the King of *Denmark* his Brother-in-Law, who arriv'd to pay him a Visit. The King of *Denmark* was hardly gone, but the Prince of *Vaudemont*, Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, came also to pay the King a Visit, which consum'd all the Money that the Parliament had granted him. *A.* 1607.

THE Parliament which assembled again in 1607, rejected the Union of the two Kingdoms, without regard to what the King had already order'd. They only repeal'd certain Laws which were call'd *Hostile*, and which related solely to the frequent Differences between the Inhabitants of the two Frontiers. The King had also put forth another Proclamation, by which he declar'd those in both Kingdoms who were born since his Accession to the Crown of *England*, naturaliz'd. They were call'd *Post-Nati*, to distinguish them from those born before his Accession who were call'd *Ante-Nati*. But the Parliament by not confirming that Proclamation, render'd it of no Effect, because the Judges did not regulate their Decrees by Proclamations, but by the Laws. The rejecting of the Union of the two Kingdoms, gave the King an extreme disgust to Parliaments. On the other hand, the People murmur'd very much, not only upon account of the King's superfluous Expences, which tended wholly to enrich his Favourites, and particularly the *Scots*, but on account of the great number of Proclamations which seem'd to imply a despotic Power in the Sovereign. There was actually an Insurrection in *Northamptonshire*, but 'twas soon suppress'd; and the Parliament, in which a Storm began to arise, was prorogued, and the Prorogation thereof continu'd to the 19th of *February* 1610.

The Union rejected by the Parliament.

Post-Nati and Ante-Nati.

Murmurings of the People.

Prorogations of the Parliament.

BEFORE

James I. BEFORE the Year 1607 was expir'd, the King had Advice that the famous Earl of *Tyrone*, whom he had pardon'd in the beginning of his Reign had quitted *Ireland*, and given out in foreign Parts that it was by reason of the Oppressions which the Roman-Catholicks suffer'd in that Island. Upon this the King, who did not care to be reckon'd a Persecutor of those People, publish'd an Apology, wherein he strenuously refuted this Charge.

K. James's Apology against the Charge of Persecutor of the Papists.

NOTHING considerable happen'd in the Year 1608. but the Death of the High Treasurer *Sackvil* Earl of *Dorset*, who was succeeded by *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*.

Cecil made High Treasurer.

IN 1609, there came out two Books printed with the King's Privity, in which the Authors maintain'd the most extravagant Maxims of Despotic Power. The Parliament which assembled in the year following, was going to take cognizance of this Affair, but the King took care to stifle it by publishing a Proclamation for suppressing those Books after he had licens'd them with his *Imprimatur*.

The King first licenses and then suppresses two Books in favour of Arbitrary Power.

THE Session of Parliament which had been put off to the 19th of *February* 1610, was open'd by Commissioners, who represented to the House of Commons the pressing Necessities of the King, the unavoidable Expences which he had been engag'd in, and the Greatness of his Debts. From thence they took occasion to desire the House to grant him a Supply proportionable to his Necessities; and gave assurance, that when that was done, the King wou'd consent to have the Grievances of the People inquir'd into. But the House instead of speedily granting the Money which the King demanded, rang with Complaints against the Government. Some complain'd of the King's

Complaints in Parliament against the Government.

King's Prodigality, and particularly of the exorbitant Grants he had given to the *Scots*. Others publickly ſaid, that the King aim'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Government of *England*, and to render himſelf abſolute. Some others inſiſted particularly upon the extravagant Power of the High Commiſſion, which under pretence of purging the Church of the Puritans, oppreſs'd as ſuch all thoſe that wou'd not own a deſpotick Power in the Sovereign. The King being inform'd of theſe Declamations, ſent for the two Houſes to *Whitehall*, and made ſuch a Speech to them, as gave them fully to underſtand, that he intended to act after what manner he thought fit; and that if he did not govern tyrannically, it was only owing to his Moderation and Choice, and not to a want of Power and Authority. Then it was he told them, 'That as it is Blaſphemy 'to diſpute what God may do, ſo it is Sedi- 'tion in Subjects to diſpute what a King may 'do in the height of his Power. And as he 'will not have his Subjects diſcourſe of what 'he may, ſo he will do nothing but what ſhall 'be conſonant to Law and Reaſon.' This was a perfect Commentary on what he had ſaid in his firſt Speech to the Parliament, relating to the Conduct of a juſt King and that of a Tyrant. He made many other Harangues to the two Houſes, and concluded with ſaying, that ſince he had gone ſo far as to ask the Money, his Reputation wou'd be too great a ſufferer if he did not obtain it. The Commons, who did not expect ſuch clear and poſitive Declarations, and who had taken no meaſures to defend their Rights, judg'd that for this time it was proper to diſſemble their Reſentment, and granted him a Subſidy, tho much leſs

A. 1610.

K's Speech to them.

They grant him a Supply.

James I. less than what he had desir'd; and then the Parliament was prorogued.

Henry *created Pr. of* Wales.

DURING this Session, the King created *Henry* his eldest Son Prince of *Wales*, and settled his Household: And not long after this,

Design to match him to the Infanta of Spain.

he sent an Ambassador to *Spain* to negotiate the Prince's Marriage there with a Daughter of *Philip* III.

Parliament dissolv'd.

THE Parliament meeting again in *October*, with the same Resentments against the King, was dissolv'd by Proclamation. Every body imagin'd that the King wou'd call no more Parliaments; which was matter of Joy and Triumph to the Courtiers, who were glad to see the King freed from such a Dependance, and who minded nothing but Feasts and Diversions.

Robert Carr's *Rise in the King's Favour.*

IT was during this time that the King chose for his Favourite a *Scotsman* nam'd *Robert Carr*, a young Man without Education, Knowledge or Experience; who nevertheless became very powerful in a short space of Time, and was made Viscount of *Rochester*.

IN 1612, *Frederick* V. Elector *Palatine*, came over to the Court of *England* to marry the King's Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*: upon which occasion nothing was minded for some time besides Entertainments and Diversions. But this Joy was damp'd by the Death of the Prince

Pr. Henry's *Death.*

of *Wales*, which happen'd just as they were going to celebrate the Nuptials of the Princess his Sister. All Historians agree that he was an accomplish'd Prince; and some have been pleas'd to insinuate as if the King had caus'd him to be poison'd. But theirs are only loose Conjectures, insufficient to prove a Fact of this Nature.

THE

THE Elector's Marriage was celebrated on the 14th of *February* 1613; and in *May* following he set out with his Bride for their Dominions. This Marriage cost the King 100000 *l. Sterling*, tho her Portion was but 40000 *l.* During the rest of the Year 1613, we find but one Affair in History of which 'tis necessary to take notice, because the King's Favourite was concern'd in it. *A.* 1613. *E.* Palatine's *Marriage to the King's Daughter.*

THE Earl of *Essex* had left a very young Son, to whom the King when he arriv'd in *England*, restor'd the Honours and Estate of his Family, which had been forfeited by his Father's Attainder. This young Nobleman was marry'd to a Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolk* the Great Chamberlain; but being not of Age any more than his Lady to consummate the Marriage, he went to travel for a few Years in foreign Countries. During his Absence, the young Countess fell in Love with the Viscount of *Rochester*, the King's Favourite, but did not dare to let him know it. The Earl of *Essex* when he return'd, found it very difficult to persuade his Wife to come home to him. She continually started fresh Delays, and nothing prevail'd with her but the absolute Authority of the Earl her Father. Yet the Earl of *Essex* was never the better for it, because from his Wife's Resistance, or some other Reason, it was impossible for him to consummate his Marriage; for by the Advice of Madam *Turner*, a Confident, she made Application to a Man who pass'd for a Conjurer, and gave her certain Powders to render her Husband impotent. The Earl of *Essex* carry'd his Wife to a Country-House remote from *London*, but it was to no purpose, and he still found the same Contrariety. At length perceiving that there *History of the Earl of Essex's Marriage and Divorce.*

James I. was ſomething extraordinary in his Wife's Conduct, his Affection for her was quite pall'd; ſo that he carry'd her back to *London*, and left her at Liberty to ſteer her own Courſe. Then it was that ſhe found an opportunity to let the Viſcount of *Rocheſter* know the Paſſion ſhe had for him; and then their Intrigue begun, tho it was manag'd with ſo little Caution, that the whole Court knew it.

Her Amour with the Viſcount of Rocheſter.

THE Counteſs of *Eſſex* not ſatisfy'd to have the Viſcount of *Rocheſter* for a Lover, wanted to make him her Husband, and was for concerting Meaſures with him to diſſolve her Marriage with the Earl of *Eſſex*. *Rocheſter* conſented to it, but had an intimate Friend, one *Thomas Overbury*, to whom he choſe to impart his Deſign. *Overbury*, far from approving it, did all he cou'd to divert him from it, and even talk'd of the Counteſs of *Eſſex* to him in very offenſive Terms; of which the Counteſs being inform'd, was ſo far incens'd againſt *Overbury*, that ſhe reſolv'd to ruin him, and got her Gallant's Conſent to it, who cou'd deny her nothing. In order to bring this Deſign to paſs, *Rocheſter* deſir'd the King to ſend *Overbury* on an Embaſſy, as ſome ſay to *France*, and as others, to *Muſcovy*. At the ſame time he inform'd *Overbury* of the King's Deſign, and adviſ'd him to decline an Employment which wou'd remove him to ſuch a Diſtance, promiſing him to pacify the King if he was angry at his denial. The King having ſent for *Overbury* to tell him what Poſt he deſign'd for him, *Overbury* moſt humbly beg'd to be excus'd. As ſoon as he was gone out of the Room, the Favourite aggravated his Inſolence, and repreſented to the King that it deſerv'd to be puniſh'd. Upon this the King ſent

Overbury's *Ruin for oppoſing the Divorce.*

Rocheſter's *Treachery to him.*

ſent him to the *Tower*, where he was for ſeveral Months a Priſoner, without the permiſſion of ſeeing any of his Domeſticks or Friends, and at laſt was poiſon'd. *A.* 1613.

While *Overbury* was in the *Tower*, the Counteſs of *Eſſex* demanded the Diſſolution of her Marriage with the Earl of *Eſſex*, by reaſon of Impotency, and prevail'd with the King to appoint Commiſſioners to try the Cauſe. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who did not care now who had his Wife, being interrogated by the Judges, made anſwer that he did not think himſelf impotent towards any other Woman, but that he believ'd he ſhou'd never be able to conſummate his Marriage with his Wife. The Court nevertheleſs obſerv'd ſeveral Formalities, and order'd the Counteſs to be viſited by Matrons, to know if ſhe was a Virgin. 'Tis ſaid, that the Counteſs having obtain'd leave to put on a Veil, caus'd a young Woman of her Stature to ſtand the Search in her place. Be this as it will, the Marriage was diſſolv'd, and in a little time the Viſcount of *Rocheſter* was created Earl of *Somerſet*, and marry'd his Miſtreſs. *Eſſex's Marriage diſſolv'd.*

IT was already above three Years ſince the King had aſſembled his Parliament. But at length, not being able to ſupport his Expences, and all the Methods of raiſing Money being exhauſted, his Miniſters adviſ'd him in 1615 to call a Parliament, and gave him hopes that by their Intereſt the majority of the Members wou'd be elected according to his Deſire. This is very eaſy, as I have often obſerv'd, for a King who has not laid himſelf open to the Suſpicions of the People. But the caſe was otherwiſe with *James* I. The Parliament conſiſted of other Men than he expected. The King deſir'd Money, with a Promiſe that when *K. calls a Parliament.* *He deſires Money, but they enter firſt upon Grievances.*

James I. the Affairs of the Subſidy was diſpatch'd, he wou'd ſuffer the Grievances to be inquir'd into. But the Commons acted the Reverſe, and began with the Grievances; after which they reſolv'd to preſent an Addreſs to the King upon ſeveral Heads, and particularly upon the Prejudice which the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd from the Settlement of the *Scots* in the Kingdom. The King was ſo provok'd at the Non-compliance of the Commons, that he diſſolv'd the Parliament, and immediately after committed ſeveral Members of both Houſes to Priſon, and laid a Tax upon all the Subjects under the honourable Title of Benevolence. This Money ſerv'd him to entertain the King of *Denmark*, who came to make him a ſecond Viſit.

Therefore he diſſolves them, and impriſons ſome of the Members.

King of Denmark's ſecond Viſit.

The Riſe of a new Favourite in George Villers.

In the Year 1615, the Face of the Court was chang'd by the advancement of a new Favourite, and by the Fall of the old one. The King being at *Cambridge*, while the Students entertain'd him with a Comedy, ſaw *George Villers* there, a handſome young Man, very well dreſs'd, who was newly come from *France*. He was charm'd at the ſight of him; and not to enter here into a ſuperfluous detail, 'tis ſufficient to ſay that *Villers* ſoon had that place in the King's Affections which *Somerſet* had held for ſeveral Years. It was unlucky for the latter, that the King was inform'd at the ſame time of the manner of his putting *Overbury* to Death. Nevertheleſs he kept the Secret for a while, and endeavour'd, tho in vain, to reconcile his two Favourites, ſtill pretending to love the Earl of *Somerſet*. But not being able to ſucceed in this Project, he at length caus'd the Earl, his Wife, and all their Accomplices to be apprehended. They were all condemn'd to Death, and ſome executed; but the King contented

Decline of the old one.

His Impriſonment,

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tented himſelf with the Confinement of the Earl and Counteſs in Priſon, and a few Years after ſet them at full Liberty; but did not grant them an entire Pardon till a little before his Death. *A.* 1616. *and Pardon.*

ARABELLA Steuart, the King's Couſin, dy'd that ſame Year at the *Tower*, to which ſhe had been committed ſome time, for having contracted Marriage unknown to the King, with *William Seymour*, Grandſon to the Earl of *Hertford*. The Enemies of King *James* have given dark Hints as if he got rid of this Kinſwoman by ſome foul Play; but I own I don't ſee any Foundation for this Charge. Arabella Steuart's *Impriſonment and Death in the* Tower.

THE Diſgrace of the Earl of *Somerſet* compleatly eſtabliſh'd the Fortune of *George Villers*, who, to ſay all in a word, became a perfect Favourite, and commanded every thing at Court. Villers's *ſway at Court.*

IN 1616, the King had a great Diſpute with the Judges, who had call'd his Prerogative in queſtion concerning a Biſhoprick which he had granted in *Commendam*. The King took this Affair to heart. He was always ſo jealous of his Prerogative, that to do any thing tending to infringe it, was to touch him in the moſt ſenſible part. Judge *Cook* was diſgrac'd, and turn'd out of his Poſt, for maintaining with Obſtinacy what the Judges had done. *K's Diſpute with the Judges.* Cook's *Diſgrace.*

SOME time after this, the King made a long Speech in the Star-Chamber, in which he publickly declar'd his Sentiments with reſpect to the abſolute Power of Kings. But his Eloquence did not produce all the Effect which he expected from it, the generality of the Subjects not being able to digeſt thoſe Principles which he inceſſantly aim'd to eſtabliſh. *K's Speech in the Star-Chamber for Arbitrary Power.*

THE

James I.

The Great Seal given to Francis Bacon.

THE Lord *Ellesmere* High Chancellor falling sick, resign'd the Great Seal to the King, who committed it to the Custody of *Francis Bacon*. Not long after, the Earl of *Suffolk*, who had been made High Treasurer in the room of the Earl of *Salisbury*, that dy'd in 1613, was accus'd of a Misdeameanour, and condemn'd by the Star-Chamber to pay a great Fine.

Earl of Salisbury *fin'd for a Misdemeanor.*

Villers made E. of Bucks, *&c.*

IN the Month of *August* that same Year, the King created his Favourite, *George Villers*, Baron of *Brandspech*, and Viscount of *Waddon*; and on the 1st of *January* following he made him Earl of *Buckingham*.

P. Charles *created Pr. of* Wales.

IN the Month of *November*, the King's only Son, Prince *Charles*, was created Prince of *Wales*. The King had a great desire to match him; but as there was then no Protestant Princess that was a King's Daughter, he cou'd not resolve with himself to give him to a Woman of inferior Extraction. Therefore he cast his Eyes on two Popish Princesses, *viz. Christina* of *France*, Sister to *Lewis* XIII. and *Mary* Infanta of *Spain*, Daughter of *Philip* III. But having heard that the first was already promis'd to another, he apply'd in good earnest to the *Spanish* Match, of which Negotiation I shall treat hereafter.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *release from the* Tower, *and Commission to sail to the* W. Indies *in quest of a rich Gold Mine.*

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who receiv'd Sentence of Death in 1603, and had been now 12 Years in Prison, was set at Liberty, but without a Pardon. As his Estate had been forfeited, and he had not wherewithal to subsist, he desir'd Leave of the King to carry some Ships to *America*; and gave him to understand that there was a Mine of Gold at *Guiana*, from whence he hop'd to draw an immense quantity, if he had his Majesty's Commission. Upon this Representation the King granted him a Patent, whereby he gave him the chief Command of all Ships

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CHARLES the I. King of
Gr. Britain, France, & Ireland, &c.

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and Adventurers that ſhould make the Voyage with him, without informing himſelf particularly either of the Place where the Mine was, or to whom it belong'd, or whoſe Country he muſt paſs thro' to go to it. I ſhall diſcourſe of this Gentleman's ſad Cataſtrophe hereafter. *A.* 1603.

THE Acts of the ſecond Part of the 16th Volume of the *Fœdera*, which relate to Domeſtick Affairs, are theſe.

1. A Letter from the Council to the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries at the Congreſs of *Bremen*; dated *March* 28. 1603. at *Whitehall*. *Council's Letter to the Congreſs at* Bremen. 493.

'THE Council acquaints them of the Death 'of Queen *Elizabeth* on the 24th of *March*, and 'of the Proclamation of King *James*.

2. PROCLAMATION made at *Southampton* upon the King's Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*. *Proclamation of K.* James. 490.

'IN this Proclamation the King's Title is 'founded upon his Deſcent from the two Fa'milies of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and from *Mar'garet*, *Henry* VII's eldeſt Daughter.

3. A Memorandum relating to the Great Seal.

'IT appears by this Memorandum, that 'the King upon the 5th of *April*, before his 'Departure from *Scotland*, had writ to the 'Council, that it was his Will and Pleaſure 'that Sir *Thomas Egerton* ſhould keep the Great 'Seal till farther Orders. That afterwards 'on the 3d of *May*, *Egerton* reſign'd the Great 'Seal to the King, who reſtor'd it to him, and 'order'd him to make uſe of it as he had done 'before. That on the 19th of *July* following, 'the King caus'd the Great Seal to be broke, 'and put a new one into the hands of *Eger'ton*, with a Paper of his own ſigning, where'by he created him Baron of *Elleſmere*; the 'Pa- *Honours done to Sir* Thomas Egerton. 495.

James I. ‘ Patents for which he caus'd to be dispatch'd ‘ on the 21st of the same Month; and that on ‘ the 24th he made him High Chancellor.’

Acts reposited in the Treasury. 497.

4. A Memorandum of the publick Acts reposited in the Treasury by Order of the King.

‘ They are the several Treaties and Bonds ‘ formerly mention'd.

Answer to the Council from the Congress at Bremen. 500.

5. The Answer of the Plenipotentiaries of the Congress of *Bremen* to the Council, dated *April* 22. 1603. at *Bremen*.

‘ They say that upon the News of *Elizabeth's* Death the Congress is broke up.

Earl of Tyrone's *Pardon.* 500. 505.

6. A Proclamation by which the King notifies that he receives the Earl of *Tyrone* to Favour.

7. Another concerning the Outrages committed upon the Borders of the two Kingdoms, dated *May* 17. 1603. at *Greenwich*.

License to Fletcher, Shakespear, *&c.* 503.

8. A License granted to *Fletcher*, *Shakespear* and Company, to play Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Interludes, Morals, Pastorals, Stage-Plays; dated *May* 19. 1603. at *Westminster*.

Proclamation for the Union, 506.

9. A Proclamation, declaring the Union of the two Kingdoms till such time as the Parliaments have confirm'd it with more Solemnity; dated as above at *Greenwich*.

‘ The King says, that he had found a ‘ most earnest Desire in his Subjects of both ‘ Kingdoms that such Union should be perfect-‘ ed; but he was not well inform'd.

Proclamation for the People to depart the Court, &c. 517.

10. A Proclamation forbidding the Concourse of the People about the King's Person, and ordering the Nobility and the Officers of Justice, or the Police, to return every one to his own House.

‘ The King says in the last Article of this ‘ Proclamation, that he perceives there had ‘ been great Neglect heretofore in obeying his

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' Proclamations, and that he is resolv'd to make ' Examples of the Disobedient. *A.* 1604.

11. THE Creation of *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, High Constable for the 25th of *July*, being the Coronation Day; dated *June* 25. 1603. at *Westminster*. *E. of* Nottingham's *Offices for the Coronation.*

12. ANOTHER appointing him High Steward for that Day; dated at *Westminster July* 7. 1603. 519, 522.

13. A Proclamation for apprehending *Anthony Copley*, who had conspir'd against the King. *Proclamation against* Copley. 523.

14. ANOTHER empowering the Magistrates to punish the *Scots*, who shall commit any Outrages upon the *English*; dated at *Windsor July* 8. 1603. *Insolences of the* Scots. 526.

15. A Denization of the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, a *Scotsman*; dated the 13th of the same Month at *Westminster*. *Bishop of* Dunkeld *made a Denizen.* 527.

WE afterwards find a great many more of the like Nature.

16. A Proclamation to apprehend several Conspirators, discover'd by the Confession of *Copley*; dated at *Hampton-Court July* 16. 1603. The Persons therein describ'd are Sir *Griffin Markham*, and *William Watson* and *William Clarke*, two Priests. *Proclamation against Plotters.* 529.

17. A Proclamation for calling the Parliament; dated *Jan.* 11. 1604. at *Hampton-Court*. *For the Parliament.* 563.

I mention'd this Proclamation in the Historical Account.

18. A Grant of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s forfeited Estate to *John Shelberg* and *Robert Smith*; dated *Feb.* 14. 1604. at *Westminster*. *Disposal of* Raleigh's *Estate.* 569.

19. A Proclamation fixing the Time and Place for the meeting of the Commissioners for the Treaty of the Union of the two Kingdoms; dated *Sept.* 15. 1604. at *Windsor Castle*. *Commissioners for the Union.* 600.

THE

James I. THE Painted Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, was the Place, and the 20th of *October* the Day.

Proclamation about Tobacco. 601. 20. ANOTHER for laying a Duty of *6 s.* and 8 *d.* on every Pound of Tobacco that is brought into the Kingdom, over and above the 2 *d.* formerly paid, in order to put a Stop to the Importation of that Drug; dated at *Weſtminſter Oct.* 17. 1604.

For the Union. 603. 21. A Proclamation for uniting the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* by the Name of *Great Britain*, purſuant to the King's Prerogative; dated *Oct.* 20. 1604. at *Weſtminſter.*

For coining new Money. 605. 22. ANOTHER for altering the Standard of the preſent Money, and coining new *Sterling* which ſhall be current in both Kingdoms; dated *Nov.* 16. 1604. at *Weſtminſter.*

THE Inſcriptions of all Coins are therein directed to be *Ja. D.G. Mag. Brit. F. & H. Rex* on one ſide; and on the other ſide ſome are to have a Thiſtle crown'd, with the Motto *Tueatur unita Deus*; others the Letters and Words *J. D. G. Roſa ſine ſpina*, and others the Motto *Quæ Deus conjunxit nemo ſeparet.*

Pr. Charles *created D. of* York. 606. 23. A Patent for creating *Charles*, the King's ſecond Son, Duke of *York*; dated *Jan.* 6. 1605. *Weſtminſter.*

Regulation of the Heralds. 608. 24. A Commiſſion to regulate the College of the Kings at Arms, Heralds and Purſuivants; dated *Feb.* 5. 1605. at *Weſtminſter.*

Proclamations for apprehending Plotters. 636, 638, 639. 25. A Proclamation for apprehending Popiſh Conſpirators; dated *Nov.* 5. and 18. 1605. at *Weſtminſter.*

26. ANOTHER for apprehending *John Gerrard* and *Henry Garnet*, two Jeſuits; dated *Jan.* 15. 1606. at *Weſtminſter.*

27. GRANT

27. GRANT of a Penſion of forty Marks *per Ann.* to *John Fynwood*, for having apprehended *Robert Winter* and *Stephen Littleton*, two of the Conſpirators; dated *Jan.* 17. 1606. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1609 *Penſion for apprehending them.* 640.

28. THE King's Bond for annexing certain Lands and Jewels for ever to the Crown of *England*; dated *March* 27. 1606. *Lands &c. annex'd to the Crown.* 643.

29. A Proclamation to certify that the King is not dead, as was reported; dated *March* 22. 1606. at *Weſtminſter*. *Proclamation that the K. is alive.* 645.

30. ANOTHER to regulate the Form of the Flags of Ships; dated *April* 12. 1606. at *Weſtminſter*. *About the Flags of Ships.* 645.

'THE King orders that the Red Croſs of 'St. *George*, and the White Croſs of St. *Andrew* 'be joyn'd together to denote the Union of 'the two Kingdoms.

31. THE King's Declaration concerning the Flight of the Earls of *Tyrone* and *Tyrconnel*; dated *Nov.* 15. 1607. at *Weſtminſter*. *K's Declaration about the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel.* 664.

'THE King declares that they were crea- 'ted Earls by *Elizabeth*, not on account of 'their Birth, but for Reaſons of State; that 'they are fled becauſe they knew themſelves 'guilty of new Conſpiracies; and that they 'have not ſuffer'd any Oppreſſion with re- 'ſpect to their Religion or their Eſtates.

32. THE King's Commiſſions to compound with thoſe who are oblig'd to furniſh him with a Sum of Money according to the Statute of *Edward* III. by reaſon of the Knighthood conferr'd on the Prince his eldeſt Son, aged about 15. dated at *Weſtminſter*, *May* 10. and *June* 21. 1609. *Commiſſions for compounding with thoſe who were to raiſe Money for Pr. Charles's Knighthood.* 680. 681. 682.

33. Two others of the like Nature to compound on the ſame Head with the two Univerſities

James I. ties of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; dated *July* 15. 1609. at *Weſtminſter*.

Proclamation for taking Arabella Steuart, *and* Will. Seymour. 710.

34. A Proclamation for apprehending *Arabella Steuart* and *William Seymour*, who eſcap'd out of Priſon upon the 3d of *June* 1611. dated the 4th of the ſame Month at *Greenwich*.

Marriage Articles of the Princeſs Elizabeth *and the Elector* Palatine. 722, *to* 737.

35. Several Pieces relating to the Elector Palatine's Marriage with the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; dated in *Auguſt*, *September*, *October*, *November* and *December*. 1612.

'BY the Conventions the King oblig'd himſelf to give the Princeſs his Daughter 40000*l.* *Sterling* for her Portion, and the Elector engag'd to ſettle 10000 *l.* a Year upon her, and to give her 1500 *l. per Ann.* for her Privy-Purſe.

Commiſſion to levy Money for it. 724.

36. A Commiſſion to levy the Sum of Money order'd by a Statute of *Edward* III. for the Marriage of the King's eldeſt Daughter; dated *Auguſt* 30. 1612. at *Woodſtock*.

More Acts relating to the Marriage. 742, 744. 748, *to* 767.

37. OTHER Acts relating to the aforeſaid Marriage; one for defraying the Expences of their Journey to the Elector's Territories, dated at *Weſtminſter*, *April* 10. 1613. Another of the ſame Date for ſecuring her Portion. One from *Frederic*, certifying her Arrival and Reception in the *Palatinat*; dated at *Heydelberg*, *June* 10. 1613, *&c.*

Receipt for her Portion. 776.

38. THE Elector *Palatine*'s Receipt in full for *Elizabeth*'s Portion; dated *February* 14. 1615. at *Heydelberg*.

Regulation of the Heralds. 779.

39. A Commiſſion to regulate the Offices of the Heralds, *&c.* dated *January* 16. 1616. at *Weſtminſter*.

E. of Somerſet's *Trial.* 781.

40. A Commiſſion to the High Chancellor to officiate as High Steward at the Trial of the Earl and Countes of *Somerſet*; dated *May* 10. 1616. at *Weſtminſter*.

41. A

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41. A Commiſſion to Lord *James Hay* to negotiate a Marriage of Prince *Charles* with *Chriſtina* of *France*, Siſter to *Lewis* XIII. dated *June* 8. 1616. at *Weſtminſter*. *A* 1616. *Mariage Treaty of Pr.* Char. 788.

42. LETTERS Patent, authorizing Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Voyage to the South of *America*, and other Parts; dated *Auguſt* 26. 1616. at *Weſtminſter*. Raleigh's *Patent for his Voyage.* 789.

'THE King grants him the ſame Power 'over his Fleet as the other Commanders are 'us'd to have. He reſerves to himſelf one 'fifth of the Profit. He ſuppoſes that *Raleigh* 'is going to ſettle a Trade with the ſavage 'Nations, who make no account of Gold or 'Silver. But there is not a ſingle word re-'lating to the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, 'who are not ſo much as nam'd.

43. A Patent for creating Prince *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Cheſter*; dated *November* 4. 1616. at *Weſtminſter*. *Pr.* Char. *created Pr. of* Wales. 792.

ARTICLE II.

Affairs relating to Religion.

I have already ſufficiently demonſtrated how *James* I. ſtood affected with regard to Religion. He made profeſſion of the Religion of the Church of *England*, protected the Papiſts, and mortally hated the Puritans. If he cou'd have render'd himſelf abſolute, 'tis hardly to be doubted but he wou'd have granted the Roman Catholicks an entire Toleration, the Jeſuits and thoſe excepted who held that the Pope had a Power to depoſe Kings. But he had a Notion, upon what grounds I know not, that they who held this Opinion were very few in number. As for the Puritans, he did James's *Conduct to the Papiſts and Puritans.*

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James I. not think they ought to be ſuffer'd in a well regulated Government. From thence, it may be conjectur'd how he would have treated them, if, as he intended, his bare word had paſs'd for a Law. He never ſlipt an Opportunity of making them feel the Effects of his Hatred, as much as lay in his Power, not only by his Expreſſions, but by his Actions. He had been bred up among them in *Scotland*, which, as I have already ſaid, was the very Reaſon that made him hate them.

Puritans petition him to reform ſome Articles of the Church of Engl.

NOT long after the King's arrival, the Presbyterians preſented a Petition to him to reform certain Articles in the Church of *England*, which they cou'd not digeſt. The King made Anſwer to them, that he wou'd examine their Complaints in a Conference between the two Partys, of which himſelf wou'd be Mediator.

Conference at Hampton Court.

A Conference was held accordingly at *Hampton Court*, in the Month of *January*, 1604. The King officiated there, not as Preſident, but as Party and Judge together. He himſelf anſwer'd the Arguments of the Puritans, without giving time to the Biſhops who were preſent to ſpeak. He reproach'd them with Obſtinacy, Inſincerity, Pride, Chicanery, and in fine, gave them to underſtand that his Intention was to force them to conform to the Church of *England*. *Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was ſo charm'd with what the King ſaid, that he cou'd not forbear crying out, *That his Majeſty was inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt*. At laſt the King declared himſelf a ſtaunch Adverſary of the Puritans, and after that time never ſpoke of them without giving them Proofs of his Contempt and Hatred. As this Averſion was not a little fomented by the Biſhops, it quickly ſpread almoſt over all the Members

Whitgift's fulſom Compliment on the King.

of the Church of *England*, and continues even to this Day. *Bancroft*, *Whitgift*'s Succeſſor, was an Enemy of the Puritans, and the ſtrongeſt Advocate for the Deſpotick Power of the King. To him ſucceeded *George Abbot*, who, tho joined to the Church of *England*, was reckon'd a Puritan, becauſe he wou'd not perſecute that Sect; and moreover, becauſe he cou'd not approve of the Deſpotick Power of the King. I ſhall ſay no more upon this Head, becauſe the Acts of theſe 14 Years, which relate to Religion, have no need of any further Explanation.

A. 1604. Bancroft's Character. Abbot's Character.

The Acts which relate to Religion or the Church; are,

1. A N Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion againſt the Papiſts and Puritans; dated *Auguſt* 26. 1603. at *Hatfield*. *Commiſſion againſt the Papiſts and Puritans.* 546.

2. A Commiſſion to reform the Book of Common Prayer, by the Addition or Explanation of ſome things; dated *February* 9. 1604. at *Weſtminſter*. *To reform the Common Prayer.* 565.

3. A Proclamation for all Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts to depart the Kingdom before the 19th day of *March*; dated *February* 22. 1604. at *Weſtminſter*. *Proclamation about Popiſh Prieſts.* 572.

4. A Proclamation authorizing the reformed Book of Common Prayer; dated *March* 5. 1604. at *Weſtminſter*. *About the Common Prayer.* 574.

5. A Commiſſion to the Chancellor and others, authorizing them to baniſh out of the Kingdom all Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, come from foreign Seminaries; whether indicted, convicted, in Priſon, or at large; dated *September* 5. 1604. at *Hatfield*. *Commiſſions to baniſh Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits.* 697.

James I. ‘ UNDER pretence of executing the Acts ‘ of Parliament, the King manifeſtly eluded ‘ them, by only baniſhing the Jeſuits and ‘ Prieſts, as well thoſe who were attainted, as ‘ others. Nevertheleſs the Title of this Com- ‘ miſſion is, *De Commiſſione ad Jeſuitas exterminandos*, i. e. A Commiſſion for exterminating ‘ the Jeſuits.’

1690. 6. ANOTHER of the like nature; dated *June* 14. 1610. at *Weſtminſter*.

‘ THIS was after the Murder of *Henry* IV. ‘ The King own'd, that ſince his late Proclamations, a great number of Jeſuits and Popiſh ‘ Prieſts were come into *England* from foreign ‘ Seminaries. He own'd that the Parliament ‘ had with one unanimous Voice made an ‘ Order, That the Statutes enacted againſt ‘ them in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, ſhou'd be ‘ ſtrictly put in execution. Nevertheleſs he ‘ ſays, that continuing his gracious Inclinations towards them, he only orders the Commiſſioners to baniſh out of the Kingdom, ‘ ſuch as are convicted and attainted of and ‘ for High Treaſon, and all others that are come ‘ into the Kingdom contrary to the Laws.’

To conſecrate Bps. 1706. 7. A Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *London* and others, to conſecrate the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, and the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Brechin* in *Scotland*, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*; dated *October* 15. 1610. at *Weſtminſter*.

CUMQUE ex certis, juſtis & legitimis rationibus & cauſis, Nos & Animum noſtrum in ea parte moventibus, magnopere cupiamus ut idem Johannes Spottiſwood, Gawinus Hamilton, & Andreas Lambe, jam in hoc noſtro Regno Angliæ commorantes, in Archiepiſcopum & Epiſcopos reſpectivè

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juxta Ritum & Formam Eccleſiæ noſtræ Anglicanæ, ordinentur & conſecrentur. Vobis igitur hoc tenore Præſentium ſignificamus, rogantes &c. A. 1610.

ARTICLE III.

Affairs of James I. *with* France.

JAMES was no ſooner arrived in *England*, but he received Embaſſies from ſeveral Courts, to congratulate him on his Acceſſion to the Crown. *Henry* IV. King of *France*, was one of the firſt to acquit himſelf of this kind of Duty, by ſending to him the Marquis *de Roſny*, who was afterwards Duke of *Sully*. *Henry*'s View was not only to congratulate the King, but alſo to hinder the ſaid Prince from giving ear to the *Spaniards*, for whom he had always manifeſted a very ſtrong Inclination. The Ambaſſador had Orders to appear in Mourning with his Retinue, at his firſt Audience, becauſe his Buſineſs was to make a Compliment of Condolence upon the Death of *Elizabeth*, as well as another of Congratulation; but he was given to underſtand that his Viſit wou'd not be well taken if he comply'd with that Order, becauſe the King himſelf, not having gone into Mourning for the Death of *Elizabeth*, cou'd not but look upon the Appearance of any other Perſon in ſuch Habit, as a Deſign to reproach him. After the firſt Audience, the Ambaſſador had ſeveral Conferences with the King and his Miniſters, about the renewing of the defenſive Alliance betwixt *France* and *England:* and in this he ſucceeded according to his Maſter's Deſire; for on the 30th of *July* that ſame Year, the ſaid Alliance was renew'd. A Treaty of Commerce

French Ambaſſador not ſuffer'd to come to Court in Mourning for Queen Elizabeth.

Alliance with France.

James I. merce had also been concluded at *Paris* the 24th of *Feb.* 1603. but by reason of some Difficulties it was not ratify'd by the two Kings till the Year 1606.

Renew'd. *HENRY* IV. being murder'd in 1610, the Alliance was renew'd between *Lewis* XIII. and *James* I. but as the Court of *France* was afraid, lest during the King's Minority, *England* shou'd unite with *Spain*, they thought it proper to satisfy King *James*'s Demand of the Sums which *Elizabeth* had lent to *Henry* IV. and to pay him 60000 *l. Sterling*.

Marriage Treaty for Prince Charles. IN 1614, *James* sent a full Power to *Edmonds* his Ambassador in *France*, to treat of the Marriage of Prince *Charles* with *Christina*, Daughter of *Henry* IV. But there is some probability either that the Ambassador did not propose this Marriage at that time, or at least that the Negotiation was not push'd very far, because in 1616 the Earl of *Carlisle* had Orders to sift the Court of *France* on that Subject. Be this as it will, the Earl of *Carlisle* found that *James* and his Council were very ill inform'd of the Transactions of foreign Courts; for *Christina* was already promis'd to the Prince of *Piedmont*.

THESE are all the Affairs which *James* was concern'd in with the Court of *France*, during the first fourteen Years of his Reign.

The Acts thereunto referring are chiefly these:

Tho. Parry's *Commission.* 630. 1. A Commission to Sir *Thomas Parry* to treat with the King of *France* concerning the Grievances of the *English* Merchants dwelling in *France*; dated *June* 20. 1605. at *Greenwich*.

THIS

'THIS in all appearance was one of the 'Reasons which occasion'd the Delay of the 'Ratification of the Treaty concluded in '1603. *A.* 1610.

2. THE Ratification of the Treaty concluded at *Paris* the 24th of *Feb.* 1603. between *France* and *England*. This Ratification is dated at *Westminster April* 25. 1606. as is that of *Henry* IV. on the 26th of *May* following at *Fontainbleau*. *Ratifications of the Treaty of* Paris. 645. 653.

'THIS properly speaking is a Treaty 'which relates solely to Commerce; only the 'first Article confirms the antient Treaties be-'tween the two Kingdoms.

3. A Commission from *Henry* IV. to renew the Treaties of Peace and Alliance with *England*; dated *Dec.* 29. 1609. at *Paris*. *Treaties with* Fra. 683.

'WE find in this Commission that the 'Term of the Treaties made betwixt *Henry* 'and *Elizabeth* was expir'd, and that another 'Treaty made with King *James* on the 24th 'of *July* 1603. was only provisional. 'Twas 'this latter which the Marquis *de Rosny* had 'negotiated. *Henry* IV. having a design to 'make War upon *Spain*, was willing to make 'sure of *England*.

4. A Commission to treat with *M. de la Boderie*, Ambassador of *France*; dated *April* 19. 1610. at *Whitehall*. Henry IV. *was kill'd not many Days after*. 685.

5. A Commission of the like Nature to treat with the same Person, being Ambassador from *Lewis* XIII. dated *July* 4. 1610. at *East-Greenwich*. 693.

6. A Treaty of defensive Alliance betwixt *Lewis* XIII. and *James* I. dated *Aug.* 19. 1610. at *London*. 694.

7. *JAMES*

James I. *King of* France's *Payment of Money borrow'd of* Q. Elizabeth. 705. *Prince* Charles's *Marriage Treaty.* 769. 788.

7. *JAMES*'s Ratification of it; dated *Aug.* 25. 1610. at *Woodſtock.*

8. AN Acquittance given to the King of *France* for 60000 *l. Sterling*, due upon the Bonds of Meſſieurs *de Beauvoir & de Sancy*, &c. to Queen *Elizabeth.*

9. A Commiſſion to Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, Ambaſſador in *France*, to treat of the Marriage of Prince *Charles* with *Chriſtina* of *France*; dated *June* 19. 1614. at *Weſtminſter.*

10. ANOTHER of the like Nature to the Earl of *Carliſle* for the ſame purpoſe; dated *June* 8. 1616. at *Weſtminſter.*

ARTICLE IV.

The Affairs of James I. *with* Spain.

I have already given an account of the continual and reciprocal Enterpriſes of the King of *Spain* againſt *Elizabeth*, and of *Elizabeth* againſt *Spain*. 'Tis true there had been no expreſs Declaration of War betwixt the two Crowns, nevertheleſs they were in actual War for near 20 Years. There needs no Proof of this. Mean time, *James* who valued himſelf on being a pacifick King, pretended, I know not upon what Foundation, that this War was perſonal betwixt *Elizabeth* and the King of *Spain*, and that by his Acceſſion to the Crown it was determin'd. Thus having a deſire to convince the King of *Spain* that he did not enter into *Elizabeth*'s Quarrel, he had not been above three Months in *England* before he publiſh'd a Proclamation, whereby he call'd in all the Letters of Repriſal which that Queen had granted to ſeveral private Men, to authorize them to make War upon the Subjects of the King

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King of *Spain*, and order'd that all the Prizes taken after the 24th of *April* 1603, shou'd be restor'd. 'Tis observable that this Proclamation was dated the 23d of *June*, and that it order'd a Restitution of the Prizes taken from the *Spaniards* two Months before they, who had the Commissions from the Queen, cou'd possibly know the new King's Intention. *James* having by this Step made the King of *Spain* his Friend, the two Kings enter'd soon after into a Treaty, and the Peace between the two Crowns was sign'd on the 18th of *August* 1604. By this Treaty *James* entirely abandon'd the Interests of the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*. He not only engag'd himself not to give them any Assistance, but even promis'd to compel them by some means or other to make Peace with *Spain*. 'Tis true, that some Historians, in the Account of this very Treaty, relate the Article concerning the *United Provinces* quite different from what it is in the *Fœdera*; from whence it may be suspected that there was a secret Article on this same Subject, contrary to that which was inserted in the Treaty it self. And indeed it does not appear that *James* perform'd the Engagement he enter'd into by the publick Treaty.

A. 1612.

James's *Treaty with* Spain.

NOTWITHSTANDING this Treaty, *James* made an Alliance with several Princes of *Germany* against the House of *Austria*, for the Preservation of the Succession of the Duke of *Cleves*. By this Treaty which was sign'd at *Wezel* the 8th of *April* 1612, *N. S. James* engag'd himself to furnish those Princes with 4000 Men to be taken from the *English* Troops that were in the Service of the States General, and to be commanded by *Edward Cecil*, Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*.

With the German *Princes.*

JAMES

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James I. *JAMES* having attempted in *1616*, as I ſhew'd before, to make a Match betwixt Prince *Charles* his Son and *Chriſtina* of *France*; the King of *Spain* thought it his Intereſt to obſtruct that Marriage, and therefore the Duke of *Lerma*, *Philip* IIId's chief Miniſter, propos'd to Sir *John Digby* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, a Marriage between the ſaid Prince and the Infanta *Maria*, *Philip*'s Daughter. *Digby* having inform'd the King of it, receiv'd an Order from him to negotiate the Marriage, and at the ſame time *Philip* ſent Count *Gondamor* to *England* for the ſame end. This Negotiation will be one of the principal Subjects of the Hiſtory of the remaining part of this Reign.

Propoſal of a Marriage between Pr. Charles *and the Infanta of* Spain.

The Acts which relate to Spain *are*,

Trade renew'd with Spain. *516.*

1. A Proclamation for reſtoring the Commerce with *Spain*; dated *June* 23. *1603*. at *Greenwich*.

'THE King ſuppoſes in this Proclamation, 'that by his Acceſſion to the Crown of *Eng-* 'land, the War with *Spain* was at an end, be- 'cauſe he had declar'd at his coming into 'England, that he was at Peace with the whole 'World. But becauſe the *Engliſh* who had 'receiv'd Commiſſions from *Elizabeth*, to make 'War againſt *Spain*, cou'd not be altogether 'certain of his entrance into *England*, before 'the 24th of *April* laſt, he orders that the 'Prizes taken before that Day ſhall remain 'in their Hands, but that thoſe taken after 'that Day ſhall be reſtor'd to the *Spaniards*. 'The King ſet out from *Edinburgh* on the 5th 'of *April*, and from *Berwick* on the 8th, ſo 'that the Ships which were at Sea cou'd not 'have above *16* Days to hear of his coming 'into

'into *England*, ſuppoſing even that ſuch his 'Entrance put an end to the War with *Spain*. *A.* 1605.

2. A Commiſſion to treat of a Peace with the Ambaſſadors of *Spain* and *Burgundy*; dated *May* 19. 1604. at *Weſtminſter*. *More Negotiations with Spain, &c.*

3. A Treaty of Peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*, concluded at *London* the 18th of *Aug.* and ratify'd the 19th at *Weſtminſter*. 579. 585.

THIS is the Subſtance of the Articles relating to the *United Provinces*.

'AS to the Towns of *Fluſhing*, *Brill*, and '*Rammekens*, the King of *England*, at the ſame 'time that he aſſerts that he is bound by the 'former Treaties between *Elizabeth*, and the 'States, not to give up thoſe Towns to any 'but the ſaid States, promiſes nevertheleſs up'on his Royal Word that he will allow the 'States a convenient Time to make Peace 'with the Archduke on equitable Conditions; 'and upon their Refuſal, the King looking 'upon himſelf as free and diſengag'd from the 'Conventions made with them, will do what 'he ſhall think juſt and honourable with re'ſpect to the ſaid Towns, and the ſaid Arch'duke his Brother ſhall know that he will 'not be wanting in the good Office of a 'Friend.

'THAT the King of *England* ſhall expreſly 'forbid the Gariſons of the ſaid Towns to 'give the States any manner of Aſſiſtance un'der any pretence whatſoever.

'THAT he ſhall forbid his Subjects to 'carry Merchandize from *Holland* or *Zealand* 'into *Spain*.

4. THE King of *Spain*'s Ratification; dated *June* 15. 1605. at *Valladolid*. *King of Spain's Ratification.* 617.

5. A

James I. 5. A Proclamation for the better maintaining of the Peace with *Spain*; dated *July* 8. 1605. at *Windsor*.

Proclamation for the Peace with Spain. 1633.

'NOTWITHSTANDING the Peace with 'Spain, there were some People who went 'a Cruizing against the *Spaniards* without the 'King's Commission.

Treaty with the German Princes. 714. 711 *to* 719.

6. A Treaty of defensive Alliance between *James* I. and several Princes of *Germany*, touching the Succession of the Duke of *Cleves*; dated *March* 28. 1612. at *Wesel*.

THERE are several Pieces on this Subject.

ARTICLE V.

Affairs of James I. *with the* United Provinces *of the* Netherlands.

JAMES I. never lov'd the Inhabitants of the *United Provinces* for three Reasons: In the first place, because of his Inclination for *Spain*, which he cou'd never shake off. Secondly, because he lookt upon those Inhabitants as Rebels, who had withdrawn their Obedience to their rightful Sovereign; for according to his Principles there was no Case in which it was lawful for the Subjects to resist. Lastly, those rebellious Subjects had chosen a Republican Government to which he had a very great Aversion. For this reason he scarce let any opportunity slip of giving them Proofs how little he valued their Friendship. Of this we have just seen a very manifest Proof in the Treaty he made with *Spain* at the beginning of his Reign.

IN the Year 1607, he made an Overture of Peace between the *United Provinces* and the Arch

Archdukes, that is to ſay, the Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta *Iſabella* his Conſort, who were Sovereigns of the *Netherlands*. Before they cou'd enter into the Negotiation, it was abſolutely neceſſary to get over a Difficulty in which the eſſential part of the projected Treaty conſiſted; and that was the Refuſal of the States General to hear Talk either of a Peace or Truce, unleſs they were own'd to be Free States, by the Archdukes, and by the King of *Spain*. The Archdukes conſented to it at laſt, and promis'd to get their Conſent ratify'd by *Philip* III. *Henry* IV. being inform'd of this Overture, immediately ſent the Preſident *Jeannin* to the *Hague* to aſſiſt in his Name at the ſaid Negotiation in quality of Mediator. But the States fearing to diſoblige the King of *England* if they treated with the Archdukes without his Participation, diſpatch'd an Ambaſſador to him to deſire him to ſend ſome Perſon into *Holland*, as well to aſſiſt them with his Councils, as to perform the Office of Mediator. *James* appointed Sir *Richard Spencer*, and Sir *Ralph Winwood* his Ambaſſador at the *Hague* to aſſiſt at the Treaty in his Name, but it was not till above two Months after he had been requir'd. The Negotiation was defer'd nevertheleſs by reaſon of the ambiguous Terms which the King of *Spain* made uſe of in his Approbation of the Conſent of the Archdukes above-mentioned, for it was with much ado that *Philip* was perſuaded to make uſe of ſuch Terms in his Ratification, as the States cou'd by any means put up with. *A.* 1607.

Negotiation of the Peace of the Netherlands.

IN the mean time there happen'd two occaſions of Quarrel between *James* and the States, the one upon acccount of the Cloth Trade of *England*, the other relating to the Fiſhery.

James I. Fiſhery. But as theſe two Affairs were of no material Conſequence, and as the Acts of the *Fœdera* make no mention of 'em, I don't think it abſolutely neceſſary to treat of them more particularly.

THE Negotiation for the Peace being at laſt renew'd after a great many Difficulties, the *Engliſh* Mediators not only left all to be done by the Preſident *Jeannin*, but even did every thing in their Power to hinder the Succeſs of it, by giving publick Teſtimony that the King their Maſter look'd upon the States of the *United Provinces* as Rebels. The chief Obſtruction to the Peace was the Demand of the *Netherlanders*, to be acknowledg'd as a free State, and yet *Richardot* one of the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries ſaid in one of his Letters to *Jeannin*, that *Philip*'s Obſtinacy upon this Article was owing to the Promiſe he had from the King of *England* that he wou'd not ſuffer the Clauſe of the Freedom of the States to be inſerted in the Treaty. We may thereby judge what wou'd have been the Conſequence of King *James*'s Mediation. Nor did *Jeannin* make any ſcruple to ſay in a Letter to the King his Maſter, that he *pretended a deſire to procure Peace, and yet thwarts it by openly ſaying that the States are Rebels*. Mean time *James*, in order to amuſe the States, made a defenſive Alliance with them to maintain the Peace, *if a Peace cou'd be made*, by which he engag'd to furniſh them with 6000 Men. As it was not poſſible to attain to this Peace, ſo deſired by the States, they were fain to accept of a Truce of 12 Years, which was concluded in 1609.

Two

TWO Years after this, *James* had a very extraordinary Quarrel with the States. The Church of *Holland* being unhappily in very great Trouble on account of a Diſpute among the Divines about matters of Grace; *James* thought fit to meddle in the Diſpute under two qualities very different from each other, *viz.* as a Divine, and as a King. As a Divine, he read the Works of *Conrade Vorſtius*, and condemn'd them as Heretical: He alſo caus'd them to be burnt by the common Hangman at *London* and at *Cambridge*. As a King, he thought to oblige the States of *Holland*, juſt as if they had been his own Subjects, not only to condemn the Sentiments and Works of *Vorſtius*, but alſo to puniſh that Profeſſor as a Heretick. His Ambaſſador *Winwood* preſented Memorials in his Name to the States on this Subject, which were drawn up in ſuch haughty menacing Terms, that it look'd as if the King reckon'd himſelf the Sovereign of *Holland*. The States behav'd upon this occaſion with extraordinary Moderation. They had all the Complaiſance poſſible for the King, but without giving up every thing to his Paſſion, and without derogating from their own Sovereignty. 'Tis hardly conceivable that this Prince who was for tolerating the Papiſts in *England*, provided they behav'd as good Subjects, and who regarded the Doctrines which ſeparate the Proteſtants from the Papiſts, as no more than School-Queſtions, ſhou'd venture to tell the States of *Holland*, that Death was too ſlight a Puniſhment for the Errors which *Vorſtius* maintain'd about Grace. 'Tis ſtill more unaccountable from whence aroſe this great Zeal for preſerving the Purity of the Faith, in a Church that was both Foreign and Presbyterian. But

A. 1611.

James *ſets himſelf againſt the Arminian Party in* Holland.

James I. he was not always ſo hot upon this Subject, for towards the Cloſe of his Life the *Engliſh Arminians* had very great Credit with him.

His Negotiation with the States about the Ranſom of their Cautionary Towns.

THE laſt Diſpute that *James* had with the States General was about the reſtoring of the Towns that were mortgag'd to Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Tis certain that the States might a long time ago have redeem'd thoſe Towns, by paying the King what they ow'd him. But while the War laſted, it was their Advantage to have them in his Hands, in order by ſuch a Tye to ſecure him in their Intereſts. The Truce which was concluded for 12 Years, render'd the Aſſiſtance of *England* not ſo neceſſary to them now as formerly. Beſides they imagin'd that the King wou'd not have treated them with the Arrogance he did, in the Affair of *Vorſtius*, had it not been for thoſe important Towns of theirs of which he had the keeping. Laſtly, the Marriage of Prince *Charles*, which was negotiating in *Spain*, gave them reaſon to apprehend that *James* might be prevail'd on to deliver up thoſe Towns to the King of *Spain*, and that this wou'd be one of the Articles of the ſaid Marriage, which was then thought to be very far advanc'd. All theſe Reaſons made them reſolve to redeem their Towns. They thought they had the fairer opportunity to do it by reaſon of the King's extreme want of Money, for he had juſt diſſolv'd the Parliament without obtaining any Supply from them. But in order to reap all the Advantage poſſible from the King's Circumſtances, they thought it abſolutely neceſſary by ſome Artifice or other to engage him to offer the Reſtitution of their Places to them of his own accord. In the laſt Treaty they had made with him, they own'd themſelves his

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Debtors in the Sum of 818408 *l. Sterling*. This being a conſiderable Sum, they thought that with a little management it wou'd be poſſible for them to ſave a good part of it, and for this purpoſe they ſtop'd the Pay of the Gariſons of the cautionary Towns all on a ſudden. The Governours and the Officers complain'd, and the States, tho they did not refuſe Payment, pretended Inſolvency, and deſir'd longer time. The delay of their Pay made the *Engliſh* Troops complain to the King, who not being in a condition to ſatisfy them, wrote ſharply about it to the States. But the States ſtill pleading Poverty, on account of the Expences of the late War, ſpun out the Affair to a great length. *Caron*, the States Envoy to the King inſinuated, as of his own Head, to the Miniſters, that if the King ſhou'd make an Offer to the States to give up their Cautionary Towns, he did not doubt but they wou'd make a hard ſhift to pay him the Principal, tho they ſhou'd borrow the Money at high Intereſt. The King who was without Caſh at that Juncture, approv'd of the Overture, and propos'd the thing to the States, which was what they look'd for with impatience. As ſoon as the King had thus declar'd himſelf, they ſent Ambaſſadors to him, who found means to compound with him for two Millions 728000 Florins; that is to ſay, for about one fourth of what they ow'd him; and the Towns were reſtor'd to them. *A.* 1611.

The Acts which relate to the United Provinces *are*,

1. A Letter from King *James* to the States General; dated *June* 24. 1603. at *Greenwich*. James's *Letter to the States.*

James I. ‘ He ſends Sir *Ralph Winwood* to them to ‘ aſſiſt as a Member of their Council of State ‘ according to Treaties.

His Ambaſſadors at the Treaty betwixt Spain *and* Holland.

2. A Commiſſion to Sir *Richard Spencer* and Sir *Ralph Winwood*, to aſſiſt in the King's Name at the Treaty between *Spain* and the States General; dated *Aug.* 10. 1607. at *Beawley*.

663. *Treaty with the* Dutch.

3. A Treaty of Defenſive Alliance betwixt *England* and the States General; dated *June* 6. 1608. at the *Hague*.

667. ‘ The King engag'd himſelf to aſſiſt them ‘ with 20 Ships, and 6000 Men for the Preſervation of the Peace. But this Treaty was ‘ only to take place, in caſe the Peace was ‘ made.

671. 4. The King's Ratification of it, dated *July* 20. 1608. at *Theobalds*.

About their Arrears. 673. 5. Another Treaty concerning the Money due to the King, from the United Provinces; dated as above.

‘ The States own themſelves Debtors to ‘ the King, in the Sum of 818408 Pounds ‘ *Sterling*, which after two Years are expir'd ‘ from the concluſion of the Peace, they will ‘ begin to pay off at the rate of 60000 Pounds ‘ a Year.

676. 6. The King's Ratification of it; dated *July* 20. 1608. at *Theobalds*.

Their East-India *Trade and Whale Fiſhery.*

7. A Commiſſion to regulate certain Diſputes with the *United Provinces*, relating to the Commerce of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the Fiſhery in the *North-Sea* near *Greenland*; dated *Dec.* 29. 1614. at *Weſtminſter*.

The Reſtitution of their Cautionary Towns. 784.

8. A Commiſſion to deliver up *Fluſhing*, and the Caſtle of *Rammekins* to the States of the *United Provinces*; dated *May* 22. 1616. at *Weſtminſter*.

Ano-

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9. ANOTHER of the ſame Nature concerning the *Brill*; dated *May* 22. 1616. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1611. 786

Other looſe Acts are.

1. THE King's Credentials to *Stephen Leſur*, his Envoy to the Emperor *Rodolph* II. dated *June* 25. 1603. at *Greenwich*. *Leſur's Credentials.* 518.

2. THE Grant of a Penſion of 500 Marks to *Auguſtus* Duke of *Brunſwick*; dated *June* 21. 1604. at *Weſtminſter*. *Duke of Brunſwick's Penſion.* 581.

3. A Commiſſion to *Edward Michelburne*, to go and make Diſcoveries in *China*, *Japan*, *Corea*, *Cambaia*, &c. dated *June* 25. 1604. at *Weſtminſter*. *Patent for Diſcoveries in China, &c.* 582.

4. A Grant of 2000 *l. Sterling* to *Ulrick* Duke of *Holſtein*; dated *May* 27. 1605. at *Weſtminſter*. *Duke of Holſtein's Penſion.* 614.

5. A Commiſſion to *Thomas Glover*, to confirm the Friendſhip between the King and *Sultan Achmet* Emperor of the *Turks*; dated *Aug.* 16. 1606. at *Greenwich*. *Peace with the Turks.* 659.

6. A Licence to *Richard Penkevell* to go and ſeek a Paſſage to *China* by the *North-Sea*; dated *Jan.* 9. 1607. at *Weſtminſter*. *Diſcovery in China.* 660.

7. A Commiſſion to *Edward Cecil*, to command 4000 Men appointed for the Aſſiſtance of the Duchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; dated *April* 5. 1610. at *Whitehall*. *Cecil's Commiſſion* 684.

8. THE Denization of *Iſaac Caſaubon*; dated *Jan.* 3. 1611. at *Weſtminſter*. *Caſaubon's Denization.* 707.

9. THE Grant of a Penſion to him of 300 *l. Sterling*; dated *Jan.* 19. 1611. at *Weſtminſter*. *Penſion.* 710.

10. The King's Teſtimony under the Great Seal concerning the Antiquity of the Family

James I. of *Sylvius*; dated *April* 6. 1612. at *Weſtminſter*.

This is the Family of Wood *in* Scotland.

Peace betwixt Sweden *and* Denmark. 738.

11. A Treaty of Peace between *Chriſtian* IV. King of *Denmark*, and *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, concluded by the Mediation of the King of *England*, at *Copenhagen*, *January* 20. 1613. with the Ratification and Confirmation of it by *James* I. dated *April* 2. following, at *Weſtminſter*.

With Muſcovy. 747.

12. A Commiſſion to renew with the Governors of *Muſcovy*, the antient Treaties touching the Privileges of the *Engliſh* Merchants; dated in *May* 1613. at *Weſtminſter*.

13. ANOTHER of the like Nature, of the ſame Date.

'*MUSCOVY* was at that time diſturb'd 'by a Civil War. Therefore thoſe Commiſ-'ſions are to treat with the Governors, Gene-'rals of the Army, States, *&c.*

768. 14. A Commiſſion to renew the Friendſhip and Alliance with *Michael Federowitz* great Duke of *Muſcovy*, and to mediate the Peace betwixt *Muſcovy* and *Sweden*; dated *June* 18. 1614. at *Weſtminſter*.

Sir Thomas Rowe's *Commiſſion.* 795.

15. A Commiſſion to Sir *Thomas Rowe*, to go Ambaſſador to the Great *Mogul*, and to treat about the Confirmation of the Commerce of the *Engliſh* to the *Indies*; dated *Jan.* 8. 1615. at *Weſtminſter*.

WE are at length arriv'd to Mr. Rapin's *Account of the Seventeenth Volume of the* Fœdera, *the laſt that was printed in his Time.*

THE reſt of *James* the Firſt's Reign takes in five things eſpecially, to which the moſt important Acts of the Seventeenth Volume refer,

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fer, *viz.* 1. The King's Broils with the Parliament. 2. The Protection he gave to the Papists in *England*. 3. The Affairs of the Elector *Palatine*, Son in Law to the King. 4. The Negotiation of the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* with the Infanta of *Spain*: And, 5. The Marriage of that Prince to a Princess of *France*. It were to be wish'd for the greater clearness that those Subjects cou'd be treated each separately, according to the Method hitherto observ'd. But they have such a Dependence on one another that I don't see how 'tis possible to make different Articles of them, without being engag'd in continual repetitions. Therefore I shall now alter the Method, and set down under every Year what happen'd of most importance in each of the five Articles just now mention'd. By this means I shall have the Liberty to introduce some things into this Abstract which have no Connection with those Articles. *A.* 1617.

Anno MDCXVII.

MARK Anthony de Dominis, Archbishop of *Spalato* * in *Dalmatia*, a Man full of Years, but in good Plight of Body, came into *England*, on purpose to embrace the Protestant Religion. The King was very kind to him, but after- *Account of* Mark Anthony de Dominis,

* THIS was the Person, who being exasperated by the Court of *Rome*, had the chief hand in publishing Father *Paul*'s excellent *History of the Council of Trent* at *London*, which he inscrib'd to King *James* in 1619. He also preach'd and wrote against the Romish Religion, and because he was advanc'd in Years, it was suppos'd that nothing but a conscientious Zeal for the Purity of Religion, had prevail'd with him to undertake so long a Journey, and quit his Archbishoprick.

James I. wards this same Prelate being prevail'd on to go to *Rome*, in hopes of being made a Cardinal, he there abjur'd the Religion which he had embrac'd in *England*. But notwithstanding this, he was put into the Dungeon of the Inquisition, where he dy'd, and after his Death his Body was publickly burnt.

James's *Attempt to oblige the* Scots *to conform to the Church of* England.

JAMES not thinking it enough to keep the Presbyterians very low in *England*, took it into his Head to oblige the *Scots* to conform to the Discipline of the Church of *England*. But knowing the Difficulties there wou'd be in the obtaining of this all at once, he contented himself at first with sending only 4 Articles into *Scotland* of very small Importance, to the end that they might be inserted in the Canons of the Church. The general Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, perceiving the King's Intention, refused to insert those 4 Articles in the Canons. Not that they thought that those Articles were a lawful Ground of Separation between the Churches of *Scotland* and *England*, but because they foresaw the Handle it wou'd give the King for new Demands, or rather new Injunctions. This Refusal oblig'd the King to make a Journey to *Scotland*, where he treated of this Affair in a very extraordinary manner, relying constantly upon his darling Maxim, that a King might do what he list. He obtained of the Parliament in the first place, that Commissioners shou'd be appointed to examine his Demands, and he himself immediately nominated three Persons that were devoted to him, without giving the Parliament the Liberty of interfering in that Nomination. Those Commissioners decided in the first place, that the King, with the Advice of the Bishops, might make what Alterations he thought

thought fit in the Diſcipline of the Church. But the Proteſtant Miniſters proteſted againſt this Deciſion, and demanded a general Aſſembly. The King wou'd not grant it, and actually committed ſome of the Miniſters to Priſon. But at laſt finding it was not in his Power to make them obey him, if what he demanded was not authoriz'd by a general Aſſembly; he granted it, and had the Mortification to ſee his Articles rejected. Being incens'd at this Refuſal, he caus'd the ordinary Salaries of the Miniſters to be ſtopp'd, and at laſt call'd another Aſſembly at *Perth*, which ſubmitted to his Will. *A.* 1617.

He authorizes Sports and Paſtimes on Sundays, and writes a Book to juſtify it.

WHEN the King was return'd to *England*, and on his way to *London*, a Petition was preſented to him from Servants, Labouring Men, Artificers, *&c.* that they might have leave to play, to go to tippling Houſes, in a word, to have Sports and Paſtimes upon Sundays after Divine Service. It was ſignify'd to him that the Puritans were againſt Diverſions of this kind, by reaſon of a ſuperſtitious Opinion they held concerning Sunday, which they always affected to call the Day of Sabbath. The King not only granted this Petition, but even wrote a Book to demonſtrate the Innocence of Diverſions of this ſort upon that day, and order'd it ſhou'd be read publickly in all the Churches of the Kingdom. The Miniſters who refuſed to read this Book were look'd upon as Puritans, and puniſh'd by the High Commiſſion.

Account of his Favourite the E. of Buckingham.

THE Earl of *Buckingham*, the King's Favourite, was become Lord Paramount. It was he that govern'd the Kingdom. He diſpoſed of all Offices in favour of his own Friends and Creatures, and eſpecially his Kindred, who were

James were very numerous. His Mother, who was marry'd again to Sir *Thomas Compton*, being a Roman Catholick, obtain'd whatever ſhe wanted in favour of thoſe of her Religon, who expected mighty things from her Credit, and therefore great Numbers of them flock'd into the Kingdom, from the time I am ſpeaking of to the end of this Reign.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Misfortunes.*

SIR *Walter Raleigh*, whom I formerly mentioned, having found means to fit out 12 Ships by virtue of the Patent which the King granted him, ſail'd directly to *Guiana*, where he did not find the Mark which he had left on the Coaſt: Nevertheleſs he detach'd five Ships, which went up *Oroonoko* River. The *Engliſh* offering to go aſhore, the *Spaniards* of thoſe Parts oppos'd them, but were repuls'd as far as St. *Thomas*'s Town, which the *Engliſh* took poſſeſſion of, and put a Gariſon in it. The *Engliſh* advanc'd afterwards into the Country in queſt of the Mine ſo much deſir'd, but not finding it, they went back to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was forc'd by thoſe that had accompany'd him, and who were very much diſſatisfy'd with the Voyage, to ſail back again for *England*. He had no ſooner ſet his Foot aſhore, but the King caus'd him to be apprehended, and committed to the Tower, upon the Inſtances of the Count *de Gondemar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who gave him to underſtand that the Marriage Treaty wou'd infallibly be broke off, if the King his Maſter had not ſuitable Satisfaction for Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Enterprize. The King, in his own Vindication, proteſted that by his Patent he had expreſly forbid *Raleigh* to attempt any thing againſt the Subjects of the King of *Spain*. However in the Patent which is inſerted in the XVIth Volume

lume of the *Fœdera*, there was not one word about the King of *Spain* or his Subjects. Indeed the King in that ſame Patent, taking it for granted that Sir *Walter* was going into a Country inhabited by Savages, there might be ſome reaſon for inferring ſuch a Prohibition. Be this as it will, *Raleigh* was ſacrific'd to the Marriage, and had his Head cut off at the Age of 79. not for any Inſult that he had committed upon the *Spaniards*, but in purſuance of the Sentence paſs'd againſt him 14 Years before. *A.* 1618.

Anno MDCXVIII.

THE People in general complain'd very much of the King's Government, and of the Conduct of his Favourite, who was this Year made Marquis of *Buckingham*, and upon the Reſignation of the Earl of *Nottingham*, advanc'd to the Poſt of Lord High Admiral. Complaint was made that Offices were ſold to the higheſt Bidder; that nothing was heard at Court but horrid Oaths, and that the King himſelf was not exempt from this Crime; that Religion was only made to conſiſt in not being a Puritan, that is to ſay, in not oppoſing the King's abſolute Power; that they who cou'd not approve of that Power were perſecuted by the High Commiſſion as Puritans; that the Papiſts were not only tolerated, but even poſſeſs'd the chief Poſts in the Court and Kingdom; and that the King was going to marry the Prince his Son to a Popiſh Princeſs. The King on his part was as much diſpleas'd to hear that the People dar'd to call his Conduct in queſtion, and eſpecially that part of it relating to the Marriage of the Prince

Complaints of the People againſt the King's Government and Favourite.

The King diſſatisfy'd with the People.

James I. Prince his Son, which he had extremely at Heart.

The View of the Spaniſh Court in the Negotiation for his Son's Marriage.

YET 'tis certain that at that time the *Spaniſh* Court had no mind to conclude that Marriage. Their only View was to hinder the King of *England* from interfering in the Affair of the Succeſſion of *Cleves*. For tho *James* had made a Treaty with the *German* Princes concern'd in that Succeſſion, to furniſh them with 6000 Men, yet this Treaty prov'd of no real Advantage to them, becauſe thoſe 6000 Men were the ſame that were already in the Service of the States General. The Negotiation of this Marriage had been ſpun out 2 Years, and no Progreſs made in it. But at laſt the *Spaniſh* Court fearing that *James* wou'd be quite diſcourag'd, ſeem'd to enter into this Treaty more ſeriouſly. As the Prince and the Infanta were of two different Religions, it was agreed that the Affair of Religion ſhou'd be ſettled before any other. After a great many Difficulties five Articles were at length agreed on, for ſecuring to the Infanta the Liberty of Conſcience, and the free Exerciſe of her Religion, in a manner ſuitable to her Dignity and Birth. I will only ſet down two of them, the other three having nothing in them extraordinary.

Convention for the Marriage.

THE firſt imported, 'That before the Celebration of the Marriage, a Diſpenſation 'ſhou'd be obtain'd from the Pope, at the 'ſingle Sollicitation of the King of *Spain*.' By means of this Article the Negotiation was ſpun out five Years longer.

BY the ſecond it was agreed, 'That if the 'Children born of this Marriage choſe to be 'Catholicks, it ſhou'd be no manner of Pre-'judice to their Succeſſion to the Crown.'

THESE

THESE Articles being ſent to the King, he ſign'd them and return'd them back to *Spain*, yet the Marriage was never the nearer. For new Reaſons oblig'd the *Spaniſh* Court to drive it off. *A.* 1618. *The King ſigns them.*

I have a mind juſt to mention the Troubles of *Bohemia*, the Origin of which is ſo well known that I ſhall ſay the leſs of it. *Matthias* ſucceeding to the Empire and to the Crown of *Bohemia*, after the Death of his Brother *Rodolph* II. adopted his Nephew Prince *Ferdinand*, and caus'd him to be elected King of *Bohemia*, having found the means to exclude from the number of Electors, not only the Proteſtants of the Kingdom, but alſo the States of *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, and upper and lower *Luſatia*, Countrys incorporated with *Bohemia*. Under the Reign of *Matthias*, the Privileges of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* were ſo openly violated, that the States at length threw three of the Emperor's Officers out of the Windows of the Caſtle of *Prague*, which occaſion'd a War betwixt the Emperor and the States. Cardinal *Albert* rais'd an Army in the *Netherlands* for the Emperor's Aſſiſtance, and gave the Command of it to the Count *de Bucquoy*; and the States on their part prepar'd for their Defence. The States of *Bohemia*, or at leaſt the greateſt part of the Deputies, being Proteſtants of the Communion, which is called in that Country *ſub utraque* *, there was great probability that this particular War wou'd turn at laſt into a general religious War. This was the reaſon that the Court of *Spain*, knowing of what Advantage the Aſſiſtance of *Eng-*

The Troubles of Bohemia.

The States caſt 3 of the Emperor's Officers out at Window.

A War breaks out.

* THIS was the Religion of the *Huſſites*, who receiv'd the Communion in both kinds.

James I. land might be to the Proteſtants, continually amus'd King *James* with the hopes of a ſpeedy Concluſion of the Marriage, in order to hinder him from meddling in the Affairs of *Bohemia*. *James* fell into this Snare, and contented himſelf with ſending the Earl of *Carliſle* Ambaſſador to the Emperor, to endeavour to aſſwage theſe Differences; but his Labour was in vain. Afterwards he wou'd never take part heartily in the Affairs of *Bohemia*, no not even when the Elector *Palatine* his Son-in-law was particularly concern'd, as we ſhall ſee preſently. Mean time the People of *England* murmur'd ſadly againſt the King for his obſtinate Reſolution to marry the Prince with a Popiſh Princeſs, who was the Daughter of a mortal Enemy to the Proteſtant Religion. But the Catholicks triumph'd, when they ſaw that they were going to have ſo powerful a Protector.

James is amus'd by the Spaniſh *Court.*

Murmur'd at by his Proteſtant Subjects while the Papiſts rejoice.

Anno MDCXIX.

His Queen's Death. THE Queen, who was Wife to King *James*, dy'd in the Month of *March* this Year *; and not long after, the King himſelf was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper, which brought him almoſt to the Brink of the Grave †.

The States of Bohem. *oppoſe the Summons of K.* Ferdinand *to the Diet.* THE Emperor *Matthias* dying at the ſame time, the States of *Bohemia* refus'd to own *Ferdinand* for their King, and ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the Summons which the Archbiſhop of

* *Ruſhworth* places the Death of the Queen on the 17th of *Nov.* 1619.

† MR. *Rapin* obſerves, in the 7th *Tome* of his large Hiſtory, that it had been happy for his Reputation, if he had died now, becauſe the Reſidue of his Reign, which was ſix Years, ſtain'd his Character.

Mentz

Mentz ſent to him to be preſent as King of *Bohemia* and Elector, at the Choice of a new Emperor. But notwithſtanding their Oppoſition, *Ferdinand* was not only own'd by the Diet as King of *Bohemia*, but was alſo elected Emperor, on the 28th of *Auguſt* 1619, *O. S.* But the States, far from owning him as King of *Bohemia*, offer'd their Crown to the Elector *Palatine*, who accepted it without heſitation, and before he had ſent word of it to the King his Father-in-law. 'Tis true he diſpatch'd the Baron *de Dhona* * to him, to ask his Advice; but this was no more than a mere Compliment, becauſe he did not ſtay for his Anſwer. As ſoon as *James* had receiv'd the firſt News of this Election, he call'd an extraordinary Aſſembly of his Council, to conſider whether it was expedient that the Elector *Palatine* ſhou'd accept the Crown of *Bohemia*, which was offer'd to him. *Abbot* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* not being able to attend the Council, by reaſon of the Gout, wrote to one of the Secretaries of State, that his Opinion was for the Elector's accepting it; but the King and Council were of another Opinion, and determin'd that the Elector ought to refuſe the Crown. Not that they had examin'd this Affair with reſpect to the Elector himſelf, but their Deciſion was founded on the King's Genius, and on what he thought his Intereſt, as if the Elector had been oblig'd to make that the only Rule of his Conduct. The King without giving himſelf time to examine the Conſtitutions of the Government of *Bohemia*,

A. 1619.

He is elected Emperor.

Elector Palatine *choſe K. of* Bohemia.

K. James *againſt his accepting of that Crown, and ABp* Abbot *for it.*

* SOME call him the Baron *Done* or *Dhona*, and Mr. *Rapin* is uncertain, whether his right Title was not Baron *d' Aulne*.

or

James I. or the Privileges of the States, a thing which was very odious to him, decided that the States of *Bohemia* were Rebels, and that by conſequence the Elector his Son-in-law cou'd not lawfully accept the Crown, which they offer'd him. He was afterwards aware of the Objection that might be rais'd againſt his Opinion, from the want of ſuch Examination, and obviated it by ſaying that it was a Task too hard for him to perform; that he muſt have turn'd over a great many Volumes of the Hiſtory of *Bohemia*; and that as he was not conſtituted a Judge of the Cauſe, it was ſufficient for him to know that *Ferdinand* had been recogniz'd for preſumptive Succeſſor of *Matthias*, and crown'd at *Prague*, in order to look upon all thoſe as Rebels who oppoſe his Authority. Thus he argued in the Diſpute betwixt the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands* and *Spain*. But that was not the chief Reaſon of his Deciſion, for he had another much ſtronger; *viz.* That as he was not ignorant of the ſtrict Union betwixt the two Branches of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he was afraid that the Elector's Acceptance of the Crown of *Bohemia*, wou'd prove an invincible Obſtacle to the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* with the Infanta of *Spain*.

WHILE this Affair was under Conſideration at the Court of *England*, the Elector *Palatine* accepted the Crown which was offer'd to him, and immediately diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Baron of *Dhona*, which overtook him on the Road, to order him to excuſe him to the King his Father-in-law, for his having accepted the Crown without ſtaying for his Approbation. *James* was to the laſt degree enrag'd at the Elector, for having thus broke his

The King's Rage againſt the Elector for accepting it.

his Meaſures by this precipitant Step, and wou'd never own him as King of *Bohemia*. On the contrary, he obſtinately perſiſted to treat the States as Rebels; and he thought to have perſuaded the Prince his Son-in-law to renounce the Dignity he had accepted, but he found himſelf miſtaken. His View in this was to ſatisfy the King of *Spain* that he had no hand in what the Elector had done, to the end that the Marriage Treaty might not be interrupted. The *Spaniſh* Court made an Advantage of the King's Diſpoſition, by continuing to amuſe him with the Hopes of a ſpeedy Concluſion of the Marriage. They even ſignify'd to Sir *Francis Cottington* the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, that if the Diſpenſation from *Rome* ſtay'd too long, they wou'd do without it. But *Cottington* was not to be entrap'd by this Snare; for he wrote to the King, that the *Spaniſh* Court had only a deſign to amuſe him, and therefore he adviſ'd him to break off the Negotiation. But *James*, inſtead of following this Advice, order'd him to continue it, and to declare expreſly to the King of *Spain* in his Name, that he diſapprov'd of what the Elector *Palatine* had done. *Philip* anſwer'd, that he was very glad to ſee the King his Brother ſo ſincere, and that nothing was more likely to haſten the Concluſion of the Marriage than ſuch a Diſpoſition.

A. 1620.

Trys to perſuade him to quit it.

Is ſtill amus'd by the Spaniſh *Court.*

Anno MDCXX.

ONE ſhall hardly hear of any thing more unaccountable than King *James*'s Conduct in this Affair, which began to be the Concern of all *Europe*. Moſt of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* took part with *Frederick*, and the Catholicks join'd with the Emperor, ſo that in

James I. all Appearance a religious War was ready to break out in *Germany*. *James* was the moſt powerful Prince, and the Father-in-law of *Frederic*, and yet he continued neuter, and not only ſo, but he even publickly blamed his Son-in-law for having accepted the Crown of *Bohemia*; and moreover flatter'd himſelf that he ſhou'd be choſe Arbitrator of the Quarrel, as if neither of the two Partys had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect him. No wonder therefore if he did not ſucceed in ſo chimerical a Project, which nevertheleſs coſt him very dear on account of the frequent Embaſſies he ſent into *Germany* to bring it about. His ſecret Aim was to hinder this Affair from being an Impediment to the Marriage of the Prince his Son. With this View he left no Stone unturn'd to perſuade the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, that they had no room to ſuſpect him; for he diſown'd the Action of his Son-in-law, and even offer'd either to perſuade him to renounce the Crown of *Bohemia*, or in caſe of Refuſal, to make uſe of Force to compel him. On the other hand he ſent *Weſton* and *Conway* to *Prague*, where *Frederic* had been already crown'd, to perſuade that Prince to quit that Crown which he had juſt receiv'd. The true Motive of all theſe Proceedings was his Fear that this Affair wou'd prove an Obſtacle to the Marriage of the Prince his Son, and conſequently deprive him of a Portion of two Millions, which he had expected with the *Spaniſh* Match. But after all the Inquiry I have been able to make, I cou'd never yet learn in what Species thoſe two Millions were to be paid.

He hopes to be Arbitrator of the Difference betwixt Ferdinand *and* Frederic.

FREDERIC being very much diſguſted with the King his Father-in-law, went on his

his way and being ſenſible that he ſhou'd ere long be attack'd, he put himſelf into a Condition with the Aſſiſtance of his Allies to make his Defence. The Emperor made the like Preparation, without giving much heed to the Propoſals of the King of *England*, whom he only trifled with inſtead of giving a poſitive anſwer to his Demands. *Philip* III. on his part did the Emperor ſignal Service, by feeding King *James* with the hopes that the Diſpenſation wou'd quickly arrive from *Rome*. The Count *de Gondomar*, *Philip*'s Ambaſſador at *London*, had given him to underſtand that *James* wou'd never reſolve with himſelf to give the Elector any Aſſiſtance while he had the leaſt hopes of concluding the Marriage. This Ambaſſador held the King in ſuch ſtrong Chains by thoſe hopes, that he made him do whatever he pleas'd. He had nothing to do but to threaten him with a Rupture, to hinder him from taking any Step that might be diſagreeable to the King of *Spain*. *A.* 1620.

BUT *Philip* was not content with doing the Emperor this ſecret piece of Service. He not only caus'd the Troops he had in *Italy* to march to his Aſſiſtance, but order'd an Army to be rais'd in the *Netherlands* to invade the *Palatinate* under the Command of *Spinola*. *James* was inform'd by the States General of the raiſing of thoſe Troops, and of their Deſign, but cou'd not reſolve with himſelf to take Arms, in order to ſave his Son-in-law's Dominions, upon meer Suſpicions, or rather he choſe to ſhut his Eyes that he might not be oblig'd to enter into this War. Therefore he only gave Orders to *Edmonds*, his Envoy at *Bruſſels*, to demand of the Archduke the reaſon of this Armament. The Archduke anſwered that the

Philip raiſes an Army in the Netherlands.

James's pitiful Conduct.

James I. King of *Spain* having ſent his Orders to *Spinola*, he muſt apply to that General. *Spinola* ſaid that his Orders were ſeal'd up, that he could not open them till he was on the March, and that if the Envoy would pleaſe to follow him, he might then be inform'd. One wou'd think a Man muſt have been wilfully blind, who cou'd not ſee that this Army was deſign'd againſt the *Palatinate*; and yet *James* ſtill rely'd upon the King of *Spain*'s *bona fide*, as if it had been impoſſible for that Prince to go about to deceive him, or rather it looks very much as if he had a mind to deceive himſelf. He had form'd two Deſigns, the firſt never to have War with any body, the ſecond to marry his Son to the Infanta of *Spain*; but the Elector *Palatine* by accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*, defeated both theſe Deſigns as far as lay in his Power. He thought it neither juſt nor reaſonable, that for the ſake of the Elector he ſhou'd engage in a War againſt the Emperor, who had done him no Harm, and againſt *Spain*, with which he was on the point of concluding an Alliance. He had rather ſee the Elector rob'd of the *Bohemian* Crown, than that he himſelf ſhou'd unravel his own Meaſures for the ſake of ſecuring a Dignity to his Son-in-Law, which in his opinion he cou'd not legally poſſeſs. That this was King *James*'s ſecret Reaſoning in his own Breaſt appear'd from his whole Conduct. But in order to attain to his own Ends, he took a Courſe which kept him the wider from the Mark by a miſtaken Notion, in the firſt place that the King of *Bohemia* wou'd do every thing that was adviſ'd him by a Father-in-Law, whom his Courtiers ſtyl'd the *Solomon* of his Age; and ſecondly, that the Emperor

Emperor and the King of *Spain* wou'd repoſe an entire Confidence in him. *A.* 1620.

MEAN time, *Spinola* being juſt ready to march in order to invade the *Palatinate*, the Clamours of the People and of the Courtiers, who did not penetrate into the King's ſecret Intentions, at length extorted his Conſent for the raiſing of 2500 Men, who had Orders to march towards the *Palatinate*, under the Command of *Horatio de Vere*. But notwithſtanding this, the King perſiſted in his Deſign to put an end to this Affair by amicable Meaſures, that is to ſay, by obliging *Frederick* to renounce the Crown of *Bohemia*; for that was the Plan he had form'd. For this purpoſe he had ſent Sir *Edward Wotton* into *Germany* to exhort all the Princes to Peace, and to offer the Emperor his Mediation. But this Embaſſy came to nothing, becauſe *James* did not ſeek to make himſelf formidable, and becauſe all his Efforts conſiſted only in Speeches, Arguments and Exhortations, which are things of little avail in Affairs of this Nature.

He is prevail'd on to ſend Men to the Palatinate.

THERE was in the lower *Palatinate* an Army commanded by the Margrave of *Anſpach*, and compos'd of the Allies of the King of *Bohemia*, who had carry'd all his own Troops with him into *Bohemia*. The 2500 *Engliſh* join'd this Army, while *Spinola* enter'd the *Palatinate* on the other ſide, where he took a few ſmall places. The two Armies did nothing conſiderable in that Country during this firſt Campaign, which did not begin till the Month of *September*; but in *Bohemia* the Conteſt was ſharper.

Campaign in the Palatinate.

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James I.

Elector of Saxony *reduces* Luſatia.

Duke of Bavaria *joins* Bucquoy.

Battle of Prague. Frederick *flies to* Holland.

FREDERICK being put under the Ban of the Empire, the Elector of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Spinola*, were commiſſion'd to put it in execution. The Emperor, in order to engage the firſt in his Intereſts, had yielded upper *Luſatia* to him, provided he cou'd conquer it. Therefore, in the Month of *September*, the Elector of *Saxony* enter'd that Province with an Army of 20000 Men, and in a very ſhort time reduc'd it. After this, the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Count *de Bucquoy* enter'd *Bohemia*, and drew near *Prague*, where *Frederick* lay with his Army; but at their approach he went out of the Town with his Troops, and a Battle was fought in the beginning of *November*, which was fatal to *Frederick*, whoſe Army was routed, and who was forc'd to abandon *Prague*, and to retire to *Holland*.

THIS Battle having put an end to the Affair of *Bohemia*, the Buſineſs now was not to ſupport *Frederick* upon the Throne, but to ſave the *Palatinate*, which was threaten'd with a powerful Invaſion. It was natural to think that *James* wou'd make ſome Efforts, to ſave at leaſt the Dominions of his Son-in-Law and his Children. This was a Reſolution which every body endeavour'd to inſpire him with. But the Count *de Gondomar*, who had an abſolute Aſcendant over him, gave him to underſtand, that the Pope's Diſpenſation for the Marriage being juſt ready to be diſpatch'd, the making War upon the Emperor, who was the King of *Spain*'s near Kinſman, wou'd be the only way to retard it; that it was better to treat of this intricate Affair in a friendly manner; that the King of *Spain* being on the point of giving his Daughter to the Prince of *Wales*, wou'd look upon the Intereſts of the

Palatine

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Palatine Prince as his own, and not ſuffer him to loſe the *Palatinate*; that even tho the Emperor ſhou'd be Maſter of that Country, there was a good way for both ſides to come off with Honour; for by favour of the Marriage, the Emperor might make a Preſent of the *Palatinate* to the Infanta, who wou'd give it to the Prince her Husband, and then the Prince might reſtore it to his Brother-in-Law. *James* took all this to be Goſpel, as if indeed he had had a poſitive promiſe from the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, that every thing ſhou'd be done as the Ambaſſador had propos'd. This was the reaſon that he was more and more intoxicated with the notion that the beſt way to ſave the *Palatinate*, was to live in a good Underſtanding with the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. 'Tis a Weakneſs which all Hiſtorians lay to his Charge. For my own part, I think there was ſomething more in it, and that he ſuffer'd himſelf to be thus amus'd, that he might not be oblig'd to enter into this War. He was by no means a Warrior, and on the other hand, he was afraid that his Deſign of calling no more Parliaments was not conſiſtent with the continual Neceſſities in a time of War. When he conſider'd the Loſs of his Son-in-Law's Dominions, which was ſtill uncertain, and which might in his opinion be repair'd by his Son's Marriage; and when he weigh'd this in the Ballance with the Neceſſity of begging Money of the Houſe of Commons, he choſe rather to run the firſt Riſque than the ſecond.

A. 1620.

His falſe Meaſures to ſave the Palatinate.

MEAN time as the King knew that all *England* was aſtoniſh'd and provok'd at his Indolence, with reſpect to the *Palatinate*, he thought he might make uſe of this Pretext to

James I. get a round Sum of Money, of which he was in very great Want. With this View he declar'd to the Council, that his Intention was to try gentle Methods to save his Son-in-Law's Dominions; but that if his Propoſals were rejected, he was reſolv'd to make uſe of Arms. And not long after this, the Council took ſome Steps to ſhew that they were going to prepare for War, upon which the Count *de Gondomar* wrote to the Marquis of *Buckingham*, to deſire him to let him know what was the King's Intention. The Favourite's Anſwer was a long Apology for the King's Conduct, in which he demonſtrated that he had acted with all manner of Candour, by diſowning his Son-in-Law's Act, with reſpect to the Crown of *Bohemia*. As to the *Palatinate* he tells him, that the Winter which was already begun, gave the King time to make Preparations of two ſorts, the one for the concluding of a Peace before the Summer, the other for a War in caſe there ſhou'd be no Peace. The Ambaſſador, who knew the King perfectly well, was not at all alarm'd at theſe pretended Preparations of War, which in reality came to nothing: And the King only took an Opportunity from thence to demand a Benevolence of his Subjects, to aſſiſt him in the Defence of the *Palatinate*. While the King ſeem'd inclinable to prepare for War, he was govern'd, if we may ſo call it, by the Ambaſſadors of *Spain*, who had ſo great an Intereſt at Court, that the moſt conſiderable Offices were taken away and diſpos'd of at his Recommendation.

Buckingham's *Anſwer to* Gondomar.

The King demands a Benevolence on pretence of defending the Palatinate.

Gondomar's *Sway at the Court of* England.

THE Benevolence not producing what the King had expected from it, by reaſon of the Peoples diſcontent, he was at laſt oblig'd to call a Parliament, in order to furniſh him with Money,

Money, under the ſpecious pretext of defending the *Palatinate*. In order to make the Publick believe that he was going in good earneſt to prepare for War, he eſtabliſh'd a Council of the moſt experienc'd Officers, to conſider of ways and means for aſſiſting the Elector. Mean time, as the People took the Liberty to talk publickly of the Conduct of the King, the Favourite, the Mother of the Favourite, of the Protection granted to Popiſh Recuſants, of the Sale of Offices, and of the unhappy State of the King of *Bohemia* and his Children, the King publiſh'd a Proclamation forbidding his Subjects to talk of State Affairs under ſevere Penalties. But this Proclamation had a quite contrary Effect. *A.* 1621. *A Proclamation againſt Talk about State Affairs.*

Anno MDCXXI.

The Parliament aſſembling on the 20th of *January* 1621, the King made a long Speech to them as his manner was, from which I cannot help quoting ſome Paragraphs, becauſe they ſerve to prove what I ſaid before, when I gave an Account of King *James*'s Principles.

'THE Parliament was firſt a Monarchy; for before Parliaments there were Kings, who after having eſtabliſh'd a certain Form of Government, and being deſirous that the People ſhou'd be govern'd by the Laws, call'd the Parliament, *&c.* *King's Speech to his Parliament.*

'WHY are you come together? 'Tis to give your advice to the King, if he thinks fit to ask it.

'THE King makes Laws, and you ought to adviſe him to make good ones.

'THE

James I. ‘ THE Commons are call'd to the Parliament becauſe knowing the State and Condition of the Country, if the King thinks fit to ask their Opinion, they may acquaint him with the Peoples Grievances, and humbly deſire him to redreſs them.

‘ THEY are alſo the Commons who furniſh the King with Subſiſtence, and are to offer Supply for his Neceſſity.

‘ THE Subjects are to grant the King what they think neceſſary for him, and the King is to diſtribute in recompence thereof Juſtice and Mercy.

‘ AS to the Report of my tolerating the Popiſh Religion, in conſideration of my Son's Marriage, which is actually negotiating: I proteſt I will do nothing in it but what is for the Honour and Advantage of the true Religion.

‘ I hope that after this, you will have ſuch Confidence in the Wiſdom of your King, as to be convinc'd, that I am not able to do one thing in Publick, and another in Private. But after this Declaration, if any one commits a Fault, don't think it ſtrange if I puniſh him ſeverely.

‘ IF you pretend to haſten after Grievances, and greedily hunt for them to the Prejudice of your King, and to your own Damage, I declare to you frankly, that 'tis not for this that you are come together *.

Remark on it. ALL the drift of this Speech was to beg Money, that in caſe he ſhou'd be forc'd to a War, he might be prepar'd for it. This be-

* THE Copy of the Speech which is here follow'd, is that inſerted in the Annals of this Reign; that given us in *Wilſon*'s Hiſtory being ſaid to be ſpurious.

ing

ing a ſpecious Requeſt, the Commons granted him two Subſidies. But all the Preparations he made, were the ſending of Baron *Digby* to *Vienna*, from whence he did not return till *November* following, and then it was *re infectâ*. *A.* 1621. Digby *is ſent to* Vienna.

AFTER this, Petitions came in Crowds to the Parliament, and eſpecially againſt Monopolies. Among others there was a very odious one, which was eſtabliſh'd by virtue of a Patent granted to Sir *Francis Mitchel*, and Sir *Giles Mompeſſon* for the ſole vending of Gold and Silver Lace, under colour of which they ſold nothing but counterfeit Gold and Silver. The upper Houſe having taken this Affair to heart, the King went thither to direct the Lords how they ſhou'd proceed to judge of it; and gave them to underſtand, that tho they condemn'd the Patentees, they ſhou'd not enter into the Examination by what means they had obtain'd their Patent. The two Patentees were condemn'd in certain Penalties; but *Mompeſſon* was already fled, and he was no ſooner out of the Kingdom but the King publiſh'd a Proclamation for apprehending him. *Complaints againſt Monopolies.* *Judgment of* Mompeſſon *and* Mitchel.

FRANCIS Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, having been impeach'd of a Miſdemeanor, was degraded from his Office by Parliament, and declar'd incapable of a Seat in the upper Houſe. He was a Man of a vaſt deal of Wit, and profound Knowledge, but of a mean Spirit, and a ſordid Flatterer. Probably he compil'd his Hiſtory of *Henry* VII. with no other View but to make his Court to King *James*, who affected to copy after that Prince's Model. For this reaſon he gave *Henry* VII. the Character of the wiſeſt of all Kings, and the *Solomon of his Age*, a Title which was alſo given to *James* I. *Diſgrace of Ld Chancellor* Bacon. *His Character.* *A Remark on his Hiſtory of* Henry VII.

THE

James I. THE Houſe of Commons perceiving that no manner of Preparation was made to defend the *Palatinate*, and that the Money lately granted to the King had been apply'd to another uſe, was not in haſte to grant him a new Subſidy. They plainly ſaw that the King founded all his hopes upon the Marriage of his Son, and that by conſequence he had no Intention to make War againſt *Spain*. The Credit which the Count *de Gondomar* had with the King, made the thing ſtill more evident. For this reaſon, the King who cou'd no longer plead a neceſſity to make Preparations for War, becauſe he had let the time ſlip, gave Orders to the Lord High Treaſurer, to go in his Name and adjourn the Parliament. This was matter of Complaint for the Houſe of Commons, who pleaded that tho the King had the Power of proroguing and diſſolving the Parliament, yet it did not belong to him to adjourn them, and that it was a peculiar Privilege of either Houſe to adjourn themſelves. But the King declar'd publickly that his Prerogative extended as well to Adjournment, as to Prorogation, and Diſſolution; and the lower Houſe was oblig'd to comply, becauſe the Lords refus'd to join with it. Conſequently the Parliament was adjourned to the 14th of *November*, and from thence to the 22d of *February* 1622, after which the King put forth a Proclamation to aboliſh certain Monopolies, and another prohibiting Diſcourſe about Affairs of State.

Diſpute betwixt the King and Parliament about his adjourning them.

The Lords refuſe to join with the Proteſt of the Commons.

Proclamations againſt Monopolies, and the Talk of State Affairs.

THE Poſt of High Chancellor being vacant by the Condemnation of *Bacon*, Dr. *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln* was made Keeper of the Great Seal.

A Biſhop made Lord Chancellor.

WHILE

WHILE theſe things paſs'd in *England*, *Frederick*'s Affairs grew worſe and worſe both in *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*. All his Allies deſerted him after the Battle of *Prague*. The Count *de Mansfield* was the only one that held out for him, and he fortify'd himſelf in *Bohemia*. But *Frederick* ſeeing that the upper *Palatinate* was actually invaded by the Duke of *Bavaria*, engag'd *Mansfield* to carry his little Army thither. That General, who had a good Notion of Military Affairs, poſted himſelf in a Camp ſo advantageous, that it was in a manner impoſſible to diſlodge him from it. While he thus diſputed the Ground in that Country, the Lord *Digby*, who was return'd from his Embaſſy at *Vienna*, being inform'd that the lower *Palatinate* was on the Point of being loſt, engag'd *Mansfield* to carry his Army thither; and by that means the upper *Palatinate*, which was not of ſo great Conſequence, was utterly loſt. I have already given ſome Account of the firſt Campaign in the lower *Palatinate*, during which there paſſed nothing of Moment, but it prov'd otherwiſe in this; *Frederick* having loſt the Aſſiſtance of his Allies, as I have obſerv'd, *Spinola* met with no Oppoſition in the lower *Palatinate*, but from the *Engliſh* Troops brought thither by *Vere*, which had thrown themſelves into the three principal Towns, *viz. Manheim*, *Heidelberg*, and *Frankendal*. Mean time, as *James* continually ſollicited the Emperor and the King of *Spain* about the Affair of the *Palatinate*, the Court of *Spain* was inclin'd out of Complaiſance to him, to conſent to a Truce of 5 Weeks, which began the 21ſt of *Auguſt*. *James* then thought himſelf above all the World, not doubting that his Menaces, weak as they were, had

A. 1621.

Frederic's ill Succeſs.

Mansfield's March into the Palatinate.

Loſs of the upper Palatinate.

Affairs of the lower Palatinate.

K. James deceiv'd by a Truce.

James I. had produc'd that favourable Turn. But he did not perceive that this Truce was only a Snare laid for him. As the Truce of 12 Years concluded in 1609. between *Spain* and the *United Provinces* was juſt expiring, the King of *Spain* wanted to employ thoſe Troops in the *Netherlands*, which he had in the *Palatinate*; and this ſhort Truce was for no other end but to give the Emperor time to ſupply their Place. For ſoon after *Spinola* had quitted the *Palatinate*, Don *Gonzales de Cordona*, whom he had left there, was at the Head of an Army of 18000 Men, with which he made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Places, and at laſt laid ſiege to *Frankendal*. But the Count *de Mansfield*, who arriv'd at the ſame time, broke his Meaſures, and compel'd him to raiſe the Siege. Not long after this, the Duke of *Bavaria*'s General, the Count *de Tilly*, repaired to the lower *Palatinate* with ſo ſtrong a Reinforcement of Troops, that the Count *de Mansfield* was oblig'd to retire to *Alſace*. After his Retreat, the two Generals, the *Spaniard* and *Bavarian*, made themſelves Maſters of all the *Palatinate*, except *Manheim*, *Heidelberg* and *Frankendal* to which the *Engliſh* were retir'd.

Death of Philip III. *of* Spain.

PHILIP III. King of *Spain* died in *March* this Year, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Philip* IV.

THE Truce of 12 Years betwixt *Spain* and the States General expiring this Year, the Archduke was afraid that *James* wou'd ſend the States a powerful Supply, in order to enable the Elector *Palatine* to recover thoſe Dominions which had been taken from him. But to hinder *James* from acting, he gave him to underſtand, that the Peace between the Emperor and the Elector *Palatine*, was far from being

being impoſſible if it was carefully promoted. The Emperor and the King of *Spain* ſeconded the Archduke ſo well in this Project of amuſing the King, that he fell into this other Snare. He imagin'd that he ſhou'd ruin all if he prepar'd for War at a time when his Son-in-law's Enemies ſeem'd in ſuch a Diſpoſition for Peace. *A.* 1621. James *is again amus'd by the Emp. and* Spain.

But the ill Succeſs of *Digby*'s Embaſſys with the Emperor was enough to have convinc'd him, if he had not been wilfully blind, that they only aim'd to amuſe him. The Archduke *Albert* dying in *July* this Year, his Widow the Infanta continued to feed the King of *England* with the Hopes of a ſpeedy Peace. The better to draw him into the Snare, the Emperor ſent the Count *de Schwartzenburg* to him, and gave him to underſtand that this Ambaſſador had full Power to adjuſt all things with him. Digby's *Embaſſy.* *Archduke* Albert's *Death.*

DIGBY being returned from *Vienna*, the King reaſſembled the Parliament in the Month of *November*, tho the Adjournment thereof had been continued to the 22d of *February* following. The Lord High Treaſurer, the Keeper of the Great Seal, and Baron *Digby*, had a Commiſſion to ſignify the King's Mind to the Parliament. The Drift of their Speeches was to ſhew that the King wanted Money to ſave the *Palatinate*, and that there was at leaſt a Neceſſity of his preparing for War in caſe he ſhou'd be forc'd to it. He deſired that he might be ſupply'd with the Money, and that it might he left to his care to manage the Affair, without troubling themſelves with the Inquiry which way he wou'd proceed. James *calls his Parliament to grant him a Supply.*

THE Commons, after having heard the Speeches of the Commiſſioners, inſtead of proceeding immediately to the Affair of the Subſidy, *Commons complain of the Dangers of Popery.*

James I. ſidy, voted a Remonſtrance to the King, concerning the Danger of the Kingdom from Papiſts. In this Remonſtrance they ſet forth their Terrors, and pointed the King to thoſe Remedies which they thought proper to be taken. With Expreſſions of great Submiſſion and Reſpect they plainly diſcover'd their Sentiments of the King's Conduct, eſpecially with regard to the Marriage of the Prince his Son with a Popiſh Princeſs, and to his Neglect of the Intereſts of his Son-in-law. In fine, they intimated plainly enough that they were far from being convinc'd that the King intended to employ the Money which he deſired of the Parliament, in a War againſt *Spain*. This was wounding the King in the moſt ſenſible part, becauſe he had ſo often ſignify'd to the Commons that he did not expect they ſhould pretend to give him Advice when he did not ask it of them, and much leſs in Affairs relating to his Family. Therefore knowing what the Remonſtrance contain'd before it was preſented to him, he wrote to the Speaker to acquaint him that he would not ſuffer the Commons to tranſgreſs the Bounds which he had preſcrib'd to them, and that he would not receive the Remonſtrance. The Commons after hearing this Letter read, reſolv'd to preſent a Petition to the King, in which they took care to juſtify their Proceeding. The King vouchſaf'd to receive the Petition, but not the Remonſtrance which was annex'd to it: and ſome days after this he ſent them a very ſharp Anſwer, wherein he told them, among other things, that their pretended Privileges were only Conceſſions from the Kings his Predeceſſors; and gave them to underſtand that it was in his Power to take them away, and that he would

King refuſes their Remonſtrance.

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would actually do it if they provok'd him to it. *A* 1622.
The King was so plain in this Answer, that the Commons fearing the Parliament would be immediately either dissolv'd or prorogued, made haste with a Protest, whereby they overturn'd all the King's Maxims with respect to the Privileges of their House. The King being inform'd of it met his Council, and having order'd the Register of the Lower House to be brought to him, he took out the Protest with his own Hand, tore it in pieces, and order'd the Council to register what he had done verbally and authentically. Six days after this he dissolv'd the Parliament by a Proclamation, and committed several of the Members of both Houses to Prison. He afterwards put forth another Proclamation, prohibiting all Discourse about State Affairs under severe Penalties. Hitherto it seems the King had only been skirmishing, and that now he was resolv'd to come to a Battle. But the Occasion he had for a Parliament afterward, prevented the entire Rupture betwixt the King and Parliament, which did not happen till the following Reign.

He tears the Commons Protest out of their Journal.

Dissolves the Parliament and imprisons Members of both Houses.

His Proclamation against Talk about State Affairs.

Anno MDCXXII.

IN this Quarrel betwixt the King and Parliament, founded upon two contrary Principles, there were few People in the Kingdom but what were concern'd. The Puritans, as may easily be imagin'd, adher'd to the Parliament, and the Clergy of the Church of *England* rank'd themselves for the greatest part on the King's side. But *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho he adher'd to the Discipline of the Church of *England*, continued steady in his Principles relating to the Government, for

The steddiness of Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury.

James I. which reaſon he was all along conſider'd as a Puritan. And indeed he was no leſs, according to the Notion of the Court, who continually affected to confound the Presbyterians under the Name of Puritans, with ſuch as refus'd to acknowledge the abſolute Power of the King. This Prelate had the Misfortune in 1621 to kill a Man by diſcharging his Piece at a Deer. The King granted him a Pardon for it, but after that time he never went more to Council.

His Pardon for killing a Man by ſhooting at a Deer.

K. James *lampoon'd abroad.*

THE Quarrel I have been ſpeaking of loſt King *James* the little Eſteem he had before among Foreigners, when they ſaw he was not able to get a Supply from the Parliament, at a Juncture when he had moſt need of it. This appear'd from ſeveral Paſquinades publiſh'd againſt him at *Bruſſels* and elſewhere. In one place, the King of *England* was repreſented with ſeveral Perſons ſtriving in vain to draw his Sword out of his Scabbard. In a Comedy acted at *Bruſſels*, a Courier was introduc'd bringing the bad News that the Palatinate would infallibly be taken from the Emperor; becauſe the King of *Denmark* was preparing 100000 Casks of Herrings, the States-General 100000 Barrels of Butter, and the King of *England* 100000 Ambaſſadors.

He demands a Benevolence of his Subjects.

WHILE the People of *England* were in a very great Ferment upon account of the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and the Impriſonment of the Members, the King had wanted Money, and no way was thought ſo proper to come at it as to demand a Benevolence of the Subjects. I ſay to demand it, becauſe the Order of Council upon this Head expreſly imported, that the King ſhould not put up with what was voluntarily offer'd, if ſuch Offers were

were not proportionable to every private Man's Abilities. The Money which was to arise from this Benevolence was absolutely necessary for the King in order to send the Lord *Digby* to *Spain*, and Sir *Richard Weston* to *Brussels*. These two Ambassadors were to put the last Hand to the Plan form'd by the King, which, as appear'd by his Majesty's own Letters, was as follows, *viz.* To conclude the Prince's Marriage with the Infanta, and to receive her Portion of two Millions before the deter mination of the Affair of the Elector his Son-in-Law, and in the mean time to procure a Truce for the *Palatinate*; during which, after every thing relating to the Marriage should be concluded, the King of *Spain* out of pure Friendship to him and to the Prince, was to oblige the Emperor not only to evacuate the Lower *Palatinate*, but also to compel the Duke of *Bavaria* to restore the Upper, of which he had taken Possession. Nothing was more specious than this Plan, if it had been built upon a good Foundation. But as ill luck would have it, 'twas no more than an Invention of the Count *de Gondomar* to harrass the King, and to hinder him from sending Succours to the King of *Bohemia* and the *United Provinces*. The Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Infanta *Isabella*, being fully inform'd of this Plan, contributed to keep the King as it were chain'd down to it by general or equivocal Promises, which contain'd nothing positive, at the same time that they fed him constantly with hopes of a happy Issue. The King was so fond of it, that nothing was capable to make him alter his Measures.

A. 1622.

His Projects.

I have already said that the Emperor had sent the Count *de Schwartzembourg* to the King,

James I. to ſettle the Affair of the *Palatinate* with him. But when the Court was for commencing a Treaty with that Ambaſſador, it appear'd that he had no full Power, and that the Infanta *Iſabella* was the only Perſon authoriz'd for the Negotiation. This made the King reſolve to ſend Sir *Richard Weſton* to *Bruſſels* to treat there with the Infanta. At the ſame time he ſent *Digby* to *Spain*, whom he had lately made Earl of *Briſtol*, to conclude the Marriage there, jointly with Sir *Walter Aſton*, who reſided there as Ambaſſador in Ordinary. It muſt be obſerv'd that in the Inſtructions he gave to the Earl of *Briſtol*, he expreſly forbad him to make the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* one of the Marriage Articles. He was afraid leſt the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* ſhould be look'd upon as a Compenſation for the Portion which had been promis'd him. Nevertheleſs as the Marriage could not be abſolutely concluded without a Diſpenſation from the Pope, as had been agreed on, the King ſent *Gage* to *Rome* to ſollicit it; and to the end that his Sollicitations might be the more effectual, he caus'd all the Popiſh Recuſants who were in Priſon to be ſet at liberty. This occaſion'd ſuch great Murmurings among the People, that the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was charg'd to juſtify the King's Conduct by a publick Writing, which had not the Succeſs that was expected from it. As the King ſtood in need at that time of the Infanta *Iſabella*'s Intereſt, he made no ſcruple to permit the Lord *Vaux* a Papiſt, to go and ſerve her with 2000 Men againſt the *United Provinces*.

Earl of Briſtol's *Embaſſy to* Spain.

Gage's *to* Rome.

Popiſh Recuſants ſet at Liberty.

Bp of Lincoln's *Vindication of the King.*

Ld Vaux *ſent with* 2000 *Men to aſſiſt the Archdutcheſs.*

WHILE theſe things paſs'd, the King of *Bohemia* who was ſtill in *Holland*, found means to engage in his Intereſts, the Prince of *Baden*

den Dourlach, and Prince *Chriſtian* of *Brunſwick*, Adminiſtrator of *Halberſtadt*. The firſt rais'd an Army in the Neighbourhood of the *Palatinate*, the ſecond in *Weſtphalia*; and moreover the Count *de Mansfeldt*, who was retir'd into *Alſace*, was at hand to join the two Princes when they enter'd the *Palatinate*. The King of *Bohemia* hoping by this means to recover the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, paſs'd thro' *France* incognito, and went to *Mansfeldt's* Army. It wou'd be too tedious here to mention the Particulars of this Campaign; it ſhall ſuffice to ſay in a word, that the Prince of *Baden* was routed by the *Bavarians*, that the King of *Bohemia* having march'd with *Mansfeldt* to join the Prince of *Brunſwick's* Army was defeated, and that afterwards the Succours which were ſent to the Count *de Tilly* render'd him ſo ſuperior, that the King of *Bohemia* was oblig'd to abandon his Project, and to return to *Holland*. The Prince of *Brunſwick*, and the Count *Mansfeldt*, abandon'd the *Palatinate* likewiſe, in order to retire to the *Netherlands*. *Tilly* meeting with no farther oppoſition in the lower *Palatinate* took *Heidelberg* by Storm, made himſelf Maſter of *Manheim* by a Blockade, and afterwards laid Siege to *Frankendal*, the only Place which the King of *Bohemia* had left.

A. 1622. *Affairs of the K. of* Bohemia. Heidelberg *and* Manheim *taken.* Franken-dal *beſieg'd.*

WHILE the King of *Bohemia* ſtaid in the *Palatinate*, *Weſton* was at *Bruſſels* to negotiate the Peace with the Infanta. But two Difficulties aroſe which protracted this Negotiation, and render'd it at laſt Abortive. The firſt was, that *James* had not taken the Precaution to get *Weſton* authoriz'd by the King of *Bohemia*, who was the chief Perſon concern'd: therefore he was under a neceſſity of deſiring a full Power from this Prince; who was far

Negotiation at Bruſſels.

James I. from giving it while he had any hopes of driving his Enemies out of the *Palatinate*, and did not ſend it till he was on the point of returning to *Holland*. This Difficulty being remov'd, another aroſe which was not inferior to the former, *viz.* That the Infanta's Power conſiſted only in a bare Letter from the Emperor, wherein he deſir'd her to concert Meaſures with the Ambaſſador of *England* for a Peace. This Power not being ſufficient, there was a neceſſity for deſiring another, which was long before it came. During this, *Tilly* making great Progreſs in the *Palatinate*, it may be ſuppos'd that it was not the Emperor's Intereſt to haſten the Concluſion of the Treaty, which was to be negotiated at *Bruſſels*. *James* had recourſe to the King of *Spain*, who on his part ſpun out the Affair till *Manheim* and *Heidelberg* were taken. *Tilly* might alſo have made himſelf Maſter of *Frankendal*, if the overflowing of the Rivers had not forc'd him to raiſe the Siege. *James* perceiv'd at laſt that he was trifled with, and order'd the Earl of *Briſtol* to complain of it to the King of *Spain*. But as at the ſame time he was given to underſtand that the Marriage was on the point of being concluded, and the Diſpenſation juſt ready to be diſpatch'd, this alone appeas'd his Wrath. He did not care to run the Riſque of loſing the Marriage, by inſiſting too ſtrenuouſly on the Affair of the *Palatinate*. Nevertheleſs he own'd that he had been impos'd upon, and he ſeem'd inclinable to take Revenge, but he wanted the King of *Spain* either to join him, in order to reſcue the lower *Palatinate* by Force of Arms out of the Hands of the Imperialiſts, to whom that Prince had deliver'd it up, or at leaſt

James *finds he is impos'd on.*

His falſe Steps.

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leaſt to give him Paſſage thro' his Dominions to carry the War into that Country. He cou'd ſcarce have contriv'd a more chimerical Project. *A.* 1622.

MEAN time as they cou'd not always expect to amuſe the King, as they had done for 6 Years, the *Spaniſh* Court thought it proper to make him believe that the Marriage was on the point of being concluded. The Pope before he granted the Diſpenſation, deſir'd to be inform'd more particularly of the Treaty that was to be made upon that Head, the five Articles that were agreed on, appearing to him to be too looſe, and ſubject to too much Chicanery. Therefore they were oblig'd, in order to pleaſe the Pope, to explain and enlarge thoſe firſt Articles, and to make nineteen of them which were ſent to *Rome*. At length after a great deal of Sollicitation, *Gage* arriv'd from *Rome* with thoſe nineteen Articles, to which the Pope had made his Notes, as is uſual in the Capitulations of Places. Some were agreed to, others explain'd, and ſome enlarg'd and augmented. The King was very much puzzled when he receiv'd thoſe Articles ſo commented on by the Pope. If he agreed to them, he wou'd give his Enemies reaſon to accuſe him of being too careleſs of the Intereſts of the Proteſtant Religion, of which he was already ſuſpected. If he refus'd them, he wou'd break off the Marriage, put himſelf under the neceſſity of making Efforts to wreſt the *Palatinate* from the Emperor by Force of Arms, and what was worſe for him, he wou'd be oblig'd to call a Parliament, which in all appearance wou'd not fail to improve the Opportunity to make ſome Breach in the Royal Prerogative. While he was in this Confuſion, he reſolv'd to ſacri-

Pope's Notes upon the Articles of the Marriage Treaty betwixt the Pr. and the Infanta.

The King's Perplexity.

James I. fice the Proteſtant Religion, rather than break off the Marriage and be depriv'd of the Portion of two Millions, which was what he had ſtill very much at Heart. He determin'd therefore to make certain Offers to the *Spaniſh* Court with reſpect to Religion, beyond which he proteſted he cou'd not go. We don't meet with theſe Offers in the Hiſtory, but according to appearance they were ſo advantagious to the Catholick Religion, as may be gueſs'd by the Conventions which were made afterwards, that the *Spaniſh* Court, which till then had only aim'd to amuſe him, reſolv'd at laſt to conclude the Marriage. As they ſaw him diſpos'd to yield up every thing, they judg'd that they ought by no means to neglect this opportunity of promoting the Reſtoration of the Roman Catholick Religion in *England*. This Deſign had the greater appearance of Succeſs, becauſe conſidering the King's Diſpoſition, they had reaſon to hope for yet farther Advantages. From that time, that is to ſay, from the end of the Year 1622, *Philip* IV. was as hot for concluding the Marriage as he was before indifferent.

His Offers to the Spaniſh Court.

They reſolve on the Marriage.

Anno MDCXXIII.

THE new Meaſures enter'd into by the Court of *Spain*, procur'd the Earl of *Briſtol* a Letter from *Philip* to the Infanta *Iſabella*, by which he deſir'd her to renew at *London* the Negotiation touching the *Palatinate*, which had been broke off at *Bruſſels*. All the Difficulty was to ſave *Frankendal*, which was the only place remaining in the Hands of the King of *Bohemia*, and on the point of being loſt. In this Negotiation *James* was bubbled as uſual;

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ſual; for by granting him a Truce of 15 Months for the *Palatinate*, he was prevail'd on to let the Infanta have the keeping of *Frankendal*, upon theſe Conditions: 'That 'the *Engliſh* Gariſon which was there ſhou'd 'have the Liberty to retire thro' the Domi- 'nions of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. 'That at the Expiration of the Truce, the 'Infanta ſhou'd reſtore that place to the King 'of *England*, who might put a Gariſon into 'it of 1500 Men, to whom the King of 'Spain ſhou'd give Paſſage thro' his Domi- 'nions. That the Prince *Palatine* ſhou'd re- 'nounce all his Alliances.' Before this Truce was concluded, the Emperor had conferr'd the Electoral Dignity, which he had taken away from the King of *Bohemia*, upon the Duke of *Bavaria*.

A. 1623. Frankendal *put into the Hands of the Infanta* Iſabella. *D. of* Bavaria *made Elector* Palatine *in the room of the K. of* Bohemia.

ALL the reſt of the Year 1623 was employ'd in the Marriage Treaty. The *Spaniſh* Court having at length determin'd to put an end to the Affair, provided they cou'd obtain what they deſir'd in favour of the Catholick Religion, gave the Earl of *Briſtol* certain Articles ready drawn up, which were more explicit, and fuller than thoſe agreed on before. But as the Ambaſſador cou'd not accept them for want of a Power, he ſent them to the King. Theſe Articles were agreeable to the Pope's Comments, which ſhews that the two Courts of *Rome* and *Spain* acted in this Affair in Concert. *James* having receiv'd thoſe Articles kept them a while, and at laſt ſign'd them, ſuch as they were, without making any Alteration in them, and caus'd the Prince of *Wales* to ſign them, after which he ſent them back to the Earl of *Briſtol*. Every thing being thus ſettled to the Satisfaction of the

Sequel of the Marriage Treaty with the Infanta.

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James I. the two Kings; it was agreed betwixt the Earl of *Briſtol* and the King of *Spain*'s Miniſters, that till the arrival of the Pope's Diſpenſation, which, as they judg'd, wou'd come in the Month of *April* at furtheſt, they ſhou'd go about drawing up the other Articles which did not relate to Religion; that 4 Days after the arrival of the Diſpenſation, the Nuptials ſhou'd be celebrated by Proxy, and that the Infanta ſhou'd ſet out for *England* 20 Days after. During this they went upon thoſe call'd the *Temporal* Articles, to diſtinguiſh them from the others of Religion, which were ready and approv'd on both ſides by the middle of *March*, ſo that they were only to have Patience 5 or 6 Weeks longer for the Celebration of the Marriage. It muſt be obſerv'd that in the Temporal Articles there was not one word concerning the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, becauſe, as I have already ſaid, the King had expreſly forbid the Earl of *Briſtol* to confound thoſe two Affairs together.

The Pr. of Wales's reſolution to go with Buckingham to Spain.

While theſe things were tranſacting in *Spain*, the Marquis of *Buckingham* put it into the Head of the Prince of *Wales* to go himſelf into *Spain* to carry off the Infanta, and thereby put an end to the Difficulties which might ſtill remain about his Marriage. The King was ſo weak as to conſent to this romantick Journey, without conſidering that he was going to deliver up his only Son, his preſumptive Heir, into the Hands of the King of *Spain*, and without having taken any Security for his Return. This ſhews at leaſt that he ſaw no farther Obſtacle in the way of the Marriage, and that there was little Foundation for what the Marquis of *Buckingham* ſaid afterwards, that this Prince, conſidering how long

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long the Affair had been put off, was willing to ſee with his own Eyes where the Remora lay; for all theſe Difficulties were remov'd when the Prince undertook his Voyage. Be this as it will, the Prince and *Buckingham* ſet out from Court upon the 27th of *February*. They travell'd thro' *France* incognito, and arriv'd on the 17th of *March* at *Madrid*, where no body expected them. The Prince was receiv'd by the King of *Spain* with abundance of Honour, and a world of Careſſes. But the Diſpenſation from *Rome* was much longer a coming than was believ'd, becauſe probably the Pope entertain'd new hopes after the Prince's arrival at *Madrid*. It was believ'd in *Spain* that the Prince was come thither to change his Religion, and no Pains were ſpar'd to convert him. The Pope was put upon writing a Letter to him, and he was even prevail'd on to write him an Anſwer, in which he gave him the Title of *your Holineſs*, and actually engag'd in ſome meaſure to be the Protector of the Catholicks of *England*. At length the Diſpenſation arriv'd in the Month of *May*, but the Pope had annex'd new Conditions to it, without which it cou'd be of no Effect. There was an abſolute Neceſſity of informing King *James* of theſe new Conditions, the Prince not having it in his Power to agree to them. The Pope likewiſe demanded Security for the performance of the Articles.

A. 1623.

His Reception by the Spaniſh Court.

Endeavours us'd to convert him to Popery.

The Pope takes new Conditions to the Diſpenſation.

COTTINGTON was charg'd to carry into *England* thoſe Articles modell'd, explain'd, and enlarg'd, as the Pope had thought fit, and which from no more than five at firſt, were ſwell'd at laſt to the number of twenty three. *James* was gone too far to be able to make his Retreat.

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James I. Retreat. The Prince his Son being in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, there was no way to break off a Treaty which had been 7 Years in hand, for any Favours more or leſs which were demanded in behalf of the Catholicks.

The King ſigns the Articles. Therefore he ſign'd not only the 23 Articles, but alſo 4 other ſecret Articles, which were to be executed after the Conſummation of the Marriage *, and ſent them to *Spain*. 'Tis alſo ſaid, that when the Prince himſelf ſign'd them he added much ſtronger Engagements to them in favour of the Catholick Religion. When the King ſent theſe Articles ſign'd into *Spain*, he tack'd a Patent to them whereby he created his Favourite Duke of *Buckingham*, in order to reward him for the great Service that he had lately done to the State.

Buckingham is created a Duke.

A new Difficulty aroſe after the Articles were arriv'd in *Spain*; for the Catholick King wanted Security for the Performance of the 4 ſecret Articles, before the Marriage was conſummated, and his Ambaſſadors who were at *London* had Orders to demand it as a Preliminary. *James* was very much confounded at this Demand. Theſe Articles were ſecret, and not to be executed before the Marriage, and yet the *Spaniſh* Court wou'd have them made publick, and even put in execution, while his Son continu'd in *Spain*. Mean time as he was bent on the Marriage, coſt what it wou'd, he choſe to put into the Ambaſſador's Hands a Declaration of the Council, atteſting that it was the King's Intention to grant the Catholicks what was contain'd in the 4 ſecret Arti-

A new Difficulty ſtarted in the Marriage Treaty with the Infanta.

Declaration in favour of the Catholicks.

* The Author of the Annals of this Reign, ſays that theſe 4 Articles have no other Foundation than the Teſtimony of *Ruſhworth*.

cles,

cles, and even more; with which Declaration the Ambaſſadors were ſatisfy'd. *A.* 1623.

Death of Pope Gregory XV.

DURING this, Pope *Gregory* XV. dy'd, before his Nuncio at *Madrid* had deliver'd the Diſpenſation, which by that means became of no effect, and there was an indiſpenſable neceſſity of waiting for a new Pope and another Diſpenſation. *Urban* VIII. who ſucceeded, kept back the Diſpenſation longer than was expected, and during that time the Prince of *Wales* was teaz'd inceſſantly to change his Religion; but he ſtill continu'd firm.

His Succeſſor.

The Prince is importun'd to change his Religion.

WHILE it ſeem'd as if the Prince was waiting for the Diſpenſation with the greater Impatience, becauſe he had been already ſix Months in *Spain* expecting it, he contriv'd a Method with the Duke of *Buckingham* entirely to break off his Marriage. 'Tis not eaſy to know what was the real motive of this Reſolution. The reaſon they alledg'd for it was, that when they were in *England* they had found no Diſpoſition in the King of *Spain*, for reſtoring the *Palatinate*, tho the Marriage was only calculated for that end. All the Difficulty was how they ſhou'd get out of *Spain* without divulging their Deſign. In order to get over this, the Duke wrote to the King, that *Philip* had not only no Deſign to cauſe the *Palatinate* to be reſtor'd, but that alſo he had never an Intention to conclude the Marriage. The Prince added in a Letter he wrote to the King his Father, that he never expected he ſhou'd be able to get out of the Hands of the King of *Spain*, and that hereafter the Electreſs his Siſter ought to be look'd upon as preſumtive Heireſs of the Crown of *England*. *James* being afflicted, as may well be ſuppos'd, at News ſo little expected, wrote to the Duke

The breaking off of the Marriage.

The Prince gets the King's Conſent for his leaving Spain.

James I. to bring back his Son to him whatever it coſt; and at the ſame time he ſent over Veſſels to fetch him home.

The excuſe made for the Prince's leaving Madrid.

As ſoon as the Duke had receiv'd this Order, he acquainted the King of *Spain* of it, and told him that the Prince's Abſence was the occaſion of Commotions in *England*, which made his Return abſolutely neceſſary, the rather becauſe the Diſpenſation was a long time a coming, and that there cou'd be no aſſurance when it wou'd come: That as for the reſt, the Prince's Departure wou'd be no hindrance to the Marriage, becauſe he wou'd leave a Proxy in the Hands of any Perſon that his Majeſty himſelf ſhou'd make choice of, for marrying the Infanta in his Name. This had ſo ſpecious an Appearance of Reaſon, that *Philip* did not oppoſe the Prince's Departure, and offer'd himſelf to be his Proxy. Conſequently the Prince ſet out for St. *Andero*, where the Fleet waited for him, after having ſolemnly ſworn a 2d time to the Articles that were agreed on, and left a Proxy with the Earl of *Briſtol*, which was to be deliver'd to the King of *Spain* 10 Days after the Arrival of the Diſpenſation. While he was on the Road for St. *Andero*, he ſent *Clarke*, the Duke of *Buckingham's* Domeſtick, to the Earl of *Briſtol*, to order him not to part with the Proxy out of his Hands, till the Court of *Spain* had given him ſufficient Security that the Infanta ſhou'd not turn Nun after the Eſpouſals; and to let him know what ſort of Security they ſhou'd think fit to offer. This abſolute Order was a Precaution taken by the Prince, in caſe the Diſpenſation arriv'd too ſoon, in order to hinder the Marriage from being celebrated, before he had convinc'd the King his Father of the neceſſity of breaking it off.

His Departure.

He leaves a Proxy with the Earl of Briſtol, *but orders him not to let it go.*

The

The Prince and the Duke arriving at *Portſmouth* on the 15th of *October* N. S. went to wait on the King, who was overjoy'd to ſee them again; but they did not inform him immediately of the Project they had contriv'd to break off the Marriage. Twelve days after this, the King and the Prince receiv'd Letters from the Earl of *Briſtol*, which inform'd them of the King of *Spain*'s Anſwer on account of the Prince's Scruples, with which they both ſeem'd ſatisfy'd. *A.* 1623. *His Arrival in England.*

THE Prince and the Duke being loth to open their Deſign to the King all at once, began to inſtil Doubts into his Mind with regard to the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which he had all along expected to be the Effect of the Marriage, tho he was not willing to permit it to be one of the Conditions of it. This was the reaſon that in the Letter he wrote to the Earl of *Briſtol*, dated the 28th of *October*, to acquaint him that he was ſatisfy'd with the King of *Spain*'s Anſwer, he added that before *Chriſtmas*, he hop'd to receive two agreeable Articles of News, *viz.* the Advice of his Son's Marriage, and of the Reſtoration of his Son-in-Law. Tho the Affair of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* had been neglected to the laſt degree while the Prince was in *Spain*, the Earl of *Briſtol* got a Promiſe from the *Conde d' Olivarez*, that the Proxy ſhou'd not be demanded of him, before a Writing ſign'd by the King of *Spain* was put into his Hands, whereby he ſhou'd engage for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*. *His caution in diſcovering his Mind to the King all at once.* *King's Letter to the Earl of* Briſtol. *Reſtitution of the* Palatinate *promis'd by the Court of* Madrid.

ALL this was a mighty Obſtacle to the Prince's Deſign, who propos'd to make the Refuſal of the *Spaniſh* Court upon this Article the

James I. the Foundation of his Deſign to break off the Match. Nevertheleſs with a View to gain time he had taken a Precaution which the King of *Spain*'s Miniſters did not perceive; and that was his ſlipping a Clauſe into the Proxy that it ſhou'd not be valid till *Chriſtmas*, ſo that if the Diſpenſation did not arrive above 10 Days before *Chriſtmas*, the Proxy wou'd be of no Force. But on the other hand, it might arrive before that time, and if ſo, nothing cou'd hinder the Celebration of the Marriage. This Reaſon at length oblig'd the Prince and the Duke to declare their Thoughts to the King without reſerve. 'Tis not certain whether he was convinc'd by their Arguments, or whether he ſuffer'd himſelf to be prevail'd on from his own weakneſs and an exceſs of Complaiſance. Be this as it will, he ſent a very expreſs Order to the Earl of *Briſtol*, not to part with the Proxy till after *Chriſtmas*, that is to ſay when it wou'd be no longer of any Value, by virtue of the Clauſe which the Prince had inſerted in it. The King's Order was dated the 23 of *November*, N. S. and the Diſpenſation arriv'd at *Madrid* in the beginning of *December*; ſo that the King's Letter came to the Earl of *Briſtol*, in the critical Minute. When the Earl acquainted the King of *Spain* with the order he had receiv'd from the King his Maſter, that Monarch eaſily underſtood the meaning of it; and from that day a Stop was put to all the Preparations that were making for the Marriage; the Infanta quitted the Title of Princeſs of *Wales*, which ſhe had already begun to take, and the Ambaſſador of *England* had Orders to demand no more Audiences of the King. No body was ever let into the true Secret why this Negotiation was

The Prince of Wales's *Artifice.*

The King's Conſent to the breaking off the Match, and his Order to the Earl of Briſtol *not to part with the Proxy.*

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was broke off. The Earl of *Clarendon* aſcribes it to ſome ſecret Deſign of the Duke of *Buckingham*. For my part, I gueſs that a Gentleman whom the Queen of *Bohemia* had ſent to the Duke in *Spain*, made the firſt Overture to him of Prince *Charles*'s Marriage to the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter to the King of *France*; and that this Match, which was concluded not long after, was the true Cauſe why the former was broke off. *A.* 1624.

Anno MDCXXIV.

As ſoon as the King had reſolv'd to break off the Match, the Prince and the Duke perſuaded him to recall the Earl of *Briſtol*, that there might be no poſſibility of reviving it. We may be ſure that from the Moment the King had diſcover'd ſo much Complaiſance for the Prince and Duke, or rather ſo much Weakneſs, as, for the ſake of doing them a pleaſure, to break off a Marriage he had been ſo earneſtly ſolliciting for ſeven Years together, he ſubmitted himſelf entirely to their Management, ſo that it was not poſſible for him to ſhake off the Yoke. They had contracted ſuch a ſtrict Union together during their ſtay in *Spain*, that the Duke was more the Prince's Favourite than he was the King's, and unhappily for the King, they only caball'd together to keep him in Slavery. Therefore it may be ſaid that the remainder of this Reign, which did not laſt above a Year longer, was rather the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* I. than the end of that of *James* I. for *James* to his dying Day acted only by the Direction of the Prince and his Favourite; who not content with having forc'd him to break off a Match he had *E. of* Briſtol *recal'd.*

James I. so earneſtly deſir'd, made him alſo take a Reſolution to make War upon *Spain*, tho nothing was more contrary to his Inclination.

IN order to go to War with *Spain*, he muſt have Money; and the firſt method they contriv'd was to raiſe a Benevolence upon the Subjects. But afterwards the Prince and Duke conſider'd that the Parliamentary way was the moſt proper, as well for raiſing the neceſſary Subſidies, as for approving the Breach of the Marriage Treaty, and the War againſt *Spain*.

A Parliament call'd. The King was therefore oblig'd by their Sollicitations, tho it was againſt his Will, to call a Parliament. In the Interval betwixt the Summons of it and the Seſſion, the Prince and the Duke propos'd to the King to marry the Prince to the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter to the King of *France*. *James* having given his Conſent to the Project, found a Pretence for ſending the Earl of *Holland* into *France*, in order to ſee how the Court ſtood affected to this Marriage. I will treat of this Negotiation preſently, but muſt firſt take notice of what paſs'd in the Parliament which met upon the 19th of *February* 1624.

Propoſal of the Prince's Marriage with Henrietta Maria *of* Fra.

JAMES, who now acted only by the Direction of the Prince and the Duke, who were in great need of a Parliament, made a Speech at the Opening of it ſo different from thoſe he had us'd to make there, that one wou'd have almoſt ſaid that another King had made it. He endeavour'd to gain the Love and Good Will of both Houſes by tender and affectionate Expreſſions, without ſounding the Royal Prerogative in ſo high a Note as he had done in former Speeches. He let fall two things in his Speech which render'd his *bona fide* ſuſpicious in the opinion of thoſe who were

Remarks on his Speech to the Parliament.

were inform'd of the Secret of the Negotiation he had carry'd on in *Spain*. In the firſt place he affirm'd that when the Prince arriv'd in *Spain*, the Negotiation was as freſh as if it had never been in Treaty before; and yet he himſelf had ſign'd the Articles, of it at leaſt with reſpect to the Marriage. As to the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, it was he himſelf who had given Orders it ſhou'd not be made one of the Marriage Articles. Secondly, he took God to Witneſs that he had not ſo much as a Thought of granting a Toleration to the Papiſts; and yet the Secret Articles which he had ſign'd, and the Declaration of the Council, which I mention'd above, manifeſtly evince the contrary to any Man, tho ignorant of the Secret. The Earl of *Briſtol* was afterwards oblig'd to divulge it for his own Juſtification. The principal Aim of this Speech, was to deſire the advice of Parliament concerning the Affair of the Marriage, and that of the *Palatinate*. But for the Parliament's inſtruction in theſe matters, the King left it to the Prince and the Duke to acquaint them with the Particulars of what paſs'd in this Negotiation. *A.* 1624.

The Duke of Buckingham *gives them a falſe account of the Buſineſs of the* Spaniſh *Match.*

THE Prince and the Duke of *Buckingham* repairing ſome days after to a Conference of the two Houſes, the Duke gave them ſuch a Report of what had paſs'd in *Spain* as he thought proper: a Report, which, as the Earl of *Briſtol* prov'd afterwards, had not one Word of Truth in it, and yet the Prince atteſted the Truth of it from time to time, by certain Words and Signs. The Earl of *Briſtol* being abſent, no body knew the truth of the Fact but the King, who had no Intereſt to diſcover it. In this long Speech the Duke took the Earl of *Briſtol* to Task, and blam'd him for all the

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James I. Delays that happen'd in the Negotiation, charging him with having had the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria* more at Heart than thoſe of the King his Maſter; and publickly affirming that the King of *Spain* never had an Intention either to procure the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, or to conclude the Marriage. The Prince and the Duke had already ſecur'd an Intereſt in both Houſes. It being moreover impoſſible that the Parliament cou'd be inform'd of the Truth, they cou'd not imagine that the King and the Prince wou'd offer to give an authentick Teſtimony to what the Duke had ſaid, if his Relation had been falſe.

His Speech applauded. In fine, the People were ſo pleas'd to ſee the Prince come home, and the King reſolv'd to break off the Marriage with *Spain*, that the Duke's Speech was univerſally applauded.

We have ſeen already that the Marriage was actually broke off in *Spain*, and that *Philip* was very well aſſur'd of it. But as *James* had not directly recall'd his Promiſe, having only order'd the Earl of *Briſtol* not to deliver the Proxy till it was more valid, he pretended when he ask'd the advice of the Parliament, that the Affair was ſtill *in ſtatu quo*; and that he was perfectly at Liberty, either to continue the Negotiation or to break it off. The Parliament not being duly inform'd, but taking what the King ſaid for granted, adviſ'd him to break off the two Treaties about the *Palatinate* and the Marriage, and gave him many reaſons for it. Upon this the King went to the Parliament, to tell them that the Breach of the Negotiation cou'd not but produce a War with *Spain*, and that by conſequence he ſhou'd want Money to carry it on. The Commons engag'd ſome days after to grant him three

They adviſe the K. to break off the Spaniſh *Match.*

The King conſents, and deſires a Supply.

three entire Subſidies, and three Fifteenths, as ſoon as he made a ſolemn Declaration that the two Treaties were broke off. Upon this Engagement the King diſpatch'd a Courier to carry his Declaration upon this Head to *Spain*; but when he heard that the two Houſes intended to preſent a joint Addreſs to him againſt the Papiſts, he ſtopp'd the Courier; tho when he was told the Contents of it, he ſuffer'd him to proceed. All *England* was overjoy'd at the Breach of the *Spaniſh* Match, the People not knowing at the ſame time that there was another negotiating in *France*, which was equally dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion. *A.* 1624. *The Commons offer it.* *He is alarm'd at the News of an intended Addreſs againſt the Papiſts.* *People's Joy for breaking off of the Match.*

THE Parliament's Addreſs conſiſted of theſe ſeven Articles. 1. That it wou'd pleaſe the King to expel all the Jeſuits and Prieſts come over from the foreign Seminaries. 2. To ſeize the Arms of Papiſts. 3. To remove all Popiſh Recuſants from Court, and to call in the Licenſes granted upon that Head. 4. To ſtop the Concourſe of Papiſts to the Houſes of the Ambaſſadors. 5. To remove Papiſts from the publick Offices which they exercis'd, and which gave them too much Power. 6. To order the Magiſtrates to ſee to the Execution of the Laws made againſt Recuſants. 7. To engage his Royal Word that for the future he wou'd not ſuſpend the Execution of the Laws, on account of ſuch Treaties as had lately been negotiated in *Spain*. The King return'd a very gracious Anſwer to this Addreſs. He took God to Witneſs that he had never diſpens'd with the Laws made againſt the Papiſts, and that he had not entertain'd ſo much as a thought of it: which he cou'd not have ſaid without ſome Equivocation or mental Reſervation, be- *The Parliament's Addreſs againſt Papiſts, &c.* *King's Anſwer.*

James I. cauſe all the World knew the contrary. He poſitively promis'd to execute the laſt Article of the Addreſs punctually. But when he told the two Houſes that he granted them more than they deſir'd, he avoided any Anſwer to the 3d and 5th Articles, in which they deſir'd he wou'd remove the Papiſts from Court, and take away their Offices. The Parliament, to ſhew that they were in earneſt, preſented him a Liſt ſome Days after of 57 Popiſh Lords and Gentlemen, who held publick Offices at Court, and in the Country. But as the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Mother and Wife were Roman Catholicks, the Parliament did not think it proper to inſiſt longer upon that matter, out of pure regard for a Nobleman who had ſo much Intereſt with the King, and much more with the Prince.

Parliament give in a Liſt of Popiſh Officers.

The Spaniſh *Ambaſſador informs againſt* Buckingham.

At the ſame time a Storm was gathering againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, being enrag'd with him for what he had ſaid againſt the King his Maſter in the Conference betwixt the two Houſes, found means to inform the King ſecretly of a Conſpiracy, which perhaps was but too true, form'd between the Prince and the Duke, to keep him in Bondage. He even gave him ſome Proofs of it; which made the more Impreſſion upon him, becauſe after the Prince's return, he began to feel the Miſeries of that Slavery. It look'd at firſt as if he had form'd a Reſolution to diſmiſs the Duke; but he was ſo afraid of his entire Union with the Prince, that he durſt not execute it. For when they had as it were made ſure of the Parliament, and had ſo order'd matters that the King had not one Domeſtick but what was devoted to them, they began to treat him with leſs De-

King's Suſpicion and Fears of the Duke.

corum

corum than before. The State of Slavery in which the King found himſelf, appear'd chiefly upon two occaſions, in which he cou'd not be miſtaken. The firſt was the Fall of the Lord Treaſurer, who for having refus'd the Prince and the Duke, while they were in *Spain*, all the Money they had call'd for, was impeach'd in Parliament of a Miſdemeanor, condemn'd to pay a Fine of 50000 *l. Sterling*, and declar'd unworthy of a Seat in the upper Houſe, notwithſtanding the Intreaty and Sollicitation which the King made to the Prince and the Duke, not to puſh that Nobleman to extremity. He knew that they were his Adverſaries, and he cou'd not prevail on them to let him alone. The ſecond Proof of the King's Bondage was the Diſgrace of the Earl of *Briſtol*, to which he was oblig'd to conſent, whether he wou'd or not. He cou'd not be ignorant that this Nobleman was innocent, and he was the only Peer at Court that he cou'd truſt. Yet he cou'd not help ſending an Order to him at *Dover*, not to come to Court, but to ſtay at his own Houſe. Some time after this, the Favourite ſent a Paper to the Earl to ſign, whereby he was to own himſelf guilty of a Miſdemeanor; telling him at the ſame time that he had no other way to come off. The Earl refus'd to ſign this Paper, and the King ſaid to *Buckingham*, that it was a horrid Act of Tyranny to go about to force an innocent Man to declare himſelf guilty. But it was not in his Power to protect that Nobleman.

A. 1624.

The Fall of the Lord High Treaſurer.

Of the E. Briſtol.

As ſoon as the Parliament was broke up, the King ſent over 6000 Men to ſerve in *Holland*, under the Prince of *Orange*. At the ſame time the Court form'd a Project to employ the Count *de Mansfeldt*, and to give to him the Com-

King ſends Men to Holland.

James I. Command of a Body of 12000 Men, which were actually raising, with a design to enter the Lower *Palatinate* during the Winter.

Prince's Marriage Treaty with Henrietta Maria.

MEAN time the Earl of *Holland* having acquainted the King that the Court of *France* was dispos'd to enter into a Treaty for the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* with the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, the King join'd the Earl of *Carlisle* to him in the Negotiation of that Treaty. The Conferences upon this Affair began not many Days before the Parliament was prorogued, and at a time when the King, in order to satisfy the two Houses, caus'd the Laws against Popish Recusants to be put in Execution. These People had expected quite different Treatment a few Months before, therefore the Severity with which they were us'd, seem'd to them the greater. Some of them wrote word into *France*, that the Negotiation of the Prince's Marriage with a *Spanish* Princess administer'd some Comfort to them, whereas that which was begun in *France* upon the like account only increased their Miseries. These Complaints being often repeated, oblig'd *Lewis* XIII. at last to send the Archbishop of *Ambrun* to the King, to desire some Favours of him for the Roman Catholicks. I don't propose here to enter into the Particulars of this Negotiation. I shall only say in a word, that if any Credit may be given to that Archbishop's Account, which is at the end of *Deageant*'s Memoirs, *James* had an extraordinary Bias to the Roman Catholick Religion: Perhaps too he had form'd a chimerical Project to establish a Toleration of the two Religions in all the Dominions of *Europe*. But *Deageant* says more than this; for he affirms, that *James* had made a positive Promise to the Archbishop of

Laws put in Execution against the Papists.

They complain to the Court of France.

K. James's *Engagement according to* Deageant.

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of *Ambrun*, to embrace the Roman Catholick Religion, and that he even wrote to the Pope to assure him of it. But this is not a proper place to examine how much there is of Truth in those Memoirs. *A.* 1624.

THE first thing concluded in *France* relating to the Prince's Marriage, tho the *English* Ambassadors made some scruple of it, was, that the Articles of Religion agreed to in *Spain* should be laid down for the Foundation of the Treaty. The only Difference was, that *France* could not obtain that the Roman Catholicks should have a publick Church in *London*. Nor did she insist much upon this Article, because she knew the Inconveniencies, or rather the Impossibility of making it go down with the People and the Parliament: She made her self amends in some measure, by causing an Addition to be made to the Number of Ecclesiasticks in the Princess's Service, and by obtaining that the Children which should be born of that Marriage should be educated by their Mother, till they were 13 Years of Age, whereas only ten had been granted to *Spain*. The Treaty being sign'd at *Paris* in the Month of *November*, all Prosecutions against Popish Recusants ceas'd immediately in *England*; and the King positively promis'd to set all those at liberty that were actually in Prison, immediately after the Consummation of the Marriage. *Negotiation of the Prince's Marriage in* France. *Stop put to the Prosecution of Popish Recusants.*

THE great Aim of the Prince and the Favourite was, that this Alliance would procure them an Opportunity of making an offensive and defensive Alliance with *France*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. And this was also what the Earl of *Carlisle* had Orders to propose immediately. *Lewis* XIII. seem'd to turn a willing Ear to the Proposal, and even gave hopes that such a League might be concluded after

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James I. after the Affair of the Marriage was diſpatch'd. Mean time the 12000 Men that *Mansfeldt* was to carry into the *Palatinate* were got ready in *England*. When theſe Troops were in a readineſs, *James* caus'd preſſing Inſtances to be made again to the Court of *France* concerning the League; and the Anſwer was, that this Affair ſhould be treated of when the Marriage was conſummated. Therefore the Court of *England* could do no more at preſent, than demand Paſſage thro' *France* for the Troops which the Count *de Mansfeldt* was to command. *Lewis* made anſwer, that he would not only grant the Paſſage deſir'd of him, but that he would even join the *Engliſh* Troops with a Body of his own; but the Event ſhew'd, that he meant it ſhould be after the Concluſion of the Alliance. Mean time the Court of *England* fancy'd that 'twas an Engagement without a Condition, and neglected to make the *French* Court explain it ſelf. But at that time there was hardly a ſillier Court under the Sun than that of *England*, of which here are two very convincing Proofs.

James *demands* Frankendal *of the Infanta, and Paſſage for the Troops, which ſhe cannot grant.*

THE Truce of 15 Months made for the *Palatinate* being expir'd, *James* caus'd a Memorial to be preſented to the Infanta *Iſabella*, to deſire her that ſhe would reſtore *Frankendal* to him, and that ſhe would grant him Paſſage for 1500 Men thro' the Lands of the King of *Spain* and the Empire. The Infanta made Anſwer, That ſhe was ready to execute the Treaty, and to grant Paſſage to the *Engliſh* thro' the Countries in the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, but that ſhe had not Power to grant it thro' the Territories of the Empire, and that ſhe was not engag'd to it by the Treaty; which, as I mention'd before, was very

true,

true. Mean time, tho the Treaty was concluded at *London*, none of the King's Miniſters perceiv'd that the granting a Paſſage to the Gariſon of *Frankendal* for retiring was one thing, and that the allowing ſuch Paſſage for a new Supply of 1500 Men was another. Thus the King was oblig'd to leave that Place in the Hands of the Infanta, becauſe he was afraid to venture the Paſſage of thoſe few Troops thro' the Territories of the Empire. *A.* 1625.

THE following Inſtance is another Proof of the Simplicity of the Court of *England*. Without any other Security than what I juſt now mention'd for Count *Mansfeldt*'s Paſſage thro' *France*, 12000 Men were put on board with him, heap'd, as it were, one upon another in the midſt of Winter. But when they came to ſet Foot upon the *French* Shore, they were not ſuffer'd to land, *Lewis* not thinking himſelf bound to give them Paſſage. The *Engliſh* Writers call this Treachery on the part of *France*; but I know not whether they ought not to call it extreme Negligence on the part of *England*. Theſe Troops not having leave to land in *France*, went away to the Coaſts of *Zealand*, where they found the ſame Obſtruction. In ſhort, this Army, what with Sickneſs and Deſertion, dwindled almoſt to nothing; and the greateſt part of the Soldiers that remain'd went to ſerve as Recruits to the 6000 Men of their Nation, who were in the Service of the States-General. Mansfeldt *deny'd Paſſage thro' France.*

Anno MDCXXV.

URBAN VIII. who was not eaſily perſuaded to grant a Diſpenſation for the Marriage, and did not promiſe it till he had been threat- *Difficulties concerning the Diſpenſation.*

James I. threatned by the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, that the Court would do without it if he refus'd it, kept them in ſuſpenſe for it till the Month of *February* 1625. When it came to *Paris*, it appear'd that the Pope had annex'd two Conditions to it which were not in the Treaty, and which he requir'd the King of *England* and the Prince his Son to ſwear to the Execution of, without which the Diſpenſation was not valid. Theſe two Conditions were, that the Domeſticks of the Children who ſhould be born of this Marriage ſhould be Catholicks, and that the Princeſs ſhould chuſe them. *James* agreed to theſe two Articles without much Intreaty, but he refus'd to take a new Oath, ſaying, that his own and his Son's Promiſe was ſufficient. Nevertheleſs the Marriage could not be celebrated without this Oath, becauſe the Pope had made it a neceſſary Condition of the Diſpenſation. The only Expedient thought of was, that the King of *France* himſelf ſhould offer to be Security for the Performance of the two Articles. But there was a neceſſity of waiting for a new Diſpenſation, and *James* dy'd before it arriv'd.

James's *Sickneſs and Death. D. of* Buckingham *ſuſpected for it.*

In the Month of *March* this Prince was ſeiz'd with a Tertian Ague, which carry'd him off upon the 8th of *April*, N.S. The Duke of *Buckingham* was ſuſpected to have haſten'd his Death by a Potion which he made him take twice, without the Advice of Phyſicians, and by a certain Plaiſter which he caus'd to be apply'd to his Belly. In the following Reign he was impeach'd by the Houſe of Commons, not indeed of having poiſon'd the King, but of having had the Preſumption to give him Remedies, without conſulting his Phyſicians.

The

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The Acts of the Seventeenth Volume of the Fœdera *which relate to the foregoing History are,* *A.* 1618.

1. A Commission to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the other Lords of the Privy-Council to enlarge out of Prison, and to banish out of the King's Dominions *William Danvers*, *Roger Walter*, *Nicolas Johnson* and *John Armstrong*, four Popish Recusants, at the Suit of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Ambassador; dated *April* 5. 1617. at *Westminster*. *Banishment of 4 Popish Recusants.* 3.

2. A Commission to Sir *John Digby*, Vice-Chamberlain and Privy-Counsellor, to treat with the King of *Spain* about the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* to the Infanta *Maria*; dated at *Westminster*. *April* 16, 1617. *Sir* John Digby's *Commission to treat about the* Spanish *Match.* 9.

3. A Grant of the Office of Master of the Hospital of the *Savoy*, to *Mark Anthony de Dominis* Archbishop of *Spalato*, vacant by the Resignation of *Walter Balcanquall*; dated *March* 26. 1618. at *Westminster*. *Grants to the ABp. of* Spalato. 79. 88.

4. ANOTHER Grant to him of the Deanry of *St. George*'s Chapel at *Windsor*, vacant by the Death of *Anthony Maxey*; dated *May* 13. 1618. at *Westminster*.

5. AN Order from the King to the Officers of the *Exchequer* to pay no Pension that he shall grant for the future; dated *May* 15. 1618. at *Westminster*. *Stoppage of Pensions.* 89.

6. A Proclamation against Sir *Walter Raleigh*; dated *June* 11. 1618. at *Westminster*. *Proclamation against Sir* Walter Raleigh. 92.

'THE King sets forth that he had given Li-
'cence to *Raleigh* to undertake a Voyage to *Gui-*
'*ana*, to make Discovery of a certain Gold Mine;
'but that he had expresly forbid him from at-
'tempting any Act of Hostility upon the Ter-
'ritories or Subjects of any of the Princes his
'Friends, and particularly the King of *Spain*:

James I. 'That nevertheleſs having been inform'd by 'common Fame, that the ſaid Knight has 'committed Hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards*, 'and burnt the Town of *St. Thomas*; he char- 'ges thoſe that have any Knowledge thereof 'to come and diſcover the ſame to ſome of the 'Privy-Council.

IF this Proclamation be compar'd with Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Patent at the end of the 16th Vol. of the *Fœdera*, it will appear there is no mention made of the Princes in amity with the King, or the King of *Spain* in particular.

Baniſhment of the Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts. 92

7. A Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and others of the Privy-Council, to baniſh Jeſuits and Seminary Prieſts out of the Realm; dated *June* 23. 1618. at *Weſtminſter*.

'THIS Commiſſion is of the ſame kind 'with thoſe mention'd in the former Volume: 'That is to ſay, that altho the Parliaments 'have with one Voice order'd the Laws a- 'gainſt thoſe People to be ſeverely executed; 'yet the King, continuing his gracious Incli- 'nation towards them, only orders Baniſh- 'ment for thoſe who are at liberty, and for 'thoſe who are in Priſon, indicted or at- 'tainted.

Commiſſion to the ABp. of Spalato. 95.

8. A ſpecial Commiſſion to *Mark Anthony de Dominis*; dated *June* 24. 1618. at *Weſtminſter*.

IT relates to his Office of Maſter of the *Savoy*.

Reformation of the Treaſury. 97.

9. A Commiſſion to the Earl of *Pembroke* and others for reforming Abuſes in the Treaſury; dated *July* 10. 1618. at *Weſtminſter*.

Inventory of the King's Jewels. 99.

10. ANOTHER to make a new Inventory of the King's Jewels; the King having diſpoſed of ſeveral: dated *July* 10. 1618. at *Weſtminſter*.

A

11. A Patent, authorizing *Samuel Atkinſon* and *Simon Morgan*, Gentlemen, to ſearch in all Places for hidden Treaſure; dated as above. *A.* 1620. *Commiſſion to ſearch for Treaſure.* 101.

12. THE King's Declaration, with reſpect to the Tumults that may happen in *London*; and particularly, upon Account of the Inſult upon the Ambaſſador of *Spain*; dated *Sept.* 10. 1618. at *White-hall.* *Declaration about Tumults.* 113.

13. ORDER for the Execution of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was condemn'd 14 Years before; dated *Oct.* 28. 1618. at *Weſtminſter.* *Order for executing Sir W. Raleigh.* 115.

14. A Patent for the Office of Lord High-Admiral for the Marquis of *Buckingham*; dated *Jan.* 28. 1619. at *Weſtminſter.* *Lord High Admiral's Patent.*

15. A Proclamation, declaring his Majeſty's Royal Grace to confirm to his Subjects their defective Titles or Eſtates; dated *Febr.* 13. 1619. at *Whitehall.* 124. *Proclamation about defective Titles.*

'THIS was one of the Methods put in 136.
'practice for raiſing Money.

16. A Commiſſion for renewing the Defenſive Alliance with the Princes of *Germany*; dated *May* 6. 1619. at *Weſtminſter.* *Alliance with the German Princes.*

THIS Commiſſion was iſſued at the Requeſt of the Baron *de Dhona*, the Elector Palatine's Ambaſſador. 160.

17. ANOTHER to the Earl of *Worceſter* and others, for ſelling certain Jewels belonging to the late Queen, who was Wife to the King; dated *Aug.* 10. 1619. at *Weſtminſter.* *Sale of the Queen's Jewels.* 176.

18. A Commiſſion for diſcharging out of Priſon ten Popiſh Recuſants, notwithſtanding their Refuſal to take the Oath of Allegiance, on condition that they depart the Kingdom; dated at *Weſtminſter*, *April* 24. 1620. *The Diſcharge of 10 Popiſh Recuſants.* 193.

19. ANOTHER for ſelling ſome of the King's Jewels; dated *April* 27. 1620. at *Weſtminſter.* *Sale of the King's Jewels.* 194.

James I. *Commiſſion for the Trial of the Hereticks.* 200.

20. AN Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion for trying Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, *&c.* dated *April* 29. 1620. at *Weſtminſter*.

'THIS Commiſſion was renew'd from 'time to time according to the good Pleaſure 'of the King. It was founded upon an Act of 'Parliament paſs'd in the Reign of Queen *Eli-* 'zabeth. 'Tis the ſame that was call'd the 'High Commiſſion Court under the Reign of '*James* II. The ſole View of this Commiſſion 'was to vex the Puritans, tho the Jeſuits, 'Prieſts, and others were alſo inſerted.

Another for executing the Orders of the High Commiſſion 212.

21. ANOTHER for examining and reforming the Abuſes committed in the Execution of the Orders of the High Commiſſion, and by the Delegates of that Court; dated *May* 13. 1620. at *Weſtminſter*.

Proclamation about Tenant's Right. 249.

22. A Proclamation to prohibit and aboliſh Suits between the Borderers of *England* and *Scotland* under Pretence of that call'd Tenant's Right; dated *July* 28. 1620. at *Charlton*.

'ALL Proceſſes of this kind inferr'd that 'the two Kingdoms were ſtill ſeparate. But 'the King laid it down as a Foundation that 'they were united by his Proclamation (for- 'merly mention'd) tho the Parliament had 'rejected the Union.

Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. 258.

23. A Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes within the Province of *York*; dated *Oct.* 24. 1620. at *Weſtminſter*.

Election of Members. 270.

24. A Proclamation for the better Election of Members for the Parliament, that was to meet on the 16th of *January* 1621. dated *November* 6. 1620. at *Theobalds*.

'THE King gives his Opinion as to the 'Qualifications of the Men whom the People 'are to chuſe for their Repreſentatives, *viz.* '*That they be not Puritans, nor Bankrupts, nor*

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' *young Men*, &c. He adds that by this Admo- *A.* 1621.
' nition, he does not pretend to deprive Peo-
' ple of the freedom of Election, according to
' the Laws of the Realm.'

25. ANOTHER forbidding laviſh Diſcourſe about State Affairs; dated *Dec.* 24. 1620. at *Whitehall.* *Procl. againſt talk of State Affairs.* 275.

26. ANOTHER for proroguing the Parliament to the 23d of *January* 1621. dated *Dec.* 28. 1620. at *Weſtminſter.* *Parl. prorogued.* 276.

27. A Commiſſion for obliging thoſe that depart the Kingdom, to take the Oath appointed by the Parliament in the 3d Year of this Reign; dated at *Weſtminſter Jan.* 24. 1621. *Oath to be taken by thoſe who go out of the Kingdom.* 277.

28. A Patent for creating Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord *Verulam*, Viſcount of St. *Albans*; dated *Jan.* 27. 1621. at *Weſtminſter.* *Ld* Verulam's *Patent.* 279,

29. A Proclamation for apprehending Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*; dated *March* 3. 1621. at *Weſtminſter.* *Procl. for apprehending Sir G.* Mompeſſon. 284.

30. ANOTHER for baniſhing him out of the Realm, over and above the Puniſhment inflicted by the Sentence of Parliament; dated *March* 30. 1621. at *Weſtminſter.* 289.

31. ANOTHER for aboliſhing the Bills of Conformity; dated *March* 31. 1621. at *Weſtminſter.* *Bills of Conformity.* 289.

' THESE were Times of Forbearance
' which the King granted to Debtors to ſecure
' them from being proſecuted by their Cre-
' ditors.

32. A Memorandum relating to the Great Seal taken from *Bacon*, and deliver'd into the Cuſtody of *John Williams*. He was then only Dean of *Weſtminſter*, but ſoon after Biſhop of *Lincoln*. Williams *has the Great Seal.* 296.

James I.

Ld Digby's Commissions. 299. 33. A Commission from Baron *Digby* of *Sherborn*, to go and treat with the Emperor *Ferdinand*; dated *May* 18. 1621.

'THE King says that he has receiv'd a full 'Power from the Elector *Palatine* to treat in 'his Name.

300. 34. ANOTHER to the same, to treat with the King of *Spain* concerning the Marriage of Prince *Charles* to the Infanta *Maria*; dated the 14th *ditto*.

Procl. against talk of State matters. 314. 35. A Proclamation for restraining the Freedom of Discourse upon Affairs of State; dated at the Court of *Ashbye*, *July* 26. 1621.

'WE certify to all Men, that we will ex-'tend the like Severity to those who shall con-'ceal such seditious Discourse, as to those who 'shall be guilty of it.

K's Bond for Money borrow'd of the K. of Denmark. 315. 36. THE King's Bond for 100000 *Thalers*, borrow'd of the King of *Denmark* for two Years; dated *Aug.* 4. 1621. at *Westminster*.

Discharge for those who kept the Jewels. 315. 37. THE King's acknowledgment that he has dispos'd of certain Jewels belonging to the late Queen *Anne*; by way of Discharge to those who had the Custody of them; dated as above.

Procl. for adjourning the Parliament. 324. 38. A Proclamation for adjourning the Parliament from the 14th of *November* to the 8th of *February* following; dated *Oct.* 6. 1621. at the Court at *Royston*.

326. *Sale of more of the late Q's Jewels.* 334. 39. ANOTHER for altering the Adjournment, *viz.* from the 14th of *November* to the 20th of the same Month; dated *Nov.* 3. 1621.

40. ANOTHER acknowledgment of the Sale of the Queen's Jewels; dated *Nov.* 13. 1621. at *Westminster*.

Pardon of the ABp of Canterbury *for killing a Man.* 337. 41. A Pardon to *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for having kill'd a Man by chance; dated *Nov.* 22. 1621. at *Westminster*.

42. A

42. A ſpecial Commiſſion for diſpenſing the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* from Canonical Pains or other Cenſures, which he may have incur'd on account of the Murder, *&c.* dated *Nov.* 22. 1621. *A.* 1622. 339.

43. A Proclamation for the Diſſolution of the Parliament; dated *Jan.* 6. 1622. at *Weſtminſter.* *Procl. diſſolving the Parl.* 344.

'TIS a tedious Apology for the Diſſolu-
'tion of the Parliament, the true cauſe of
'which was the Diſputes in the lower Houſe,
'touching the Royal Prerogative, and the Pri-
'vileges of Parliaments.

44. A Commiſſion for diſcharging the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Countes out of Priſon; dated *Jan.* 17. 1622. at *Weſtminſter.* *Diſcharge of the E. of* Somerſet. 349.

This was not a Pardon.

45. A Patent appointing Sir *Horatio de Vere* to be Captain General in the *Palatinate*; dated *Feb.* 16. 1622. Horace Vere *Capt. General.* 352.

46. A Commiſſion to *Arthur* Lord *Chicheſter* to treat of a Peace with the Emperor. *It has no Date.* *Ld* Chicheſter's *Commiſſion.* 354.

47. ANOTHER to confirm the Baron *Digby* in the Power of treating with *Philip* IV. Son and Succeſſor of *Philip* III. King of *Spain*, touching a Treaty of Friendſhip and Alliance, *&c.* dated *March* 13. 1622. at *Weſtminſter.* *Commiſſions to Ld* Digby. 355.

48. ANOTHER to the ſame Lord to treat of the Prince of *Wales*'s Marriage with the Infanta. Of the ſame Date as the former. 356.

49. ANOTHER on the ſame Subject, which is alſo of the ſame Date. 357.

50. A Commiſſion to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and others, relating to the Jeſuits, *&c.* like the former; dated *April* 20. 1622. at *Weſtminſter.* *Commiſſion about Jeſuits.* 367.

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James I.

51. ANOTHER for the Confirmation of defective Titles; dated *July* 4. 1622. at *Weſtminſter*.

Defective Titles confirm'd. 388.

52. ANOTHER to Sir *Richard Weſton* to treat concerning a Truce with the Infanta; dated in the ſame Month.

Sir Rich. Weſton's *Commiſſion.* 394.

53. A Proclamation commanding the Great Men to keep to their Country Seats; dated *Nov.* 20. 1622. at *Newmarket*.

Order to the Nobility, &c. to keep their Chriſtmas *in the Country.* 417.

'THIS was on purpoſe to revive the antient Hoſpitality in the approaching Feſtival of *Chriſtmas*, which had been too much decay'd by the Reſort of the Nobility and Gentry to the great Towns.

Procl. for Inqu. into the Subj. Grievances. 452.

54. A Proclamation giving notice that the King has appointed certain Commiſſioners to hear and examine the Complaints of the People againſt Monopolies, and the other Grievances; dated *Feb.* 14. 1623. at the Court of *Theobalds*.

'THERE were 5 Commiſſioners, of whom the Marquis of *Buckingham* was the firſt.

Sequeſtration of Frankendal. 461.

55. A Treaty for the Sequeſtration of *Frankendal*; dated in *March* 1623. at *London*.

''TIS agreed that the *Engliſh* Gariſon ſhall march out of *Frankendal* with Colours flying, and may retire thro' the *Palatinate* and other Countries, either by Land or Water, to the Dominions of his Catholick Majeſty, and thoſe of the Emperor, and that from thence they ſhall have free Liberty to return to their Native Country, *&c.*

''TIS alſo agreed that when the ſaid Towns and Forts are to be reſtor'd to the King of *Great Britain*, his Majeſty may tranſport the Troops and Proviſions ſtipulated by the Treaty, thro' the Provinces of the *Netherlands*, ſubject to his Catholick Majeſty, if

it

' it be requir'd, and that both by Land and Water. *A.* 1623.

56. A Proclamation commanding Perſons of Quality to reſide at their Houſes in the Country; dated *March* 26. 1623. at *Newmarket.* *Order to the Nobility to reſide in the Country.*

57. THE Infanta's Ratification of the Treaty concerning *Frankendal*; dated at *Bruſſels April* 5. 1623. 466. *Ratification of the Treaty about* Frankendal.

58. A Treaty of Truce for the *Palatinate*; dated *April* 21. 1623. at *London.*

59. A Commiſſion to the Earl of *Rutland*, to command the Fleet deſign'd to fetch home the Prince from *Spain*; dated *April* 25. 1623. at *Weſtminſter.* 473. *E. of* Rutland's *Commiſſion*

60. A Proclamation ordering a Regiſter to be kept of the Knights created by the King; dated *April* 27. 1623. at *Windſor.* 485

' He had created ſuch a great number of ' them, that it gave ſome a pretence to chal- ' lenge that Dignity, on whom the ſame was ' never confer'd.

61. LETTERS Patent for creating the Marquis of *Buckingham* a Duke with that Title; dated *May* 18. 1623. at *Greenwich.* *Creation of the Duke of* Bucks.

62. RATIFICATION of the Treaty of Truce for the *Palatinate* by the King; dated *May* 30. 1623. at *London.* 495. *Truce for the* Palatinate. 499.

' IN the Treaty abovemention'd, there's a ' Blank left for the Term of the Truce: but ' here 'tis ſaid to be for 15 Months.

63. AN Acquittance for thoſe who have had the Cuſtody of the King's Jewels; dated *July* 15. 1623. at *Weſtminſter.* *Acquittance for the King's Jewels.*

' THE King's frequent Broils with his Par- ' liament, often put him under a neceſſity of ' ſelling his Jewels. 508.

64. A

A. 1623.

64. A Commiſſion relating to defective Titles; dated *July* 26. 1623. at *Weſtminſter*.

Defective Titles. 512.

This was to raiſe Money.

Procl. againſt Libels. 522.

65. A Proclamation againſt the Licentiouſneſs of Libels; dated at *Hampton-Court Sept.* 25. 1623.

For ſupplying the Realm with Corn. 526.

66. ANOTHER for ſupplying the Realm with Corn; dated at *Whitehall Dec.* 27. 1623.

'By this Proclamation the King granted 'certain Privileges to thoſe who wou'd under-'take to erect Magazines of Corn.

Parliamentary Proceedings. 552.

67. A Memorandum of what paſs'd in the Parliament which began the 19th of *February* 1624.

'IN this Account we have the Duke of '*Buckingham*'s Speech at the Conference be-'twixt the two Houſes, wherein he propos'd 'to give an exact Relation of all that paſs'd in 'the Prince's Marriage Treaty. Mention was 'made of this Narrative in *Page* 294, *&c.* of 'this Volume.

Protection of foreign Miniſters. 593.

68. A Proclamation for protecting the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes againſt the Inſults of the Populace; dated *March* 8. 1624. at *Whitehall*.

Baniſhment of Jeſuits, &c. 598.

69. ANOTHER for baniſhing Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, *&c.* out of the Realm; dated *May* 6. 1624. at *Greenwich*.

Treaty of perpetual Peace with France. 599.

70. A Commiſſion to the Earl of *Carliſle*, and the Baron of *Kenſington*, to treat of a perpetual Peace with the King of *France*; dated *May* 11. 1624. at *Weſtminſter*.

'THIS Baron of *Kenſington* was *Henry* '*Rich*, who was not yet made Earl of *Hol-*'*land*.

And of the French *Match.* 600.

71. ANOTHER to the ſame Perſons to treat of the Marriage of Prince *Charles*, and the Prin-

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Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter to *Lewis* XIII. dated as the former. *A.* 1622.

72. A Proclamation againſt Seditious, Popiſh and Puritanical Books and Pamphlets; dated *Aug.* 15. 1624. at *Nottingham*. *Procl. againſt Libels.* 616.

'It muſt be obſerv'd that tho 'tis ſaid in 'the Title, that the Proclamation is againſt 'Popiſh Books; yet there's no mention in it of 'any but Puritanical Books.

73. A Proclamation for proroguing the Parliament from the 2d Day of *November*, to the 16th of *February* following; dated *Oct.* 1. 1624. at *Whitehall*. *For proroguing the Parl.* 625.

74. A Pardon for *Robert Carr*, late Earl of *Somerſet*; dated *Oct.* 7. 1624. at *Weſtminſter*. Somerſet's *Pardon.* 625.

75. A Grant to *Robert Stokes*, of the Power to make Foreigners Denizens of *England*; dated *Oct.* 25. 1624. at *Weſtminſter*. *Power to* Stokes *to make Denizens.* 632.

76. A Commiſſion to the Duke of *Buckingham* to oblige thoſe who depart the Kingdom to take the Oath; dated *Dec.* 20. 1624. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commiſſion to oblige thoſe who depart the Kingdom to take the Oath.* 638.

77. A Commiſſion to baniſh the Jeſuits, *&c.* of the ſame Nature with the preceding ones; dated *Decemb.* 24, 1624. at *Weſtminſter*.

78. A Commiſſion to the Mayor of *Dover* about certain Troops that are to be embark'd there; dated *Dec.* 30. 1624. at *Cambridge*. *Commiſſion to the Mayor of* Dover. 647.

79. A Proclamation for proroguing the Parliament to the 15th of *March* 1625. dated *Jan.* 19. at *Newmarket*. *Prorogation of the Parl.* 648.

80. Letters of Repriſal granted to the Lord High Admiral againſt *Spain*; dated *Feb.* 14. 1625. at *Weſtminſter*. *Letters of Repriſal againſt* Spain. 667

The laſt Act in this XVIIth Volume of Mr. *Rymer*'s Fœdera is the Marriage Treaty betwixt *Charles* I. King of *Great Britain*, and *Henrietta Maria* of *France*; which is dated *May* 673. *Marriage Treaty with* Henriet. Maria.

James I. *May* 8. 1625. and ratify'd by King *Charles* at *Weſtminſter* the 21ſt of *June* following.

'THIS Treaty is as much in favour of 'the Roman Catholicks as that which had 'been made in *Spain*.

There are many other Acts in this Volume relating to various Subjects, among which are theſe that follow.

Sir Fr. Bacon *Keeper of the Gr. Seal.* 1. 1. A Patent appointing Sir *Francis Bacon* Keeper of the Great Seal; dated *March* 30. 1617. at *Weſtminſter*.

Heralds-Office reform'd. 3. 2. A Commiſſion for reforming the Heralds-Office; dated *April* 5. 1617. at *Weſtminſter*.

Camden's *Penſion.* 5. 3. GRANT of a Penſion of 20 *l.* a Year *Sterling* to *William Camden Clarencieux* King at Arms; dated *April* 5. 1617. at *Weſtminſter*.

Ld Verulam's *Patent.* 17. 4. A Patent for creating Sir *Francis Bacon*, Baron of *Verulam* in *Hertfordſhire*; dated *June* 11. 1617. at *Wanſted*.

Commiſſions for the Court of Wards in Ireland. 20. 5. A Commiſſion concerning the Court of Wards in *Ireland*; dated at *Weſtminſter*, *Sept.* 23. 1617.

'IN this Volume there are many more upon 'the ſame Subject.

Reporters of the Law. 27. 6. AN Order for conſtituting Reporters of the Law in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*; dated *Oct.* 24. 1617. at *Weſtminſter*.

Commiſſion of Array. 43. 7. A Commiſſion of Array, to keep the Militia in a good Poſture; dated *Nov.* 24. 1617. at *Weſtminſter*.

Government of the Northern *Counties.* 47. 8. AN Order for the Government of the *Northern* Counties; dated *Dec.* 23. 1617. at *Weſtminſter*.

'THE King calls thoſe Counties the middle 'Shires with regard to the Union.

9. A

9. A ſpecial Commiſſion to Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Capt. *William Parker*, concerning a Voyage and Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*; dated at *Weſtminſter Jan.* 16. 1618. *A.* 1619. *Commiſſion for a Trade to the* Eaſt Indies. 56.

10. A Proclamation calling in the Licences granted for new Buildings in *London*; dated at *Weſtminſter July* 21. 1618. *Procl. for reſtraining new Buildings.* 107. 843, 608.

THERE are ſeveral others for the ſame purpoſe. *Pardons.*

11. A Pardon for the Crime of Adultery, granted to *Thomas Trafford* of *Bridge Trafford* in the County of *Cheſter*; dated *July* 25. 1618. at *Weſtminſter*. 109, 185, 281, 342, 371, 617.

HERE are many others of the ſame Nature.

12. A Proclamation to forbid the eating of Fleſh in *Lent*; dated at *Newmarket Jan.* 29. 1619. *Procl. againſt eating Fleſh in Lent.*

THERE are many others of the like kind. 131, 134, 349, 447, 528, 661.

13. A Proclamation prohibiting the Exchange of Monies for Profit, the making of Plate of any of his Majeſty's Coins, and the exceſſive uſe of Gold and Silver Foliate; dated at *Whitehall Feb.* 4. 1619. *Againſt converting the Coin into Plate.* 133.

14. A Commiſſion to receive the Oath of *Lewis* XIII. concerning a Treaty of Commerce; dated at *Theobalds May* 6. 1619. *Commiſſion to receive the Oath of* Lewis XIII. 159.

15. A Grant of the forfeited Eſtates of the late Earl of *Somerſet*, to Sir *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Robert Carr*, and *Henry Gibb* Eſq; dated *June* 24. 1619. at *Weſtminſter*. *Grant of* Somerſet's *Forfeited Eſtates.* 164.

16. THE Grant of a Penſion of 2500 *l. Sterling* to *James* Earl of *Hamilton*, Marquiſs of *Cambridge*; dated *July* 10. 1619. at *Weſtminſter*. *E. of* Hamilton's *Penſion.* 168.

17. A

James I.

17. A Treaty with the States General relating to the *East-India* Trade; dated *July* 7. 1619. at *London*.

Treaty with the Dutch. 170.

18. THE King's Ratification of it; dated the 16th of the same Month at *Westminster*.

Alliance with the Turks. 178.

19. A Commission to Sir *John Ayre*, to renew the Alliance with Sultan *Osman Han*, the Emperor of the *Turks*; dated *Sept.* 14. 1619. at *Theobalds*.

P. Charles *his Pension.* 181.

20. A Pension of 20867 *l.* 5 *s.* 7 *d.* granted to the Prince of *Wales*; dated *Oct.* 5. 1619. at *Westminster*.

Commission for Garbling of Tobacco. 190, 233, 621, 668.

21. A Commission for the Garbling of Tobacco; dated *April* 7. 1620. at *Westminster*.

THERE are several Proclamations on this Head.

22. THE King's Declaration for depriving *Andrew Knox*, Bishop of the Isles in *Scotland*, of his Pension of 100 *l.* dated *May* 19. 1620. at *Westminster*.

Mathematical Lectures founded at Oxford. 217.

23. THE Foundation of two Mathematical Lectures in the University of *Oxford*; dated *May* 25. 1620. at *Westminster*.

24. A Commission for suppressing the Pirates; dated *July* 20. 1620. at *Westminster*.

Licence to dig for Mines. 252.

25. A Licence to dig for Mines in the Kingdom; dated *Oct.* 3. 1620. at *Westminster*.

Treaty with Den. 329.

26. A Treaty with the King of *Denmark*, concluded at *London April* 29. 1621.

27. King *James*'s Ratification of it; dated *Oct.* 11. 1621. at *Westminster*.

Gover. of Ireland. 358, 429.

28. A Commission for establishing good Government in *Ireland*; dated *March* 20. 1622. at *Westminster*.

THERE are some others for the same purpose.

Grants to Boreel *and* Huygens. 370.

29. A Grant of Nobility to *John Boreel* of *Zealand*; dated *April* 20. 1622. at *Westminster*.

30. THE

30. THE like for *Conſtantine Huygens*. Of the ſame Date. *A.* 1624.

31. A Pardon granted to *Walter Wikes* and *John Proſſer* for the Crime of Adultery; dated at *Weſtminſter April* 29. 1622. *Pardon for Adultery.* 371.

32. COMMISSIONS for maintaining Foreigners reſiding in *England* in their Liberties and Privileges; dated *June* 5. and *Dec.* 23. 1622. at *Weſtminſter*. *Privileges for Foreigners.* 372, 437.

33. A Proclamation for reſtraining the Exportation and Waſte of Coin and Bullion; dated *June* 11. 1622. at *Greenwich*. *Procl. about Coin and Bullion.* 376.

34. A Grant to the Lady *Anne Chandos*, Relict of the Lord *Gray*, of the ſame Rank ſhe held before her Marriage, as eldeſt Daughter of *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*; dated *July* 8. 1622. at *Weſtminſter*. *Grant to the Lady* Anne Chandos. 393.

35. A Commiſſion for re-eſtabliſhing the Woollen Cloth Trade, *&c.* dated *Oct.* 21. 1622. *Weſtminſter*. *Cloth Trade.* 410.

36. THE Eſtabliſhment of a Court of Wards and Liveries in *Ireland*; dated *Dec.* 23. 1622. at *Weſtminſter*. *Court of Wards in* Ireland. 429.

37. A Grant to the *Eaſt-India* Company; dated *Feb.* 4. 1623. at *Weſtminſter*. *East-India Company's Grant.* 450.

38. A Proclamation againſt the carrying of Ammunition to *Algier* and *Tunis*; dated *April* 6. 1623.

39. A Commiſſion to Sir *William Jones* for regulating the Affairs of the Colony ſettled at *Virginia*; dated *May* 9. 1623. *Regulation of the* Virginia *Colony.* 490.

40. A Treaty of Commerce between *James* I. and *Michael Phædorowitz.*, Great Duke of *Muſcovy*; dated *June* 16. 1623. at *Weſtminſter*. *Commerce with* Muſcovy. 504.

41. A Commiſſion to the Lord Viſcount *Falkland* and others, concerning the Government of *Ireland*; dated *Dec.* 29. 1623. at *Weſtminſter*. *Governm. of* Ireland. 531.

41. A

James I. 42. A Commiſſion for reſtraining the New Buildings about *London*; dated *Jan.* 27. 1624. at *Weſtminſter*.

Reſtraint of new Buildings. 540.

43. A Proclamation containing certain Privileges granted to ſuch as ſhall ſearch for, and find Mines either in the King's Lands or elſewhere; dated *July* 10. 1624. at *Weſtminſter*.

Procl. for the Diſcovery of Mines. 606.

44. A Commiſſion for eſtabliſhing a new Colony at *Virginia*; dated *July* 15. 1624. at *Weſtminſter*.

Defence of Ireland. 615.

45. A Commiſſion for eſtabliſhing a Council of War to concert ways and means for the defence of *Ireland*, &c. dated *July* 20. 1624. at *Nonſuch*.

P. Charles *his Penſion.* 618.

46. THE Grant of a Penſion of 2000 *l. Sterling* to Prince *Charles*; dated *Sept.* 24. 1624. at *Weſtminſter*.

Governm. of Virginia. 618.

47. A Commiſſion relating to the Government of *Virginia*; dated at *Weſtminſter Aug.* 26. 1624.

Procl. againſt all but Virginia *Tobacco.* 668.

48. A Proclamation againſt the Importation of any kind of Tobacco, which is not of the Growth of *Virginia*; dated *March* 2. 1625. at *Theobalds*.

IN this Volume of the *Fœdera*, we find a great number of Acts relating to private Perſons, ſuch as Pardons, Penſions, Benefices, *Conge d' Elires* for Biſhopricks, *&c.* as may be ſeen in the Collection.

THE ſecond Part of this XVIIth Volume has a General Alphabetical Index of the Names of Perſons contain'd in all the Volumes.

THE third contains Alphabetical Indexes of the Places and Things mention'd in each Volume.

AND the fourth Part concludes the whole with an Index of the Manuſcript Acts collected

lected by Mr. *Rymer* in 59 Volumes, beſides the Collection in the 17 printed Volumes, from the Reign of *Henry* I. to the end of the Reign of *Elizabeth*. Among theſe Acts there's a great number which deſerve to be printed, as being of very great Service for illuſtrating the Hiſtory of *England*, were it only for the Dates.

APPENDIX.

THAT the Reader may judge of the Neceſſity of this Addition, 'tis proper to acquaint him, that the firſt Tome of Mr. *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, ending with the Reign of *Henry* III. at Page 44 of *Acta Regia* Vol. I. was abſtracted by Mr. *Le Clerc:* but that Gentleman had ſo many other important Engagements in the Republick of Literature, that he proceeded no farther than the ſaid firſt Tome, and lent the other ſixteen, as they were publiſh'd, to Mr. *Rapin*, who continued the Abſtract, as 'tis printed in *Le Clerc's Bibliotheques*, (and from thence tranſlated in the *Acta Regia*) to the end of the Reign of King *James* I.

MR. *Rapin*'s ſaid Abſtract was thought ſo valuable by the Government of *Holland*, that the famous Penſionary *Fagel* obſerving how difficult it was to come at it in ſo many ſmall Volumes, where it lay confus'd with the Extracts of numerous other Books, caus'd the ſeveral Parts of it to be collected together, and printed by the States Printer at the *Hague*, in one entire Volume.

YET for a particular reaſon, no more than thirty Books of that Edition were printed off, ſo that one wou'd ſcarce have expected to meet with a Copy of it in *England*; but the Tranſlator has had the good Fortune to find this Curioſity in the Library of an *Engliſh* Gentleman,

man, *Martin Folkes* Esq; who not being capable to deny his Country any thing in his Power for the Illustration of its History, freely lent him his Book: By which he perceives that Mr. *Rapin* has retrac'd the first Tome of the *Fœdera*, and not only given a fuller Account of it than Mr. *Le Clerc*, but that his Abridgment of it is more methodical, as well as more conformable to his own Abstracts of the other Tomes of the *Fœdera*.

FOR these Reasons, as well as to do Justice to Mr. *Rapin*, the Editors of *Acta Regia* assure themselves that this Appendix will not be thought unnecessary by the Publick.

MR. *Rapin*, who calls his Extract a Supplemental one to that made by Mr. *Le Clerc*, introduces it thus.

MR. *Le Clerc* having given an Extract of the first Tome of Mr. *Rymer's* Collection, in the XVIth Vol. of his *Bibliotheque Choisie*, it wou'd be extraordinary presumption in me to offer at giving another Extract, if I did it with a Thought of performing it better than he has done, or of making any Correction in what he has thought fit to remark. But that was not the thing which induc'd me to undertake this Supplement. I am, on the contrary, fully persuaded that Mr. *Le Clerc's* Extract must convince the Lovers of modern History what a Loss they suffer'd when he was pleas'd to lay the Task of continuing the Extracts upon me. If the multiplicity of his Affairs had permitted him to have apply'd close to this Work, he wou'd have made an infinite number of Remarks upon this Collection which cannot be expected from me. But as I have

made Extracts of all the following Tomes of the *Fœdera*, in a method different from Mr. *Le Clerc*'s, and with other Views, I thought it wou'd not be improper to retrace this Tome after the same Method, in order to render the whole Work more uniform. As it seems that Mr. *Le Clerc* when he gave the Extract of the first Tome, had no design to go on with the rest, he contented himself with giving a general Idea of the Use which might be made of that Collection; first, by some general Remarks; and secondly, by pointing to some of the most important Acts which are in the first Volume. But my View in the following Extracts, from the second Tome to the seventeenth inclusive, was to be more particular, to shew the relation which the Acts stand in to the Events we meet with in the History, and to illustrate the one by the other. It was with the same View, and in pursuance of the same Method, that without meddling with Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Extract, I propos'd to make this, which tho the first in Order, is the last with regard to the Time of its Composition.

THIS first Tome contains all the Acts that cou'd be found of six Reigns, *viz.* *Henry* I. *Stephen*, *Henry* II. *Richard* I. *John*, and *Henry* III. These six Reigns together include the space of 172 Years, from 1101 to 1272. It is to be wish'd that this Collection cou'd have begun with the Reign of *William* the Conqueror; for that is not only the most considerable Epocha of the History of *England*, but 'tis certain that the knowledge of what pass'd in that Kingdom from the Conquest, that is to say, from the Year 1066 to the Year 1101, at which this Collection begins, is absolutely necessary for the perfect understanding of a great num-

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number of the Acts therein printed. This is true, eſpecially as to the Affair of the Succeſſion of the Crown, concerning which there were Wars of which 'tis impoſſible to know the real Foundations, without knowing what State the Right of Succeſſion was in, during the two firſt Ages that follow'd the Conqueſt. This leads me to ſay a Word or two upon this Subject, which I regard as a matter of great Importance, with reſpect to the ſeveral Revolutions that fell out afterwards, and to what we have ſeen in our own Time.

Inquiry into William the Conqueror's Right to the Crown.

IT cannot be deny'd that *William* the Baſtard, Duke of *Normandy*, truly conquer'd *England*, by the Victory he gain'd at *Haſtings* over *Harold*, and by every ſtep he took afterwards, as well to procure the Crown to himſelf, as to keep it in his Poſſeſſion. It was Force only that plac'd him on the Throne, and it was by the ſame method that he maintain'd himſelf upon it. I will not enter here into the Diſcuſſion of the Proofs which ſome have brought to ſhew that the Crown of *England* devolv'd juſtly to *William*, after the Death of *Edward* the Confeſſor; ſuch as *Edward*'s laſt Will and Teſtament, which no body ever ſaw; the pretended Approbation of the Parliament, even during the Life of *Edward*, which is only founded upon the Teſtimony of ſome Hiſtorians who wrote long after that time; and laſtly, the Kindred betwixt thoſe two Princes, which cou'd not but be defective, becauſe *William* was a Baſtard, beſides that he was only related by the Female ſide. All *William*'s Right therefore is reducible to this, *viz.* that *Edward* intended to appoint him his Heir, and had perhaps made him a verbal Promiſe of it; but as *Edward* had a Nephew,

viz. *Edgar Atheling* his Brother's Son, 'tis certain that it was not in his Breaſt to leave the Crown to a Foreigner. At leaſt we meet with no Precedent in the Hiſtory of the *Saxon* Kings, from whence it may be infer'd that it was in the Power of a King to leave his Crown to Foreigners, to the Prejudice of the Royal Race.

AFTER *Edward's* Death, *Edgar Atheling* was excluded from the Succeſſion, and the *Engliſh* choſe *Harold* II. who was not of the Royal Blood. It was this Election that furniſh'd *William* with a Pretext for aſpiring to the Crown of *England*. He pretended that becauſe *Edgar* was rejected, the Right which *Harold* cou'd infer from the Conſent of the great Men who had elected him, was no better founded than what he himſelf cou'd infer from *Edward's* Promiſe. That was the real Ground of the Quarrel betwixt the two Princes, in which *Harold* fell, being overthrown and kill'd at the Battle of *Haſtings*.

The Oath taken to him.

AFTER that time, *William* being plac'd upon the Throne, acquir'd a new Right by the Oath his Subjects took to him, an Oath which they were not in a condition to refuſe him, and which really was rather extorted than given voluntarily. Yet for all this, *William* look'd upon himſelf as a real Conqueror, and exercis'd a Deſpotick Power over his Subjects all the reſt of his Life-time. He took away their Eſtates, and gave them to Foreigners: and in the ſpace of a few Years *England* was peopled, if we may ſo call it, with new Inhabitants, and eſpecially with new Lords.

His abſolute Power.

DURING

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DURING this whole Reign, no Law was made about the Succeſſion to the Crown. The Conqueſt being laid down as the Foundation, cou'd not of it ſelf give any manner of Right to the Succeſſion, becauſe from the Conqueſt of a Kingdom there cannot be infer'd either an Hereditary Right from Father to Son or a Right of Males excluſive of the Females, and much leſs a Right of Election in the Commons, or in the great Men. In this confuſed ſtate did *William* leave the Succeſſion when he dy'd, that is to ſay, no Regulation was made about it. This is a Point I lay down for Fact, and which I prove by what happen'd afterwards. *His Careleſsneſs about the Succeſſion.*

WILLIAM the Conqueror being on his Death-Bed, did not think fit to diſpoſe of the Crown by an Act of abſolute Power. He barely ſignify'd that he wiſh'd that his ſecond Son *William* might aſcend the Throne after him; and he alſo ſecretly concerted Meaſures with *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that his Wiſh might be accompliſh'd, as it actually was.

WILLIAM II. ſurnam'd *Rufus*, the ſecond Son of *William* the Conqueror, ſeated himſelf on his Father's Throne to the prejudice of his elder Brother *Robert*; not by virtue of an expreſs Nomination, or by a Will of the Father, or by an Election in form, but by the Broils he had rais'd among the great Men to hinder them from oppoſing his Succeſſion: and notwithſtanding *Robert*'s Efforts, he maintain'd himſelf upon it, as long as he liv'd. William Rufus's *Succeſſion, to what owing.*

HENRY I. ſucceeded him after the very ſame manner almoſt, tho *Robert* his eldeſt Brother was ſtill living. Hitherto we find no *Succeſſion of* Hen. I.

Trace of Hereditary Succeſſion, as that Term is commonly underſtood. *Henry* left one only Daughter nam'd *Maud*, who was Widow to the Emperor *Henry* V. and afterwards marry'd to *Geoffery Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*. But *Stephen*, the younger Son of a Daughter of *William* the Conqueror who was marry'd to the Earl of *Blois*, aſcended the Throne in the ſame manner as his two Predeceſſors. He had a long War with *Maud*, who had a Party in *England*; but at laſt he carry'd his Point, and drove her out of the Kingdom. I confeſs I don't ſee why *Stephen* deſerves the Title of Uſurper any more than the three Kings that preceded him; and yet 'tis a Title that the Hiſtorians commonly give him, as if it fitted him better than the others. After *Stephen* was deliver'd from *Maud*, he had a new Rival to cope with, *viz.* *Henry*, who was *Maud*'s Son by the Earl of *Anjou*. This young Prince repairing to *England*, diſputed the Crown with *Stephen*, and at length forc'd him to make a Treaty with him, whereby he declar'd him his preſumptive Succeſſor, tho he had a Son of his own; and this Treaty was approv'd by all the great Men of the Kingdom. Here it is that we begin to have a View of the Hereditary Right of Succeſſion, becauſe *Henry* only diſputed for the Crown with *Stephen*, in quality of *Maud*'s Son; and yet *Maud* was ſtill alive when *Henry* her Son made this Treaty, and when he aſcended the Throne; nor does it appear in Hiſtory that ſhe had transfer'd her Rights to him.

Of Stephen.

Prov'd to be no more an Uſurper than his Predeceſſors.

His Treaty with Hen. II. *his Rival.*

HENRY II. had a Son of his own Name, whom he caus'd to be crown'd beforehand; a Precaution which wou'd have been very needleſs, if he had thought the Hereditary Suc-

Henry IId's *Son crown'd beforehand.*

Succeſſion ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd. He had three other Sons, *viz. Richard, Geoffery*, and *John*. *Henry* the eldeſt of the Four dy'd without Iſſue in his Father's Life-time. *Richard* was King of *England*. *Geoffery* dy'd before his Father, leaving a Daughter nam'd *Eleanor*, and a Poſthumous Son who was call'd *Arthur*. *Richard* ſucceeded the King his Father, but after his Death, inſtead of *Arthur*, *John* was plac'd upon the Throne, who was the laſt of *Henry* IId's Children; tho according to the natural Order of Hereditary and Lineal Succeſſion, the Crown was devolv'd to *Arthur* the Son of *Geoffery*, *John*'s elder Brother.

Barons Wars with K. John.

JOHN, ſurnam'd *Lackland*, being very much embroil'd with his Barons, they call'd to their Aſſiſtance Prince *Lewis*, Son to the King of *France*, and recogniz'd him for their Sovereign. This Prince made himſelf Maſter of almoſt the whole Kingdom; and *John*, who had but a very ſmall Party in *England*, dy'd before the end of that War. After his Death, the Barons who were attach'd to him, crown'd *Henry* III. his Son, who was about 12 Years of Age. *Lewis* being afterwards forc'd to abandon *England*, the two Parties were reconcil'd, and acknowledg'd young *Henry* for their King.

Coronation of Henry III.

THUS have I given you a ſhort Hiſtory of the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* from the Conqueſt to *Henry* III. In which it may be obſerv'd, 1. That the Crown was preſerv'd in the Poſterity of *William* I. tho *Stephen* and *Henry* were deſcended from him only by the Female ſide. 2. That all the Kings of *England* from *Henry* II. derive their Origin from *Maud*. 3. That of the firſt eight Kings who reign'd after the Conqueſt, there were but two, *viz. Richard* and *Henry* III. who ſucceeded

ceeded in the Order of Nature, that is to ſay, from Father to Son, according to the Priority of Branches. They who admit of this Order as a fundamental Maxim of Succeſſion, cannot but own that *William* I. *William* II. *Stephen*, *Henry* II. and *John*, were all Uſurpers, at leaſt if they will judge according to their own Principle. But as in this ſpace of Time we meet with no Law, nor any other Regulation, which has eſtabliſh'd this Order; and as on the other hand we find in theſe eight firſt Reigns ſix Precedents to the contrary; I think it may be infer'd that there was nothing fix'd upon this Head, nor any Principle eſtabliſh'd for regulating the Succeſſion. Theſe Remarks may be of ſome Service in the Courſe of the Extracts intended from the *Fœdera*. I come now to the ſix Reigns, whoſe Acts are contain'd in the firſt Tome of the *Fœdera*.

THE

THE REIGN OF *HENRY* I.

HENRY I. aſcended the Throne after *William Rufus*, tho *Robert* their elder Brother, who had already been ſupplanted once, was ſtill alive. This is not a place to examine whether *Henry* became King by Stratagem, by Force, by Right of Birth, as being born in *England* after the King his Father was on the Throne, by an Election free or forc'd, or by all theſe Claims put together. As there is not a ſingle Act in this Collection that has a relation to it, I ſhall not inſiſt upon this matter. It being natural for the ſaid Prince to foreſee that he ſhou'd need the aſſiſtance of his Subjects to maintain him on the Throne, he granted them a very advantageous Charter, whereby he reſtor'd to them their antient Privileges, which they had enjoy'd under the *Saxon* Kings. But this Charter was ſo ill obſerv'd, that it was in a manner forgot; and 'twas by mere Chance that a hundred Years after, a Copy of it was found among

A. 1100. *Henry* I's *Acceſſion.*

His Charter to his Subjects.

Henry I. among those deposited in the chief Monasteries.

He recalls Anselm *ABp of* Canterbury.

Anno 1101. In order to win the Hearts of the *English* more and more, *Henry* recall'd *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had had great Quarrels with *William Rufus*, and was retired into *France*.

He marries.

Moreover, he marry'd *Maud* of *Scotland*, the Daughter of *Malcolm*, by a Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, the last Prince of the Race of the *Saxon* Kings. By this Marriage, the *Saxon Blood* was united with that of *Normandy* and *Anjou*, so that *Henry*'s Posterity deriv'd its Origin from both.

HENRY was under a Necessity of taking these Precautions; for he had occasion to know very speedily how necessary the help of the *English* wou'd be to him, in order to resist the Attacks of *Robert* his Brother, who endeavour'd, tho in vain, to dethrone him. The *English* serv'd their King so well, that *Robert* was oblig'd to lay aside his Claim on the Payment of a certain Pension.

His hatred of Robert *his Brother, and quarrel with* Anselm.

Anno 1103. *HENRY* rag'd with Envy to be reveng'd on his Brother, or rather to deprive him of *Normandy*; but it was delay'd for some time, by a Quarrel which he had with *Anselm*, relating to the Investitures (of Bishops and Abbots) which was at last determin'd by an Accommodation.

Robert's *Ruin and Death.*

Anno 1105. This Affair being over, *Henry* attack'd *Robert*, defeated him, took him Prisoner, seiz'd his Duchy, and confin'd him to the Castle of *Cardiff* in *Wales*, where that unhappy Prince dy'd after he had been 28 Years a Prisoner.

Henry *is made uneasy by his Nephew* William Crito.

Anno 1108. While *Robert* was in Prison, *William* his Son, surnamed *Crito*, being supported by the King of *France*, prov'd a great

Thorn in the Side of his Uncle *Henry*, till Death pluck'd it out, by cutting off his said Nephew in 1128. *A.* 1127.

IN the Year 1109. *Henry* gave his Daughter *Maud* in Marriage to the Emperor *Henry* V. who dying without Iſſue by her, *Maud* return'd home to the King her Father, and was marry'd again to *Geoffery Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*. *His Daughter* Maud's *Marriages.*

Anno 1127. FROM this Marriage deſcended *Henry*, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to treat hereafter. Mean time *William*, who was the only Son of *Henry* I. was unfortunately drowned, as returning from *France* to *England*. By his Death the Empreſs *Maud* became preſumptive Heir to the King her Father, who caus'd her to be recogniz'd as ſuch, and made all the *Engliſh* Nobility take an Oath to her, which, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, was ill obſerv'd. Wm. *his Son is drown'd.* *Empreſs* Maud *recogniz'd preſumptive Heir to the Crown.*

Anno 1127 & 1130. *HENRY* had with him in *England* two Nephews, the Sons of his Siſter *Adela*, Counteſs of *Blois*. He took a delight to make thoſe two Nephews rich and powerful, by procuring for *Stephen* the Elder a Match with the Heireſs of *Boulogne*; and for the other, who was *Henry*, the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*: by which he hop'd the Empreſs his Daughter wou'd be well ſupported, in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhou'd ſcruple to own her as their Queen; for no Settlement having been made hitherto of the Succeſſion, he apprehended that they would refuſe Obedience to a Woman. But this Precaution only tended to put *Stephen* in a Capacity to ſupplant her. *Henry* dy'd in 1135, after having reign'd about 36 Years. Henry *enriches his Nephews.* *His View in it.* *His Death.*

THERE are but two Acts in this Reign, and they both ſhew that it was the Cuſtom then to grant Penſions in Fee, as they did Land.

THE

Henry I.

Conventions with Robert E. of Flanders. 1.

THE firſt of theſe is a Convention between *Henry* I. and *Robert* Earl of *Flanders*; dated at *Dover* the 16th of the Calends of *June* 1101.

'BY this Convention *Henry* gave a Penſion 'of 400 Marks to *Robert* in Fee, and *Robert* 'engag'd to ſend him into *England* or *Normandy* 500 Men arm'd, with 3 Horſes each, 'and 250 into *le Maine*, *Salva Fidelitate Ludovici Regis Francorum.* Nevertheleſs *Philip* I. 'was alive; but as he was excommunicated, 'there's no mention in theſe Acts of any but 'King *Lewis* his Son.

P. 4. THE ſecond is another Convention between the ſame Perſons: Sign'd at *Dover* the 6th of the Ides of *March* 1102.

'BY this Convention the Earl of *Flanders* 'engag'd himſelf to furniſh the King with '1000 Horſemen for a Penſion of 400 Marks 'in Fee, and gave him 12 Sureties who were 'bound each in 100 Marks. The King likewiſe gave Sureties for the Payment of the 'Penſion.

The Reign of King Stephen.

Anno 1135.

King Stephen's Acceſſion.

WHILST *Henry* I. was on his Death-bed at the Caſtle of *Lyons* near *Roan*, the Biſhop of *Winchester* made a Party in *England* for his Brother *Stephen*. He had ſuch good Succeſs in the Scheme he had laid to procure him the Crown, that when *Stephen* arriv'd in *England*, after the Death of the King his Uncle, the great Men were diſpos'd to place him on the Throne, notwithſtanding the

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the Oath they had taken to *Maud.* It does not appear that at that time the common People concern'd themſelves in any manner in the Affair of the Succeſſion to the Crown; for it was the great Men, both Spiritual and Temporal, that diſpos'd of it. The Sex of the Empreſs was the great Pretext that was made uſe of to exclude her; but the true cauſe that induc'd the Barons to declare for *Stephen*, was the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s having engag'd for him, that he would maintain them in the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates and Privileges. It was on this poſitive Promiſe that the Grandees were willing to obey him. This appear'd by the Oath of the Earl of *Gloceſter*, natural Son to *Henry* I. which contain'd this Clauſe, *That he would be faithful to the King as long as he ſhould obſerve the Conventions made with the Barons.* A. 1135.

Why the great Men declar'd for him exclusive of Maud.

I ſhall obſerve here by the way, that at that time almoſt all the Barons of *England* were Foreigners, that is to ſay, Natives of *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, or *Anjou*; and that they poſſeſs'd the Fiefs which *William* the Conqueror had taken from the *Engliſh*. Now as they had receiv'd thoſe Fiefs from the abſolute Power of the Conqueror, they had reaſon to fear that the ſame Royal Power might as well take them away. Therefore they plac'd *Stephen* on the Throne, becauſe, as he had no Right to the Crown, they had a Pretence to demand ſuch Conditions of him as *Maud* perhaps would never have conſented to. Of theſe the moſt important was, that they ſhould enjoy their Fiefs, independently of the King's Will, and that they ſhould never be depriv'd of them, but by the Judgment of their Peers, and conformably to the Laws. The two *Williams* had not

Stephen. not ſhewn abundance of Regard to thoſe Privileges; and *Henry* I. had only pretended to ſecure them in the Poſſeſſion thereof, by a Charter, which, as I ſaid above, was not well obſerv'd. So that the Barons, by taking only a conditional Oath to *Stephen*, ſecur'd themſelves from the Danger they were in of being depriv'd of their Eſtates, by the ſame Royal Power which had put them in poſſeſſion. *Stephen* promis'd whatever they requir'd of him, for the ſake of obtaining the Crown; but afterwards, the Barons pretended that he had not kept his Word with them, and that gave occaſion to a War, which laſted to the end of this Reign.

His War with the Barons.

Anno 1138. THE Earl of *Gloceſter* headed the Party which oppos'd the King; and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, tho he was *Stephen*'s Brother, join'd alſo with his Enemies; and as he was Legate from the Pope, he drew in almoſt all the Clergy to his Party. At length *David* King of *Scotland*, ſeeking to make advantage of theſe Diviſions, under pretence of ſupporting the Rights of the Empreſs his Niece, enter'd alſo into the Quarrel. But that which did the King moſt harm, was his Folly in falling out with the Clergy, who debauch'd his Subjects to that degree, that they call'd for *Maud*, in order to place her upon the Throne. The Events of this Civil War make up the whole Hiſtory of this Reign.

His Defeat and Impriſonment.

Anno 1140. BUT without entring into particulars, I will only take notice that *Stephen* being defeated in Battle, and taken Priſoner by the Earl of *Gloceſter*, languiſhed for ſome time in Priſon, while *Maud* was own'd as Queen, tho ſhe was not yet crown'd.

Anno

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Anno 1141. BUT the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being diſſatisfy'd with the Empreſs, went over to the Party of the King his Brother, and notwithſtanding his being a Priſoner, gave quite another Turn to his Affairs. For by his Intrigues *Maud* was, as it were, turn'd out of *London*, and forc'd to fly with very great precipitation. Afterwards when ſhe hop'd to ſurprize the Biſhop in *Wincheſter*, and ſpent time in beſieging the Caſtle of that City, ſhe was her ſelf ſurpriz'd by an Army which that Prelate had ſet on foot, and oblig'd to retire in great haſte; but the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who kept in the Rear to favour her Retreat, was taken Priſoner. As this Earl was the greateſt Support ſhe had, and as without him ſhe knew ſhe could not ſtand her ground, ſhe conſented he ſhould be exchang'd with the King.

A. 1150. *His Brother joins him and retrieves his Affairs.* *Maud's flight.* *E. of Gloceſter's imprisonment and exchange with K. Stephen.*

Anno 1146. AFTER that time *Stephen* gain'd ſuch great Advantages over his Competitor, that he oblig'd her at laſt to return to *Normandy* to the Earl her Husband.

Maud's return to Normandy.

THE Tranquillity which the King enjoy'd by *Maud's* Retreat laſted but 3 or 4 Years. For *Henry*, who was *Maud's* Son by the Earl of *Anjou*, becoming Duke of *Normandy* by his Mother's Reſignation of that Duchy to him, and afterwards Duke of *Guienne*, by his Marriage with *Eleanor* the Heireſs of that Country, undertook to aſſert his Rights to the Crown of *England*, as Grandſon to *Henry* I.

Henry's Claim to the Crown.

Anno 1150. *STEPHEN* labour'd in vain to have the Crown plac'd on the Head of his Son *Euſtace*, in order to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of the Throne to his Family, for he found an invincible Reſiſtance in the Clergy, who had already made Engagements with *Henry*.

Stephen tries in vain to get his Son crown'd.

Stephen.

Henry's *Reception in* England *and War with King* Stephen.

Anno 1152. THIS young Prince arriving in *England*, was ſupported in it by a ſtrong Party, and made a ſharp War upon the King; who on his Part defended himſelf with very great Courage.

Anno 1153. AT length *Euſtace* Earl of *Boulogne*, the King's eldeſt Son, dying, and the War ſtill continuing betwixt the two Competitors, it happen'd that the two Armies were in ſuch a Situation that they could not avoid coming to a Battle.

Their Agreement. Stephen's *Adoption of* Henry, *and his Return to* Normandy.

Anno 1154. BUT the Noblemen of the two Parties interpoſing to accomodate this Quarrel without the Effuſion of more Blood, a Treaty was made, whereby *Henry* was declar'd preſumptive Succeſſor of *Stephen*, who actually adopted him, tho he had a Son alive nam'd *William*. This Treaty being ſign'd, *Henry* return'd to *Normandy*, there to wait the Death of *Stephen*, who was to keep the Crown during his Life; but he did not hold it above a Year, for he dy'd in 1154. after a Reign of 19 Years, full of Troubles.

Theſe are the Acts of the Fœdera *in the Reign of* Stephen.

The firſt Earl's Patent. 8.

1. A Patent whereby *Maud* creates *Milo* of *Gloceſter* Earl of *Hereford*; dated *July* 25. 1141. at *Oxford*.

'THIS the oldeſt Patent we know of for the 'Creation of an Earl.

Pope Lucius's *Bull of the Succeſſion to Benefices.* 9.

2. A Bull of Pope *Lucius*, diſſolving the Charters by which Children pretend to ſucceed their Parents in Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. It has no Date expreſs'd.

3. A

3. A Treaty betwixt King *Stephen* and *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*, at *Weſtminſter*, but no Date. *A.* 1154. Stephen's Treaty with his Succeſſor Henry. 13.

'*STEPHEN* acknowledges *Henry* for his 'preſumptive Heir. It ſets forth, that *William* 'Son of *Stephen* has done Homage to *Henry*, 'who has engag'd himſelf to leave him all 'the Eſtate which *Stephen* was poſſeſs'd of 'before he was King, and to ſhew him other 'Favours. The Barons engage themſelves to 'do Homage to *Henry*, as *Stephen*'s preſumptive 'Succeſſor, *Salva Fidelitate Regis Stephani quamdiu vixerit*, i. e. Saving their Allegiance to 'King *Stephen* as long as he lives. They alſo 'promiſe to abandon *Stephen* if he acts againſt 'this Treaty.

'WE ſee by this Treaty that *Geoffery* Earl 'of *Anjou*, Father to *Henry*, was yet alive, 'tho the Hiſtorians have put him down dead 'ſome time before.

The Reign of Henry II.

Anno 1154.

HENRY II. ſurnam'd *Plantagenet*, aſcended the Throne after the Death of *Stephen*, tho the Empreſs his Mother was ſtill alive, and tho ſhe had not made him any authentick Conveyance of her Rights. At leaſt we find nothing upon this Subject in Hiſtory. The Reign of this Prince contains ſeveral important Events, of which, for the greater clearneſs, I ſhall make ſeveral Articles. The firſt ſhall be of the Increaſe of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, which happen'd chiefly in this Reign; Henry II's Acceſſion.

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Henry II. the Knowledge of which Increaſe is abſolutely neceſſary for underſtanding the Hiſtory of *England*, with regard both to this and the following Reigns. The ſecond Article ſhall contain a ſhort Abridgment of *Henry* IId's Quarrel with *Thomas Becket* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, tho we find but one Act in the *Fœdera* which relates to it. The third ſhall treat of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*. The fourth of the Rebellion of the King's Children. The fifth of *Henry* IId's Affairs with *Scotland*. The ſixth of his Affairs with *France*. The ſeventh of the Rebellion of *Richard* the King's Son, and of the War it occaſion'd betwixt *Henry* and *Philip Auguſtus*.

Article I.

Of the Increaſe of the Engliſh *Monarchy.*

Increaſe of the Engliſh *Monarchy.*

I call that the Increaſe of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, which in a proper Senſe was only the Augmentation of the Power of the Kings of *England*. But tho the Provinces which thoſe Kings poſſeſs'd in *France* were not united to the Crown of *England*, yet they depended thereon in ſome meaſure, becauſe they depended on him that wore it. And it happen'd, whenever there was occaſion, that the Kings of *England* made no ſcruple to ſpend the Blood and Treaſure of the *Engliſh*, for the Preſervation of ſuch foreign Provinces; tho they did not make a Part of their Kingdom.

Normandy *added to, and ſeparated from, the Crown of* England.

Thus *William* the Conqueror added *Normandy* to the Crown of *England*: But after his Death, this Duchy was ſeparated from it, becauſe it fell into the Hands of *Robert* his eldeſt Son; while *William Rufus* his ſecond Son

Son enjoy'd the Crown of *England*. The latter gave plain Intimation, that he thought *Normandy* ought to be united to *England*; becauſe he made Efforts to turn his Brother out of it: but not ſucceeding in his Enterprize by force of Arms, he acquir'd the ſaid Duchy after another manner, at the Cloſe of his Reign; *Robert* having mortgag'd it to him for a Sum of Money, to enable him to make a Voyage to the Holy Land. *A.* 1154. *Mortgag'd to King* Henry I. *by his Brother* Robert.

AFTER the Death of *William Rufus*, *Henry* his younger Brother ſeiz'd the Throne of *England*, in the Abſence of *Robert* his elder Brother; but did not dare preſently to attempt the Maſtery of *Normandy*. *Robert* returning afterwards from the Holy Land, put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that Duchy; but *Henry* made War upon him for a very ſlight Cauſe, and having defeated and taken him Priſoner, he ſeiz'd his Country and kept it as long as he liv'd. *Seiz'd by King* Henry I.

THIS ſame Duchy was the Occaſion of a War between *Stephen* and the Empreſs *Maud*. *Stephen* ſeiz'd it and held it for ſome time, after having obtain'd the Inveſtiture of it for *Euſtace* his eldeſt Son, from the King of *France*; but at laſt it fell into the Hands of *Maud* and *Geoffery Plantagenet* her Husband, who yielded it to *Henry* their Son: So that *Henry* was actually Duke of *Normandy* when he came to the Crown of *England*. *By King* Stephen. *Devolv'd to* Henry II.

HE was alſo Earl of *Poictou* and Duke of *Guienne*, by his Marriage with *Eleanor* of *Guienne*. *Lewis* the Younger, King of *France*, had marry'd this Princeſs, and had two Daughters by her; but he quarrell'd with her to ſuch a degree, that he divorc'd her, and reſtor'd her all the Dominions ſhe brought him as *His other Acquiſitions.*

Hen. II. her Portion. By this Reſtitution he depriv'd the Crown of *France* of the Duchy of *Guienne*, and the Earldom of *Poictou*, which included the *Limouſin*, *Perigord*, *Auvergne*, *Rouergne*, *Saintonge*, the *Pais d' Aulnis*, beſides *Guienne* and *Poictou* properly ſo call'd. *Henry* who was already Duke of *Normandy*, ſeeing ſo rich an Heireſs that wanted nothing but a Husband, propos'd a Marriage to her, which was negotiated ſo privately, that the firſt News the King of *France* had of it, was that the Wedding was ſolemniz'd at *Bourdeaux*.

His Marriage.

Anno 1156. To theſe fine Acquiſitions, *Henry* alſo join'd, after the Death of *Geoffery* his Father, *Anjou*, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, of which he depriv'd *Geoffery* his younger Brother. The Earl of *Anjou*, who was Father to both of them, had left thoſe 3 Provinces to his ſecond Son, ſuppoſing that the eldeſt wou'd have reaſon to be ſatisfy'd with the Duchy of *Normandy*, of which he was already in poſſeſſion, and with the Crown of *England*, which was to devolve to him one Day by a Treaty that he had concluded with *Stephen*. He had alſo made him take an Oath that he wou'd punctually execute this Clauſe of his laſt *Will*. But *Henry* not thinking it fit to leave the Inheritance of his Anceſtors to his younger Brother, got himſelf abſolv'd from his Oath by the Pope, and then ſeiz'd thoſe three Provinces.

He defrauds his younger Brother of his Eſtate, &c.

GEOFFERY being drove out of *Anjou*, retir'd to *Bretagne*, where he was recogniz'd Earl of *Nantes* by the People of that County, who were not ſatisfy'd with their Earl.

Geoffery's Expulſion.

Anno 1159. This Prince dying two Years after, *Conan* Duke of *Bretagne* ſeiz'd *Nantes*. But *Henry* maintaining that he was the lawful Heir

And Death.

Heir of his Brother, march'd into *Bretagne* with ſuch a ſtrong Force, that *Conan* was oblig'd not only to yield the Earldom of *Nantes* to him, but alſo to make a Treaty with him, whereby he promis'd to give his only Daughter *Conſtantia* in Marriage to *Geoffery*, *Henry*'s third Son, who was as yet but in the Cradle. And the Marriage was celebrated five Years after this, notwithſtanding the tender Age of this Prince, who after the Death of his Father-in-Law, became Duke of *Bretagne*. But as he was ſtill under Age when *Conan* dy'd, *Henry* took Poſſeſſion of *Bretagne* in his Son's Name. To prevent *France* from oppoſing his Aggrandiſement, he went to *Paris*, and there concluded a Marriage betwixt *Henry* his eldeſt Son, and *Margaret* (Daughter of *Lewis* the younger) who was then but five or ſix Months of Age. *A.* 1159.

ALL theſe Acquiſitions being not enough to content him, he undertook to make himſelf Maſter of the County of *Thouloufe*, to which *Eleanor* his Wife had Pretenſions as Heireſs to the Family of *Poictiers*. With this Deſign he made an Alliance with the King of *Arragon*, and the Count of *Barcelona*, and went and beſieg'd *Thouloufe*, after having taken *Cahors* in his March. But the King of *France* who was beforehand with him, had already thrown himſelf into *Thouloufe*, and defended that City ſo well, that he forc'd him at length to raiſe the Siege.

I ſhall treat hereafter of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, which happen'd in this Reign.

ARTICLE II.

Affairs of Henry II. *with* Thomas Becket, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

Hiſtory of Thomas Becket.

THOMAS BECKET was the Son of a Citizen of *London*, and his Mother was a *Syrian*. In his Youth he profeſs'd the Law, and was ſo eminent for his Abilities, that he was made Archdeacon of *Canterbury*. Some Affairs which he had to tranſact at Court, made him known to *Henry* II. who having employ'd him upon ſeveral Occaſions, had ſuch an Eſteem for him, that he made him Lord High Chancellor. He behav'd in this new Dignity very inſolently towards all Mankind, except the King, to whom he always paid all manner of Submiſſion and Complaiſance. *Henry* thinking that *Becket* was entirely devoted to him, reſolv'd to make uſe of him for executing a Project which he had form'd, to humble the Clergy a little, and to reduce their Power to due Bounds, by retrenching part of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. To accompliſh this with the more eaſe, it was abſolutely neceſſary to have the Concurrence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; wherefore *Henry* thought he cou'd not do better than to procure the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Dignity for *Becket*, after the Death of the Archbiſhop *Theobald*, which happen'd in 1163. It was with very great difficulty that the Monks of St. *Auſtin* reſolv'd to chuſe *Becket*, becauſe they thought him too much devoted to the Court.

Henry's *Project to humble the Clergy.*

Decay and Revival of their Power.

IN the Reign of *William* the Conqueror, the Clergy of *England* were very much fallen from the Grandeur and Power they were veſt-

ed

ed with under the *Saxon* Kings. This Prince did whatever he pleas'd both in Church and State, and *Gregory* VII. with all his Insolence, did not so much as dare to pretend to thwart him. The Case was much the same under *William Rufus*, who was not of a Humour to be hector'd either by the Clergy or the Pope. This Prince had a great Quarrel with *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was at last oblig'd to quit the Kingdom, and to go for Refuge to *Lyons*, where he stay'd till this King's Death. *Henry* I. lost a little Ground, and cou'd not maintain the absolute Power which the two preceding Kings had enjoy'd, as well over the Clergy as the Laity. The obstinacy, or if you please, the undauntedness of *Anselm* in the Quarrel which they had together about the Investitures, gave him abundance of Mortification, and at last he was oblig'd to put an end to it in an amicable way. In the Reign of *Stephen*, the Crown lost still more. The Clergy, who had properly plac'd this King upon the Throne, had all Power as it were in their own Hands; and when *Stephen*, who fear'd the Consequences of it, went to reduce it, his Endeavours only tended to engage him in a War, which debar'd his Children from the Crown.

A. 1163. Wm Rufus's Quarrel with the Abp of Cant.

HENRY II. perfectly knew what the Clergy's Power was, because he himself had made great use of it before he came to the Crown. He was no sooner upon the Throne, than he form'd a Contrivance to lessen that Power, but he could not immediately put it in Execution, because of the Affairs which detain'd him in *France*.

Anno 1163. THOSE Affairs being finish'd, he persisted in his Design, and casting his Eye

Becket is made Abp of Canterbury.

Hen. II. Eye on *Thomas Becket*, as a Man that he thought he cou'd depend on, he made him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; to the end, that while he poſſeſs'd together two Dignities ſo conſiderable as thoſe of the Chancellor and the Archbiſhop, he might be in a better condition to aſſiſt him. Probably he had imparted his deſign to *Becket* in confidence, while he was as yet but Chancellor, and that this was what broke his Meaſures. *Becket* was no ſooner veſted with the Archiepiſcopal Dignity, but he return'd the Great Seal to the King, who ſeem'd very much ſurpriz'd at it. Moreover, whereas before he affected Pomp to exceſs, he chang'd his Manners as ſoon as he was Archbiſhop, dreſs'd himſelf with coarſe Stuff, and kept but a very ſmall number of Domeſticks. In fine, he ſhew'd by his whole Conduct that he had ſome great Deſign working in his Head, which, as appear'd afterwards, was to oppoſe the King's Project with reſpect to the Humiliation of the Clergy; either from Self-Conviction, or from a deſire to render himſelf the more popular. The King who had been during this in *Normandy*, returning to *England*, and ſuſpecting what *Becket* had been contriving, gave him a very cold Reception. But tho he plainly foreſaw the Oppoſition he ſhou'd meet with from that Prelate, yet he perſiſted in his Reſolution. That he might have a good Plea for acting, he undertook in the firſt place to reform a very palpable Abuſe, which was introduc'd into the Juriſdiction, that the Clergy had acquir'd over their own Members. This Juriſdiction was exercis'd with ſo much Indulgence to the Prieſts or Clerks, that the moſt enormous Crimes were only puniſh'd by Degradation, and

and the leaſt by ſome ſlight Cenſure or ſhort Impriſonment. A Trial of this Nature laid the Foundation of a Quarrel betwixt the King and the Archbiſhop. A Prieſt of the Dioceſe of *Salisbury* having committed a Murder, the Eccleſiaſtical Court only puniſh'd him by depriving him of his Benefice, and confining him to a Monaſtery. The King complain'd of the Mildneſs of this Sentence, as authorizing the Crime; and the Archbiſhop publickly defended it, in the preſence of the King himſelf, founding his Argument on the Privileges of the Clergy. Tho *Becket* thereby put the King into a very great Paſſion, yet he took that ſame opportunity to reproach him that he violated the Immunities of the Church of *Canterbury*, by depriving him of the Cuſtody of the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*. Some Days after, he caus'd the Earl of *Clare* to be ſummon'd, to come and give him Homage for the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, and never vouchſaf'd ſo much as to inform the King of his ſaid Pretenſion. The Earl refus'd the Homage, becauſe he held the Caſtle of the Crown; and *Becket*, who according to all appearance had no good Claim to it, let the Affair drop. He afterwards gave the Curacy of *Ainefford* to a Prieſt, contrary to the Rights of the Patron. This Patron, who was one of the Barons of the Kingdom, holding his Lands immediately of the Crown, having hinder'd the Prieſt from putting himſelf in poſſeſſion, the Archbiſhop excommunicated him; tho it was the acknowledg'd Right of the immediate Vaſſals of the Crown, not to be liable to Excommunication without the King's Conſent.

A. 1163.

Quarrel betwixt the King and the Abp.

BECKET's Audaciouſneſs confirm'd the King more and more in the Reſolution he had taken

K. complains of him to the Lords.

Hen. II. taken againſt the Clergy. For this purpoſe he call'd an Aſſembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to whom he complain'd of the Archbiſhop's Inſolence; after which he propos'd the Reformation of certain Abuſes that were crept into the Kingdom, and to make a Regulation, of which he gave the Model. This Regulation was divided into 5 Articles, *viz.* 1. That no body ſhou'd carry Appeals to *Rome* without the King's Approbation. 2. That no Biſhop or Archbiſhop ſhou'd go to *Rome*, without having firſt obtain'd the King's Licence, even tho he ſhou'd be ſent for thither by the Pope. 3. That no immediate Vaſſal of the Crown be excommunicated, unleſs the King expreſly conſent to it. 4. That Clergymen accus'd of any Capital Crime, ſhall be try'd in the Temporal Courts. 5. That the Affairs of the Church, which do not directly concern Religion, ſuch as thoſe relating to the Tenths, the Repairs of Churches, and other things of this Nature, be immediately carry'd to the Royal Courts. The Temporal Lords unanimouſly conſented to theſe Articles, but the Biſhops ſought to elude them, by offering this Clauſe to be inſerted in them, *viz. ſaving the Rights of the Church.* Yet the King having threaten'd them with his Diſpleaſure, they alſo gave their Approbation of them. *Becket* was the only Man that requir'd a vaſt deal of Sollicitation; but at laſt he was prevail'd on by the Inſtances of his Brethren, who fear'd the Effects of the King's Reſentment. Mean time as this Aſſembly was not very ſolemn, the King call'd the General Aſſembly of the Kingdom, or the Parliament, to meet at *Clarendon*, in order to get the ſame Articles confirm'd there, which were paſs'd accordingly without much oppoſition; and the

The King's Propoſal of a Reformation of Abuſes.

Aſſembly at Clarendon.

Arch-

Archbiſhop, after having a long while refus'd to ſign them, was prevail'd on as much as if it had been the firſt time of Intreaty. The King not thinking this ſufficient, he had a mind to have the Articles of *Clarendon* confirm'd by a Bull. But the Pope, inſtead of granting the Bull which the King deſir'd of him, declar'd that thoſe Articles were prejudicial to the Church. Then *Becket* repented that he had given his Conſent to them, and ſuſpended himſelf, in order to puniſh himſelf for his Error, but the Pope reſtor'd him. *A.* 1163.

AFTER that time, the ſaid Prelate oppos'd the Execution of the five Articles with all his Power; which was the reaſon that the King rais'd ſeveral Storms againſt him, in hopes of abating his Pride, but all was to no purpoſe. At length this Prelate having taken ſome Steps which gave his Enemies an Advantage over him, the Court of Peers condemn'd him to Impriſonment, but he eſcap'd to *Flanders* in a Lay Habit. I will not enter further into the detail of this Affair, and ſhall only ſay that the Pope publickly juſtified the Archbiſhop; that the King of *France* gave him Protection in his Kingdom, and that this Quarrel, which had already continued ſeveral Years, was at laſt decided in 1170, by an Agreement and a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Archbiſhop. It began in 1163. Becket's *Sentence and Eſcape.*

BECKET returning into *England*, after having forc'd the King to be reconcil'd with him, carry'd himſelf in a very haughty manner. He excommunicated the Archbiſhop of *York*, and ſome other Biſhops, beſides ſeveral Lords who had adher'd to the King's Party, which look'd as if he had a mind to renew the Quarrel. Upon Complaints made thereof to the King, Becket's *Return to* England.

Hen. II. King, who was then in *Normandy*, he exclaim'd that he was very unhappy, in that having ſo many Men at his Service, there was not one that wou'd undertake to deliver him from that Prelate.

His Murder, *Anno* 1171. UPON this four of his Domeſticks went to *Canterbury*, and murder'd the Archbiſhop in the Church, at the Foot of the Altar. His Death caus'd the King more uneaſineſs than the Quarrel had done. The Pope pretended that he was the Author of this Murder, and threaten'd to excommunicate him.

And Canonization. Several Miracles were aſcrib'd to the Corpſe, for which he was canoniz'd not long after his Death, by the Name of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*. Then the People regarding him as a real Martyr, had an extraordinary Veneration for him, which quickly ſpread thro' all Chriſtendom. The King of *France*, who was jealous of *Henry*, and ſought to embroil him, did what lay in his Power to ſtir up the Pope to revenge the Death of the new Saint. At laſt *Henry*, what with Submiſſions and Proteſtations, that he never entertain'd a thought of the Murder of the Archbiſhop, was admitted with abundance of Difficulty to the Peace of the Church: but he was fain to repeal the Articles paſs'd at *Clarendon*, and to ſubmit to be whipp'd by the Monks of St. *Auſtin*, while he went round the Sacred Tomb.

The King's Submiſſion and Penance.

THERE is but one ſingle Act, as I have already ſaid, in the *Fœdera*, relating to this Affair, *viz.*

Henry's *Letter to the Pope.* 28. A Letter from *Henry* II. to Pope *Alexander* III. dated in 1169.

'THE King complains in this Letter, that 'the Pope after having promis'd him to exempt

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'empt *England* from the Prelates Juriſdiction, *A.* 1169.
'had chang'd his Mind. He complains alſo
'that *Vivian* and *Gratian* the Legates, having
'proteſted that they only came into *England*
'to advance the Glory of God, had never-
'theleſs excommunicated ſome of his Domeſ-
'ticks. That afterwards it was agreed with
'them that the Excommunication ſhou'd be
'made void; that *Vivian* ſhou'd reſide in *Eng-*
'*land* with the King, and that *Gratian* ſhou'd
'go and tell *Becket* that the King reſtor'd him:
'That nevertheleſs they had broke their word,
'tho the King knew not for what reaſon;
'and that for this cauſe he ſent Ambaſſa-
'dors to the Pope. This Letter alſo contains
'ſome Menaces.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Conqueſt of Ireland.

Of the Conqueſt of Ireland.

I have already obſerv'd how ambitious *Henry* II. was, under the firſt Article; of which we ſhall now ſee a freſh Proof. The Crown of *England*, with all the rich Provinces which he poſſeſs'd in *France*, not being capable to ſatisfy his Deſires, he form'd a Project betimes to conquer *Ireland*, and deſir'd an Approbation of it from Pope *Adrian* IV. an *Engliſhman*, who then enjoy'd the Papal See. To obtain this with the more eaſe, he repreſented two things to him, which were very capable of making an Impreſſion upon his Mind. 1. That if the *Engliſh* ſhou'd conquer *Ireland*, it wou'd be an infallible means to bring under the Holy Church that Iſland, which as yet did not acknowledge its Juriſdiction. 2. That after he had conquer'd it, he wou'd there

Hen. II. there eſtabliſh St. *Peter's* Pence, in the ſame manner as it was eſtabliſh'd in *England*. *Adrian* being tickled with theſe Advantages, ſent a Letter to him, in which at the ſame time that he pretended to believe that *Henry* had nothing in View but the Glory of God in the Enterprize which he had concerted; he gave him to underſtand that he approv'd of his pious Deſign to extend the Bounds of the Church, to carry the Knowledge of Truth to the dark and ignorant parts of the World, to root Wickedneſs out of the Field of the Lord, and to eſtabliſh Colonies of Believers in *Ireland*. Not but that Iſland had been Chriſtian for many Ages, but it did not acknowledge the Authority of the Pope. That was the Vice which there was ſuch a neceſſity of weeding, and the Submiſſion to the Church of *Rome* was the Truth which was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to be planted in it. *Henry* cou'd not make uſe of the Letter at the time that he receiv'd it, by reaſon of the Affairs which he had in *France*; and 'twas not till 1171 that he found an opportunity for it.

Anno 1171. *IRELAND* being divided into ſeven Kingdoms, of which that of *Connaught* was the moſt conſiderable, the King of which Country had even a kind of Sovereignty over the reſt, it happen'd that the Kings of *Leinſter* and *Meath* quarrelling with each other, the latter made War upon the King of *Leinſter*, drove him out of his Dominions, and even compell'd him to quit that Iſland. *Dermot*, which was the Name of the King of *Leinſter*, went to *Henry* who was then in *France*, to deſire his Aſſiſtance. But *Henry*, who was at that time embaraſs'd with *Becket's* Affair, which was not yet determin'd, cou'd not grant him his Requeſt;

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Requeſt, and giving him hopes of his Aſſiſtance at a more proper time, he only permitted him to engage ſome *Engliſh* Noblemen in his Service; judging rightly that it cou'd not but be for his Advantage to keep up the Diviſions in *Ireland*. *Dermot* found two Noblemen who were willing to venture their Fortunes in his Service, upon certain Conditions. They were *Robert Fitz Stephens*, and *Richard Strong Bow*, Earl of *Pembroke*, whoſe Progreſs under the Conduct of the King of *Leinſter*, was ſo prodigious and rapid, that they over-ran great part of the Iſland in a ſhort ſpace of time, and even puſh'd their Conqueſts as far as *Dublin*. This happy Succeſs rais'd *Henry*'s Jealouſy, who fearing that all the Iſland wou'd fall a Prey to thoſe Adventurers, and that he ſhou'd afterwards find it a very hard Task to wreſt it from them, recall'd them, and forbad all his Subjects to give them any Aſſiſtance. Then the latter perceiving that they ſhould have a vaſt deal of Difficulty to defend themſelves, if the King was againſt them, ſent Deputies to him, and made a Treaty with him, whereby they engag'd to put the maritime Places in his Hands, and to do him Homage for all that they had conquer'd in *Ireland*. A Pannick being ſpread among the *Iriſh*; *Henry* thought he ought not to ſlip ſo favourable a Conjuncture, to make himſelf Maſter of the Iſland. *A.* 1172.

Anno 1172. WITH this View he repair'd to *Waterford* with a numerous Army, which the *Iriſh* had never ſo much as a Thought of oppoſing, they were already ſo terrify'd by the Arms of the *Engliſh* Adventurers. On the contrary, not long after *Henry*'s Arrival, all the Kings of the Iſland went to make their Submiſſion to him, and to pay him Homage. He *Conqueſt of Ireland.*

Henry II. afterwards went to *Dublin*, where he made ſome Regulations for the Government of his new Conqueſt, and having left *Hugh Lacy* Governour, he return'd to *England* in Triumph. Thus was *Ireland* conquer'd in a very little time, and without any conſiderable Effort.

There are but two Acts in this Volume of the *Fœdera*, and under this Reign, which relate to *Ireland*; and they are,

Pope's Letter to Hen. *about* Ireland. 15.

1. A Letter from *Adrian* IV. to *Henry* II. relating to *Ireland*; dated in 1154.

'There's no doubt, *ſays the Pope in this Letter*, and you your ſelf know it, that *Ireland*, 'as well as all the other Iſlands, which have 'the Happineſs to enjoy the Light of Chriſt, 'the Sun of Righteouſneſs, and have receiv'd 'the Precepts of the Chriſtian Religion, ought 'to be obedient to the Juriſdiction of St. *Peter* and the Holy Roman Church, *&c.*

Treaty with the King of Connaught. 41.

2. A Treaty betwixt *Henry* II. and *Roderick* King of *Connaught*; dated at *Windſor* in the Octaves of St. *Michael* 1175.

'Tis ſtipulated in this Treaty, that *Roderick* ſhall continue King of *Connaught*, in a 'dependance on the King of *England*, to whom 'he ſhall pay Homage.

'That he ſhall give the Skin or Hide 'of every tenth Beaſt kill'd in his Dominions 'to the King of *England*, thoſe excepted 'which ſhall feed on the Lands that *Henry* 'reſerves to himſelf, or which he has given to 'the *Engliſh*, wherewith *Roderick* ſhall not 'meddle.

There is ſome probability either that *Henry* had not conquer'd the Kingdom of *Connaught* before the Year 1175, or that *Roderick* had revolted, and was at laſt oblig'd to make this Treaty with *Henry*.

Arti-

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ARTICLE IV.

The Rebellion of Henry II*d's Children.*

HENRY II. had four Sons, *viz. Henry*, who had marry'd *Margaret* of *France*, Daughter of *Lewis* the younger, and who had been crown'd; *Richard*, who had the Title of Earl of *Poictou*, *Geoffery*, who was Duke of *Bretagne*, by his Marriage with *Conſtantia* Heireſs of that Duchy, and *John*. The three firſt were diſſatisfy'd with the King their Father. *Henry* being of a very haughty Spirit, was uneaſy to find himſelf veſted with the Royal Dignity, without the power of exerciſing one Royal Function. *Richard* was Earl of *Poictou*, but had no Authority in that Province. *Geoffery* thought himſelf old enough to govern his Duchy of *Bretagne* himſelf, and was to the laſt degree provok'd to find that the King excluded him from the Government of that Province, on pretence of his being under a Guardian, of which he thought he had no longer any need. The Diſcontent of theſe three Princes was fomented alſo by *Eleanor* their Mother, who was very uneaſy to ſee the King her Husband drawn aſide every Day by Foreign Amours. Among the King's Miſtreſſes there was one call'd *Roſamund* whom he paſſionately lov'd; and becauſe the Queen had often threaten'd her, he caus'd a ſort of Labyrinth to be made at *Woodſtock*, where he kept her ſhut up, in order to ſhelter her from the Queen's Revenge. But notwithſtanding this Precaution, during the Expedition which he made in *Ireland*, the Queen found means to take away her Rival's Life. Afterwards the

Rebellion of Henry's *Children.*

Henry's *Amours with* Roſamund, &c.

Henry II. Queen foreſeeing that this Act of Violence wou'd draw a Storm upon her own Head, ſhe endeavour'd to maintain her Ground by engaging her three eldeſt Sons in a Combination againſt the King their Father; into which alſo enter'd, beſides a great number of *Engliſh* Noblemen, the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Blois*, *Bologne*, and ſeveral *French* Lords who were *Henry*'s Vaſſals. The View of this Combination was to depoſe *Henry* the Father, and to place *Henry* the Son upon the Throne. The King ſuſpecting nothing of what was contriving in his Abſence, did but juſt paſs thro' *England* as he return'd from *Ireland*, becauſe he was preſs'd to repair to *Montferrand* in *Auvergne*, in order to treat of the Marriage of Prince *John* his 4th Son with a Daughter of the Count *de Maurienne*.

Combination againſt him fomented by his Wife.

Henry's *Voyage to* France.

Anno 1173. As ſoon as he arriv'd at *Roan*, he there receiv'd a Letter from the King of *France*, who not having ſeen his Daughter ſince her Infancy, deſir'd him to ſend her to him with the young King her Husband, in order to ſpend ſome time with him at *Paris*. As *Henry* had no manner of ſuſpicion all this while, he conſented to his Son's Voyage, but ſoon after recall'd him, in order to carry him along with him to *Montferrand*. The Son did not dare to diſobey, becauſe his Affairs were not quite ready. Beſides he wanted a Pretext for ſpringing the Mine, and he hop'd that while he ſtay'd with the King his Father he ſhou'd find one. Accordingly the King, in order to conclude the Marriage of Prince *John*, having offer'd to give him the Towns of *Loudun*, *Chinon* and *Mirabeau*, young *Henry* ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it. This Oppoſition being very

very ill grounded, the King ſuſpected that his Son had ſome ill Deſign, and ſet a ſtrict watch over him, yet this did not hinder his Son's Eſcape, who repair'd to the King of *France*. He was no ſooner arriv'd at *Paris*, but the Queen alſo ſent thither the two Princes *Richard* and *Geoffery*, and immediately after the Conſpiracy broke out in many places at once, particularly in *Guyenne*, *Poictou*, and *Bretagne*. At the ſame time the King of *Scotland* enter'd *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Leiceſter* caus'd an Army which he had rais'd in *France* to be landed at *Southampton*. *A.* 1173. *Conſpiracy againſt him breaks out.*

HENRY, tho attack'd in ſo many places, inſtead of loſing Courage, ſhew'd an extraordinary Reſolution. I don't propoſe here to enter into the Detail of this War, it being ſufficient for my purpoſe to mention the Succeſs of it. *Henry* was victorious every where, either by himſelf or by his Generals. *Humphry Bohun* defeated the Earl of *Leiceſter* in *England*, and took him Priſoner. Then he march'd towards the North againſt the King of *Scotland*, and put his Army to the Rout. The King himſelf fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and was ſent into *Normandy* to be kept under a Guard there. *Henry*'s Succeſſes in *Guyenne*, *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, and *Bretagne*, were equally fortunate. And to crown his Happineſs, an Army conſiſting of *French* and *Flemiſh* Troops, which the young King deſign'd to ſend over to *England*, was detain'd ſo long at *Gravelin* by contrary Winds, that it was of no ſervice. This Delay gave the King time to paſs over to *England* himſelf, where he reduc'd the reſt of the Towns that had rebell'd againſt him. Henry's *victorious Succeſſes.*

Henry II. A Succeſs ſo contrary to what the Allies expected, oblig'd the King of *France* to make Propoſals of Peace. *Richard* who was of a fiery reſtleſs Temper, oppos'd it with all his Might, but his Brothers and the King of *France* not thinking it fit to continue the War for his ſake, the Peace was concluded, and *Henry*'s Sons went and caſt themſelves at his Feet for a Pardon. During this Negotiation, a Marriage was concluded betwixt *Richard* and *Alice*, Daughter to the King of *France*, which Princeſs being very young, was put into *Henry*'s Hands for her Education till the Marriage cou'd be conſummated.

A Peace.

His Son Richard's *Marriage Treaty with a Daughter of* France.

THE Acts under this Head are,

Henry's *Letter to the Pope* 35. 1. A Letter from *Henry* II. to the Pope in 1173.

'THE King complains of the Rebellion of 'his Children, and begs the Pope's Aſſiſtance. '——*Veſtræ Juriſdictionis eſt regnum Angliæ,* '*& quantum ad Feudatarii Juris obligationem, vo-* '*bis dumtaxat obnoxius teneor & obſtringor. Ex-* '*periatur Anglia quid poſſit Romanus Pontifex, &* '*quia materialibus Armis non utitur, Patrimoni-* '*um Beati Petri, Spirituali gladio tueatur. i. e.* The Realm of *England* is in your Juriſdiction, and as far as Feudatory Right requires, I am bound to you alone. Let *England* experience what the Roman Pontiff can do, and becauſe he does not uſe temporal Weapons, may he defend St. *Peter*'s Patrimony with the ſpiritual Sword.

HENRY having need of the Pope's Aſſiſtance acknowledg'd himſelf his Feudatory, but on what ſuch Acknowledgment was founded I know not.

2. A

2. A Treaty betwixt *Henry* II. and his Sons, in 1174. *A.* 1174.

Treaty with his Sons. 37.

THIS is the 6th Article.

'*Et Dominus Rex per hanc Conventionem donat Regi filio ſuo duo caſtella idonea in Normannia, ad voluntatem ipſius Patris, & ſingulis annis quindecim Millia librarum Andegavenſium. Et Ricardo filio ſuo, in Pictavia duo receptacula idonea, unde Domino Regi non poſſit damnum provenire & medietatem redituum Pictaviæ in denariis. Gaufredo verò filio ſuo dat in Britannia, in denariis, medietatem redituum maritagii filiæ Comitis Conani, quam ducere debet in uxorem. Et poſtquam conceſſione Eccleſiæ Romanæ eam in uxorem duxerit, habebit omnes reditus illius maritagii, ſicut continetur in Charta Comitis Conani. i. e.* And the Lord the King by this Convention granteth to the King his Son two ſuch Caſtles in *Normandy* as he the Father thinks proper, and 15000 Livres of *Anjou per Annum*. And to *Richard* his Son he grants two proper Manſions, from whence no Damage can accrue to the Lord the King, and one Moiety of the Revenues of *Poictou* in ready Money. And to *Geoffery* his Son in *Bretagne*, he giveth in Money a Moiety of the Revenues ariſing from the Marriage of the Daughter of the Earl of *Conan* whom he is to marry. And after he has by Grant of the Church of *Rome* taken her to Wife, he ſhall have all the Marriage Revenues, as is contain'd in the Earl of *Conan*'s Inſtrument.

'ALL the Priſoners on both ſides ſhall be releas'd, except the King of *Scotland*, who made his agreement before.

Hen. II. ‘ *HENRY* the Son promiſes to perform ‘ his Father's Will touching certain Grants ‘ which the Father has made to *John* his ‘ fourth Son.

‘ 'Tis ſaid in the Treaty that *Henry* the ‘ Son having offer'd to do Homage to the King ‘ his Father, the Father was not willing to ‘ accept it becauſe his Son is King.

Article V.

Henry IId's *Affairs with* Scotland.

His Affairs with Scotland. *DAVID* King of *Scotland* taking Advantage of the Commotions in *England* during the Reign of *Stephen*, had often brought War into this Kingdom, on pretence of ſupporting the Rights of the Empreſs his Niece, tho he was Uncle likewiſe to Queen *Maud*, *Stephen*'s Wife; and at laſt he ſucceeded ſo far as to have a Grant to him of the County of *Northumberland*, to which he had ſome Pretenſions. *Malcolm* his Grandſon, who ſucceeeded him, ſeeing *Henry* II. upon the Throne of *England*, and that his Power increas'd every Day, thought it was more for his Advantage to win his Friendſhip, by reſtoring to him *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle*, and the Caſtle of *Bamborough*, than to engage in an unequal War for the ſake of preſerving what his Grandfather had acquir'd in the troubleſom times. Nevertheleſs he preſerv'd the County of *Huntington*, which his Father *Henry* had poſſeſs'd, and for which he perform'd Homage to *Henry* II.

Malcolm *yields to* Henry *the places taken by his Grandfather.*

His Death and Succeſſor William. *MALCOLM* dying in 1171, his Brother *William* aſcended the Throne of *Scotland*, and two Years after join'd the Party of *Henry's* Son, with a View to recover what he thought

Mal-

Malcolm his Brother had improperly reſtor'd to *England*. He enter'd *Northumberland* at the Head of an Army, and ravag'd that County, while the Earl of *Leiceſter* acted for the young King in the South. But *Humphry Bohun* having ſettled a Truce with him, made good uſe of that time to go and fight the Earl of *Leiceſter*, after which he march'd without delay towards the North, cut the King of *Scotland*'s Army in pieces, and took the King himſelf Priſoner. *A.* 1174. *He is routed and taken Priſoner.*

Anno 1173. THE *Scots* pretend that the *Engliſh* General attack'd the King of *Scotland* before the Expiration of the Truce; but be this ſo or not, the captive King was ſent into *Normandy* to be kept there. Before the War was over, *William* being impatient to the utmoſt for his Liberty, made a particular Treaty with *Henry*, whereby he engag'd himſelf not only to reſtore all that he had taken in *England*, but alſo to do Homage to *Henry* for the entire Kingdom of *Scotland*; and upon his ſwearing a ſolemn Oath to execute the Treaty, he was releas'd. Afterwards, when *Henry* made Peace with his Children, it was agreed that all the Priſoners ſhou'd be ſet at Liberty, except thoſe who had already made their Agreement. So that *William* cou'd not reap any Advantage from this Treaty. *Gets his Liberty.*

Anno 1174. WHEN *Henry* had made an end of all his Affairs with his Sons, and with *France*, he went accompany'd by his Son the King to *York*, whither *William* came to pay them Homage for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* in general, and for the Shire of *Galloway* in particular, which Homage was confirm'd by the Oaths of a great number of *Scots* Noblemen. Moreover, *Henry* had deliver'd up to him for *Pays Homage to* Henry *for* Scotland.

Security

Henry II. Security the Caſtles of *Berwick*, *Roxburgh*, *Jedburgh* and *Sterling*.

THE only Act mention'd in this Article is,

Conventions betwixt them. 39. THE Conventions between *William* King of *Scotland*, and *Henry* King of *England*, who was *Maud*'s Son; dated in 1174.

'*WILLIAM* own'd himſelf *Henry*'s Liege 'Man, and does Homage both to him and his 'Son for the whole Realm of *Scotland*.

Quod Eccleſia Scoticana talem Subjectionem faciet amodo Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ qualem illi facere debet & ſolebat, tempore Regum Angliæ Prædeceſſorum ſuorum.

i. e. 'THAT the Church of *Scotland* ſhall 'hereafter make ſuch Submiſſion to the Church 'of *England* as ſhe ought to make to her, and 'as ſhe was wont to do in the time of the 'Kings of *England* his Predeceſſors.

'THAT the Barons of *Scotland* ſhall perform 'Homage to the King of *England* whenever 'they are requir'd.

'*WILLIAM* delivers up to *Henry* as 'Security for the performance of his Promiſe, 'the Caſtles of *Berwick*, &c.

'THE Barons of *Scotland* undertake to get 'theſe Conventions approv'd by the abſent 'Barons, and to engage them likewiſe to do 'Homage to the Kings of *England*. They 'promiſe to declare againſt *William*, and to 'ſerve *Henry* againſt him if he does not exe-'cute theſe Conventions.

ARTI-

ARTICLE VI.

Affairs of Henry II. *with* France.

Anno 1159.

I have already ſaid that *Alice* the Daughter of *Lewis* the younger was left with *Henry*, to be educated till ſhe was of Age to conſummate the Marriage which was agreed upon in the Treaty made at *Paris*. Part of her Portion conſiſted in the City of *Giſors*, which *Lewis* put into the hands of the Knights-Templars, in order to be be deliver'd to *Henry* upon the Celebration of the Marriage.

Anno 1161. *HENRY* having the Princeſs in his own Hands, caus'd the Marriage to be celebrated two Years after, tho ſhe was but 5 Years of Age, and the Bridegroom but 7, and the Templars deliver'd up *Giſors* to him. This precipitant Step was the cauſe of a War betwixt the two Kings, which was but of a ſhort continuance, being determin'd by the Mediation of Pope *Alexander* III.

K. Henry the younger's Marriage, the cauſe of a ſhort War with Fran.

FROM that time thoſe two Monarchs were never good Friends, and upon all occaſions *Lewis* endeavour'd to oppoſe *Henry*'s Aggrandizement. *Henry*'s Enterprize againſt *Tholouſe* produc'd a new War, which ended by a Treaty, wherein that of *Paris* was confirmed, and no mention made of the Affair of *Thoulouſe*. Conſequently *Henry* reſerv'd his Pretenſions to that County.

Enterprize againſt Thoulouſe *the cauſe of another.*

IN the Quarrel betwixt *Henry* and *Becket*, *Lewis* ſhew'd a World of Zeal to give him Trouble, by ſtirring up the Pope againſt him. Otherwiſe *Henry* wou'd no doubt have come off much better.

Lewis's *hatred of* Henry.

THE

Hen. II. THE Conſpiracy of *Henry*'s Children againſt their Father was another Cauſe of War betwixt the two Monarchs. Upon this occaſion *Lewis* diſcover'd a great deal of Animoſity againſt *Henry*. He not only aſſiſted the Son againſt the Father, but as if he had really thought that the meaſures he had concerted could not fail of Succeſs, he would no longer own any King of *England* but *Henry* the Son, and he hated to hear the Title of King beſtow'd upon the Father.

BUT as I have ſaid, the Scheme for dethroning this Prince miſcarry'd, and *Henry* came off with Honour, in an Affair where he was like to have met with his Ruin.

Becket's Tomb viſited by the French King.

Anno 1177. A few Years after, *Lewis* went in Pilgrimage to *Canterbury*, to beg of God, thro' the Interceſſion of the new Saint *Thomas*, the Cure of his Son *Philip*, who was attack'd with a dangerous Diſtemper. *Henry* went to receive him at *Dover*, and conducted him to the ſacred Tomb, where they paid their Devotions together, and *Lewis* gave a very rich Jewel for the Saint's Shrine. It was on this occaſion probably that the two Monarchs agreed together, to make an Expedition into the Holy Land. But *Lewis* dy'd ſoon after, in 1180. and *Philip* his Son, who was afterwards ſurnam'd *Auguſtus*, ſucceeded him.

IN order to have a right Underſtanding of the laſt Affair in which *Henry* II. was concern'd with *France*, the Reader ſhou'd be acquainted with the State of the Court of *England*, after *Philip Auguſtus* aſcended the Throne of *France*.

Q. Eleanor committed to Priſon.

Upon the firſt Intelligence which *Henry* had of the Conſpiracy I mention'd in the fourth Article, he caus'd his Wife Queen *Eleanor* to be

be clapp'd in Priſon, where ſhe was kept till the King's Death. *Henry* the younger was ſtill uneaſy, tho he was reconcil'd to the King his Father in outward Appearance. *Richard* deſir'd that he might have Permiſſion to conſummate his Marriage with *Alice* of *France*, in order to have a Pretence for Complaint, becauſe he well knew that the King his Father, who was in love with that young Princeſs, would never conſent to it. There was Cauſe even to ſuſpect that he held a criminal Correſpondence with her. *Geoffery* was as much diſſatisfy'd as they. He had attain'd to the 24th Year of his Age, and yet the King was unwilling to truſt him with the Adminiſtration of *Bretagne*. The Diſcontent of theſe three Princes was heighten'd by the fond Affection which their Father ſhew'd to Prince *John*, who was the youngeſt of all. In order to free himſelf from the Dangers to which the reſtleſs Temper of his Children might expoſe him, *Henry* endeavour'd to create a Difference betwixt them, and had in a manner carry'd his Point; but as at laſt they perceiv'd his Artifice, they concerted Meaſures together to ſupport one another. And the young King actually hatch'd Conſpiracies which might have prov'd fatal to the King his Father, if Death, which carry'd him off in 1183. in the 28th Year of his Age, had not blaſted his Deſigns.

A. 1183.

Three of Henry's Children prove Malecontents.

Young Henry's Death.

RICHARD being become preſumptive Succeſſor by the Death of his elder Brother, who had left no Heirs, was impatient to be crown'd, as his Brother had been before him. But he was of too turbulent a Temper for the King to run the risk of ſeeing him tread in his Brother's Footſteps.

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Hen. II. *Anno* 1185. NOTWITHSTANDING this, *Richard* try'd to reſcue himſelf from a Dependence on the King his Father, by making himſelf Maſter of *Guienne*, but failing in the Attempt he was oblig'd to ſubmit.

Geoffery's *Death.* *Anno* 1186. *GEOFFERY* his Brother dy'd ſometime after, leaving a Daughter nam'd *Eleanor*, and *Conſtantia* his Wife big with a Son, who was nam'd *Arthur*. His Death occaſion'd ſome Diſturbance in *Bretagne*. *Henry* aim'd to have the Guardianſhip of his Son's Children, but the States adjudg'd it to *Conſtantia* their Mother, on condition that ſhe would do nothing of Importance without the King's Advice.

ARTICLE VII.

Of Richard's *Rebellion.*

Richard's *Rebellion.* *PHILIP Auguſtus* conceiv'd a Project from the very beginning of his Reign, to reunite the Provinces which the Kings of *England* poſſeſs'd, to the Crown of *France*, and he never abandon'd it till he had very near brought it to paſs, in the Reign of King *John*: which was the true cauſe of the Wars between *France* and *England*, during the whole Courſe of this Prince's Reign. He began to manifeſt his Deſigns early.

Anno 1186. As ſoon as he ſaw the beginning of the Quarrel betwixt *Richard* and the King his Father, he thought that it might prove to his Advantage; and with this View he attack'd *Richard*, to whom the King his Father at length yielded *Poictou*. But the Father and the Son uniting together for their common Defence, *Philip*, who had not con-

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certed his Measures well, consented to a Truce of two Years. *A.* 1180.

THIS first Enterprize not having answer'd his Hopes, he judg'd, that in order to renew the War with Advantage, it was his Interest to increase the Difference betwixt *Henry* and his Son. *Animated by Philip of France.*

Anno 1187. FOR this purpose, having found a Method to draw *Richard* to *Paris*, he caress'd him to such a degree, that he lay with him in the same Bed, and this Prince esteem'd him as the best Friend he had. *Henry* who was inform'd of this strict Union, was afraid what would be the Consequences of it, and chose to recal his Son home. But *Richard* refus'd to obey, complaining that he was not permitted to consummate his Marriage with *Alice*, and pretending to believe that the King only recall'd him to clap him up in a Prison, in order to let his Crown go to *John* his younger Brother. Those were the Pretences which *Philip* suggested to him, in order to foment the Misunderstanding. But *Henry* finding an Opportunity to come at the Speech of his Son by a secret Emissary, *Richard* quitted the Court of *France* on a sudden, and went home. *Richard goes to France.* *Returns home.*

AS soon as the Truce was expir'd, the two Kings took Arms again. But the War was suspended by the News which arriv'd in *Europe*, that the *Sultan Saladin* had made himself Master of *Jerusalem*. For this reason the two Monarchs resolv'd to drop their private Quarrel, in order to go together to the Assistance of the Christians of *Palestine*. *Richard* took the Cross with them, and solemnly engag'd to accompany them in the Voyage. *Resolution of the K's of England and France to go to the Holy Land.*

Anno

Hen. II.

Anno 1188. THE Preparations which were made for this Expedition were interrupted by a Quarrel that fell out betwixt *Richard* and the Count *de Tholouſe*, which, tho about a mere Trifle, was carry'd ſo far, that *Richard* undertook to revive the Pretenſions of the Queen his Mother to the County of *Tholouſe*, and ſeiz'd *Moiſſac*, with ſome other Places. The Count *de Tholouſe* begg'd Aſſiſtance from *France*, and *Philip* making as if he believ'd that *Henry* was the real Author of this War, made an Incurſion into *Berry*, and ſeiz'd *Iſſoudon*.

Quarrel betwixt Richard *and the Count of* Tholouſe.

Another War with France.

THE War being thus kindled again, and proſecuted on both Sides with a great deal of Vigor, *Henry* was terribly ſurpriz'd to hear that *Richard* was gone to throw himſelf into the Arms of *Philip*. As ſoon as this Prince arriv'd at *Paris*, he renew'd his former Complaints, pretending as if he believ'd that the King his Father intended to give *Alice* to *John*, and to leave the Crown to him. But this was not all; *Richard* before he ſet out had debauch'd the Affections of almoſt all the Subjects of *France* to ſuch a degree that the Father was in no condition to continue the War.

Anno 1189. *HENRY* did every thing in his Power to obtain a Peace from *Philip*, but the more he ſeem'd to deſire it, the more averſe was *Philip* to it. The latter demanded that *Richard* ſhould be crown'd, and that the Bride ſhould be deliver'd to him for conſummating the Marriage. But *Henry* had ſtrong Reaſons to reject thoſe Conditions; to which *Philip* afterward added another, by demanding that Prince *John* ſhould make a Voyage to the Holy Land, leſt he ſhould ſupplant his elder Brother, if the King their Father ſhould happen to dye in the Voyage. This new

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new Condition being likewiſe rejected, the War was continued; and *Henry* being abandon'd by all his Subjects in *France*, was always beaten. At length, after having in vain employ'd the Pope's Mediation for obtaining a Peace, he was forc'd to ſubmit to all the Conditions which *Philip* was pleas'd to impoſe upon him, for putting an end to a War which could not but be fatal to him. He diſcover'd not long after, that *John* his well-belov'd Son was enter'd into his Brother's Conſpiracies; which griev'd him to ſuch a degree, that he fell ſick, and dy'd at *Chinon*, in the Year 1189, after having reign'd 34. *A.* 1189. Henry's *Misfortunes, And Death.*

The Acts which relate to the two preceding Articles are,

1. A Letter to the King from Pope *Alexander* III. when he ſent him a Cordelier Friar nam'd *Manſuetus*, to mediate the Peace between him and the King of *France*; dated at *Viterbo* the Ides of *September* 1162, in the 3d Year of the Pontificate. *Pope's Letter to him.* 21.

2. CONVENTIONS between *Lewis* the younger, and *Henry* II. concerning the Expedition to the *Holy Land*; dated in 1177. Henry's *Conventions with* Lewis. 50.

3. A Treaty of Peace betwixt *Henry* II. and *Philip Anguſtus*; dated the 4th of the Calends of *July*, 1180. near *Giſors*. *With* Philip *of* Fr. 53.

OTHER Acts of *Henry* IId's Reign, which have no relation to the preceding Articles, are,

1. CONVENTIONS between the two *Henrys* Father and Son on the one part, and *Theodorick* Earl of *Flanders* and *Philip* his Son on the other; dated at *Dover* the 14th of the Calends of *April*, 1163. *With the Earls of* Flanders. 23.

Henry II. ‘ THE two Kings gr: t 400 Marks in Fee ‘ to the Earl of *Flanders*, and 100 Marks to ‘ the Counteſs, for which Fee the Earl and ‘ his Son are bound to do Homage.

Flemiſh *Lords Engagements to ſerve him.* 27. 2. AN Engagement of the *Flemiſh* Lords to ſerve *Henry* according to the Fees in Money which they hold of him, *viz.* to furniſh him with 10 Horſemen for every 30 Marks; dated in 1163.

‘ THESE two Acts clearly prove that it ‘ was then the Cuſtom to receive Money or ‘ Penſions in Fee.

Convention about Pr. John's *Marriage.* 33. 3. A Convention betwixt *Henry* II. and the Count *de Maurienne*, concerning the Marriage of Prince *John* with the Count's Daughter; dated in 1173.

K. of Sicily's *Letter to* Henry. 42. 4. A Letter from *William* II. King of *Sicily* to *Henry* II. dated at *Palermo*, *Aug.* 23. 1176.

THIS Letter is about *William*'s Marriage with *Joan*, *Henry*'s Daughter. The King of *Sicily* ſays, that he himſelf has not ſworn the Treaty, becauſe it was not the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, but that he has caus'd his Ambaſſadors to ſwear to it in his Name, and that he has ratify'd it.

Conventions for chuſing Henry II. *Arbitrator.* 43. 5. CONVENTIONS, whereby *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, and *Garcias* King of *Navarre* his Uncle, choſe *Henry* II. to be Arbitrator and Judge of their Differences, or elſe the King of *France*, in caſe that *Henry* ſhou'd die before the Award; dated *inter Navarres & Lucronium*, the Kalends of *Sept.* 1176.

‘ *ALPHONSUS* had marry'd *Eleanor*, ‘ *Henry* IId's Daughter.

Archdeacon of Bath's *Letter to* Henry. 45. 6. A Letter from *Peter de Blois*, Archdeacon of *Bath*, to *Henry* II. dated in 1177.

‘ HE

HE gives him Advice of the Arrival of the Ambaſſadors of *Caſtile* and *Navarre*, to refer the old Diſpute betwixt the two Kingdoms to his Judgment. *A.* 1189.

HE ſays to him alſo, *Nuncii veſtri a Romana Curia redierunt exonerati quidem argento, onerati plumbo ; i. e.* Your Ambaſſadors are return'd from the Court of *Rome*, eas'd of their Silver, and laden with Lead.

7. THE Award paſs'd by *Henry* II. upon the Differences between the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Navarre* ; dated in 1177. Henry's *Award betwixt* Caſtile *and* Navarre.

'IN this Sentence we find the Subject of 'the Proceſs, and the two Kings acquieſc'd in 'the Award. 48.

8. THE Marriage Treaty betwixt *William* II. King of *Sicily*, and *Joan* the Daughter of *Henry* II. dated *February* 10. 1177. at *Palermo*. *K. of* Sicily's *Marriage with* Henry's *Daughter.* 52.

9. A Bull in favour of the Knights Templars ; dated in 1181.

10. *HENRY* IId's laſt Will and Teſtament ; dated at *Waltham* 1182. Henry's *Teſtament.* 57.

The Reign of Richard I.

THE Expedition of *Richard* I. to the *Holy Land*, with its Dependencies and Conſequences, being the chief Subject of his Reign ; this Abridgment of it will therefore conſiſt but of one Article. *Acceſſion of King* Richard I.

Anno 1189. THO *Richard* had expreſs'd a great deal of Impatience to conſummate his Marriage with *Alice* of *France*, he drop'd all thoughts of it as ſoon as it was in his own Power to make himſelf eaſy. On the *Homage to the K. of* France.

Rich. I. other hand, he discover'd no uneasiness with respect to his Brother *John* Earl of *Morton*, tho he made a Handle of those two Articles to rebel against the King his Father. He went first, and paid Homage to the King of *France*. Then he caus'd himself to be crown'd Duke of *Normandy* at *Roan*, and did not go over to *England* till a Month after *Henry*'s Death. Not many Days after his Coronation at *London*, he receiv'd a Letter from *Philip*, summoning him to make good his Engagements with respect to the Expedition to the *Holy Land*; to which he had the less need of being sollicited, because he was resolutely bent upon it. He made vast Preparations, and employ'd several Methods to raise Money for it, which were not all of them very regular. Among others, he accepted of 10000 Marks, which were offer'd him on the part of the King of *Scotland*; in consideration whereof he restor'd the Places of Security to him, which had been put into the Hands of *Henry* II. and parted with the Sovereignty which the Crown of *England* had acquir'd over the Kingdom of *Scotland*. His Brother the Earl of *Morton* having express'd his Disinclination to make a Voyage to the *Holy Land*, he thought fit to secure his Fidelity by heaping Favours on him. He gave him 6 considerable Counties in *England*, and concluded a Marriage betwixt him and *Avis* the Heiress of *Gloucester*, tho the Archbishop of *Canterbury* oppos'd it because the Parties were too near a-kin.

Voyage to England.

His Preparations for the Expedition to the Holy Land.

His Favours to the E. of Morton, *and the latter's Marriage.*

Anno 1190. As soon as *Richard* was ready, he set out with his Army for *France*, leaving for Regent in *England*, his Favourite *Longchamp*, a Man of obscure Birth, and a *Norman*, whom he had promoted to the Dignity of Chancellor, Bishop of *Ely*, and Legate from the Pope. And

To Longchamp.

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And by inveſting him likewiſe in the Regency, he render'd his Power abſolute both in Church and State. Indeed he gave him for his Adjunct or Aſſociate the Biſhop of *Durham*, who had bought the Regency of him, or rather the Title of Regent; for *Longchamp* did not permit him to meddle with the Affairs of Government. The two Kings of *France* and *England* met at *Vezelay* in the *Nivernois*; from whence, after having renew'd their Alliance, and made ſome Regulations for the Voyage, they march'd together to *Lyons*, where they ſeparated, *Philip* taking the Rout of *Genoa*, and *Richard* going directly to *Marſeilles*, whither he had order'd his Fleet. But when he came thither, he found that his Fleet was not yet arriv'd; which made him reſolve to hire ſome Ships for his ſpeedy Paſſage to *Meſſina*, where the *Croiſes* were to have their general Rendezvous. His Fleet having join'd him at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, he continued his Voyage to *Meſſina*, where the King of *France* was already arriv'd. The two Monarchs ſpent the Winter in *Sicily*, during which ſome things happen'd there, which 'tis neceſſary briefly to mention.

A. 1190.

His Voyage to France.

To Sicily.

ROGER, King of *Sicily*, had left two Lawful Children, *viz.* *William* and *Conſtantia*, and a Baſtard nam'd *Tancred*. *William*, who was ſurnam'd the *Bad*, ſucceeded the King his Father, and *Conſtantia* was a Nun at *Palermo*. To *William* the *Bad* ſucceeded *William* the *Good*, his Son, who marry'd *Joan* the Daughter of *Henry* II. and Siſter of *Richard*. *William* the *Good* dying without Iſſue, Pope *Clement* III. pretended to the Right of diſpoſing of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, becauſe it was a Fief of the Church; but *Tancred* having caus'd himſelf to be elected by the People, took Poſ-

Diſpute about the Succeſſion, &c. in that King-dom.

Rich. I. ſeſſion of the Throne. *Celeſtin* III. *Clement*'s Succeſſor had the ſame Pretenſions as his Predeceſſor; and in order to wreſt the Crown from *Tancred*, he gave the Kingdom of *Sicily* to the Emperor *Henry* VI. of the Houſe of *Suabia*, and caus'd him to marry *Conſtantia*, King *Roger*'s Daughter, who was 50 Years of Age, after having order'd that Princeſs to be taken out of a Nunnery at *Palermo*. Of this Marriage a Son was born two Years after, nam'd *Frederick*, notwithſtanding the Age of *Conſtantia*, who for preventing all manner of ſuſpicion, wou'd be deliver'd in publick. As *Joan* the Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, and the Siſter of *Richard*, had ſtickled too much in favour of the Pope, *Tancred* had confin'd her in Priſon; but at *Richard*'s approach he ſet her at Liberty.

RICHARD arriving in *Sicily*, and being encamp'd near *Meſſina*, ſent to *Tancred*, who reſided at *Palermo*, for the Jointure which had been ſettled on the Queen his Siſter, by the King her Husband, and for a Legacy which that ſame King had bequeath'd to *Henry* II. his Father-in-Law. But *Tancred* endeavouring to amuſe him by Delays, he ſeiz'd a Caſtle and a Monaſtery near his Camp, which he fortify'd, and furniſh'd with Ammunition. This Action made *Tancred* believe that *Richard*, under pretence of going to the *Holy Land*, was only come into *Sicily* at the Pope's Sollicitation, to take away his Crown from him. Conſequently fearing that he had a deſign to make himſelf Maſter of *Meſſina*, he contriv'd it ſo, that the *Engliſh* who went every day to the Town upon their Affairs, were all turn'd out by the Inhabitants. *Richard* being provok'd at this Affront, demanded Satisfaction; and after having waited for it a great while to

no

no purpoſe, he caus'd the Walls to be ſeal'd on a ſudden, and made himſelf Maſter of the Town. As ſoon as he enter'd it, he caus'd his Colours to be pitch'd in all the Quarters of the City, not excepting thoſe that were mark'd out for the *French*, as had been alſo done for the *Engliſh*, for the ſake of preventing Diſorder. *Philip* complain'd of this ſort of Affront, and the two Kings wou'd perhaps have come to a Rupture, if *Richard* had not at laſt ſuffer'd himſelf to be prevail'd on to cauſe his Colours to be taken away, and to give *Philip* ſome Satisfaction. The Surprize of *Meſſina* having convinc'd *Tancred* that it was not ſafe for him to diſoblige *Richard*, he repair'd to him at *Meſſina*, and made a Treaty with him on his Pretenſions. *A.* 1191. Richard *takes* Meſſina. *His Treaty with* K. Tancred.

Anno 1191. AFTERWARDS *Tancred* created ſuch a Difference betwixt the two Monarchs, by ſhewing certain Letters to *Richard* written by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and which perhaps were forg'd, that from that time they never ceaſe almoſt to vex each other. *Philip* ſent word to *Richard* that he cou'd not but look on him as an Enemy if he did not conſummate his Marriage with the Princeſs his Siſter. *Richard* anſwer'd, that he wou'd not marry a Princeſs who had had a Child by the King his Father; and he offer'd to prove it by Witneſſes, then actually in *Sicily*. This Anſwer oblig'd *Philip* to recede from his Demand, and even to conſent that *Richard* ſhould marry elſewhere. But *Richard* had already done it without that Permiſſion, by concluding a Marriage with the Princeſs *Berenquelle* or *Berengeria* of *Navarre*, who was to come to meet him in *Sicily* in order to conſummate it. Finally, the two Kings were reconcil'd to outward Appearance, but from Tancred *creates a Difference betwixt him and the* K. *of* France. Richard's *Marriage.*

Rich. I. from that time they were never hearty Friends.

Philip ſet out firſt from *Meſſina*, and repair'd to the Siege of *Acre* or *Ptolemais*, which the Chriſtians had form'd for ſome time paſt.

Philip's *Voyage to the Siege of* Acre.

RICHARD did not ſet out till after the Arrival of his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who brought the Princeſs of *Navarre* to him; and having left her with him, return'd to *England*. *Richard* was ſo much importun'd to ſet forward, that he ſail'd before he had conſummated his Marriage, taking with him his Siſter the Queen of *Sicily*, and his Bride *Berenquelle*. When he was arriv'd near to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, a violent Storm diſpers'd his Fleet; and ſome of his Ships being drove upon that Iſland, were plunder'd by order of *Iſaac Comnenius*, who from being Governor of *Cyprus* aſſum'd the Sovereignty of it, and the Title of Emperor.

Richard's *Voyage.*

He takes Cyprus.

Richard took a Revenge for this Outrage, by making himſelf Maſter of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, to the great Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, that were quite tir'd with the Oppreſſion of *Comnenius*, who alſo fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. After this Expedition *Richard* ſet Sail again, and came before *Acre*, the Siege of which was puſh'd with freſh Vigor, ſo that the Place ſurrender'd by Capitulation. During this Siege, *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria* having made himſelf Maſter of a Tower, planted his Colours on it; which *Richard* interpreting as an Inſult, ſent Men thither, who took away the Colours and trampled them under their Feet: which Affront was ſeverely reveng'd afterwards.

Proceeds to Acre, *which ſurrenders.*

The Miſunderſtanding and Sickneſs of the two Kings.

AFTER the taking of *Acre*, the Animoſities between the two Kings broke out again, thro' the extreme Jealouſy which they conceiv'd of each other. They were come to conquer the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; but *Philip* wou'd have the

the Conqueſt made for *Conrad* Marquis of *Montferrat*, and *Richard* for *Guy* of *Luſignan*; each of thoſe Princes having Pretenſions to this Kingdom, which was in the Hands of *Saladin*. Theſe Differences protracted the Deliberations for carrying on the War. After this, the two Kings were ſeiz'd both with one ſort of Diſtemper, which made their Hair fall off; and it was with great difficulty that they got a Cure. *A.* 1192.

Anno 1192. AT laſt, *Philip* had a mind to return to *France*; and as the two Monarchs had engag'd not to forſake each other, it was with very great difficulty that he obtain'd *Richard*'s Conſent. He left 10000 Men in *Paleſtine*, under Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom he publickly order'd to pay the ſame Obedience to the King of *England* as to himſelf; but 'tis pretended that the Duke had a ſecret Order to thwart him. Philip's *Return to* France.

PHILIP being gone, *Richard* march'd with the Army of the *Croiſes* to beſiege *Jeruſalem*; but he was firſt of all oblig'd to ſeize the Maritime Towns of *Jaffa*, *Aſcalon*, and *Cæſarea*, otherwiſe he could not poſſibly have ſucceeded in that Siege. While he was on the March to thoſe Towns, he met the Sultan *Saladin*, who ſtay'd for him in an advantageous Poſt, with an Army far ſuperior in number to that of the Chriſtians. As the *Croiſes* cou'd not approach *Jeruſalem* without falling foul of this Army, *Richard* reſolv'd to attack it; which he did with ſo much Valour and Succeſs, that he entirely routed it. This Overthrow put *Saladin* under a Neceſſity of abandoning the maritim Towns juſt mention'd, after having raz'd the Walls thereof. But as thoſe Towns were abſolutely neceſſary for Richard *defeats* Saladin's *Army*.

Rich. I. for ſubſiſting the Army of the Croiſes during the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, *Richard* ſtop'd a while at *Jaffa* to give time for their Repair. This done, he advanc'd towards *Jeruſalem*, and had the good luck on his march to meet a great and rich Caravan, which he ſeiz'd, and made the whole Army ſhare the Booty. At length he arriv'd upon a Hill, from whence he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the City of *Jeruſalem*. But as all the neighbouring Country was deſtitute of Forage, he was oblig'd to defer the Siege to the following Spring. During this the Duke of *Burgundy* quitted the Army of the Croiſes with his *French* Troops, in order to return to *Europe*; but he dy'd at *Acre* as his Troops were embarking. On the other hand, the Marquiſs of *Montferrat*, who commanded a Body of *Italian* Troops, gave *Richard* to underſtand that he did not intend to contribute to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, which, tho it lawfully belong'd to him, was deſign'd for his Competitor *Guy* of *Luſignan*. The Duke of *Auſtria* retir'd alſo, very much diſguſted for the Affront he had receiv'd from *Richard* at the Siege of *Acre*. Theſe Diſappointments oblig'd *Richard* to lay aſide his Deſign of beſieging *Jeruſalem*, and to make a Truce of 3 Years with *Saladin*; after which he reſolv'd to return to *Europe*. Before he ſet out, he caus'd the chief Men of the Army to aſſemble for the choice of a General to command the Troops that were to ſtay in *Paleſtine*. The Choice fell upon the Marquiſs of *Montferrat*; but this Prince being aſſaſſinated not long after, by order of *Vetus de Monte*, who was a famous Man for ſuch Exploits, *Richard* caus'd *Henry* Count of *Champagne* to be elected, and to marry the Marquiſs's Widow,

He deſigns the Siege of Jeruſalem.

D. of Burgundy's *Departure from the Army, and Death.*

Aſſaſſination of the Marquiſs of Montferrat.

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dow, who brought him for her Portion the Titular Crown of *Jeruſalem*. Mean time, as *Richard* had enter'd into Engagements with *Guy* of *Luſignan*, he rewarded him by the Grant of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, which he had ſold to the Knights Templars, but took away from them becauſe they tyranniz'd over the Inhabitants. *A.* 1193.

His Return from the Holy Land.

RICHARD having nothing more to do in that Country, went and embark'd at *Acre*. When he was arriv'd near the Iſle of *Corfu*, he was drove by a Tempeſt to the bottom of the Gulph of *Venice*, where he ſuffer'd Shipwreck juſt by *Aquileia*, his Galliot being daſh'd againſt a Rock. However, he had the good Fortune to come ſafe to Land; but being got into the Dominions of the Duke of *Auſtria*, he was known there, and purſued ſo cloſely, that ſeveral Perſons of his Retinue were immediately carry'd off. At laſt, as he endeavour'd to deceive his Purſuers, he arriv'd at a Village near *Vienna*, where he was arreſted, and deliver'd up by the Duke of *Auſtria* to the Emperor who demanded him. It wou'd be too tedious to enter here into the Detail of all the Hardſhips which the Emperor put upon his Priſoner.

His Shipwreck.

Deliver'd up to the Emperor.

Anno 1193. IT ſhall ſuffice to ſay in a few words, that he kept him 15 Months in Priſon, and that he caus'd him to be remov'd to *Haguenau*, where the Dyet of the Empire was aſſembled, and where, as if the *German* Princes had been his legal Judges, he accus'd him of ſeveral Crimes contain'd in 6 Articles. 1. He ſaid that *Richard* had made an Alliance with *Tancred*, to maintain that Uſurper upon the Throne of *Sicily*. 2. He accus'd him of having ſought Opportunities to embroil himſelf with the King of *France*, in order to hinder the Con-

Accus'd before the Dyet.

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Rich. I. queſt of *Jeruſalem*. 3. Of having unjuſtly turn'd a Chriſtian Prince out of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. 4. Of having put a cruel Affront upon the Duke of *Auſtria* during the Siege of *Ptolemais*. 5. Of having caus'd the Marquiſs of *Montferrat* to be aſſaſſinated. 6. Of having betray'd the Intereſts of the Chriſtians, by making a Truce with *Saladin*. *Richard*, without acknowledging the competent Authority of the Judges, defended himſelf againſt thoſe Accuſations, in a manner with which the Princes of the Dyet were ſatisfy'd. Nevertheleſs he cou'd not obtain his Liberty without engaging to pay a Ranſom of 150000 Marks of Silver, *viz.* 100000 in ready Caſh, and to give Security for the reſt. Moreover, he promis'd to give *Eleanor* of *Bretagne* his Niece in Marriage to the Duke of *Auſtria*'s eldeſt Son. To make him ſome ſort of Amends, the Emperor made him a Preſent of the Kingdom of *Arles*, and intended to crown him in that Quality, tho the Pretenſions of the Emperors to that antient Kingdom had been for a long time ſuper-annuated. At laſt *Richard* return'd to *England* after near 4 Years Abſence, of which he had paſs'd 15 Months in Priſon. We muſt now juſt make mention of what paſs'd in *England* during his Abſence.

His Ranſom.

Return to England.

Character of Longchamp.

I have already ſaid, that when *Richard* ſet out from *England*, he left the Regency of the Kingdom to *Longchamp*, who was at the ſame time Chancellor, Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Pope's Legate. This Man behav'd with ſo much Haughtineſs and Pride in his Adminiſtration, that the Counſellors appointed by the King to aſſiſt him, were oblig'd to complain to Prince *John* Earl of *Morton*, and to put themſelves under his Protection. *John* made an advantageous

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uſe of this opportunity to introduce himſelf into the Government, of which the King his Brother had not left him any ſhare; and uniting with the Barons, he drove *Longchamp* out of the Kingdom. Then he took ſeveral Steps to ſecure the Crown to himſelf, in caſe the King ſhou'd happen to die in his Voyage. He thought this a neceſſary Precaution, becauſe of the juſt Pretenſions which might be form'd by young *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, Son to his elder Brother *Geoffery*. *A.* 1194. *He is expell'd the Kingdom.*

THE News of *Richard*'s Impriſonment no ſooner arriv'd in *England*, than *John* diſcover'd a ſtrong deſire to rob him of the Crown. But by the Care of their Mother *Eleanor*, there was an Aſſociation among the Barons to maintain the King's Rights. For this reaſon, *John* after ſeveral vain Efforts to ſeduce the *Engliſh* Nobility, made an Alliance with *Philip Auguſtus*, who was as impatient as himſelf to embrace this Opportunity to ſeize the Provinces which the *Engliſh* poſſeſs'd in *France*. He even laid Siege to *Roan*, but was forc'd to raiſe it. Theſe two Confederate Princes did every thing they cou'd to hinder *Richard*'s being ſet at Liberty. They offer'd the Emperor Sums of Money, which were ſo tempting to that covetous Prince, that tho he had given his Promiſe, and made a Treaty with *Richard*, he was inclinable to retract it. But the Princes of *Germany* having convinc'd him that it wou'd not be ſafe for him to violate a Promiſe, of which they were Guarantees, he did not dare to retain his Priſoner. *Pr.* John's *Alliance with* Philip *of* France.

Anno 1194. As ſoon as *Richard* was in *England*, he caus'd a Sentence to be paſs'd againſt his Brother, confiſcating all his Eſtate, and de- *Sentence paſs'd on him, and his Pardon.*

Rich. I. declaring him incapable to succeed to the Crown; but afterwards he pardon'd him.

Anno 1195. MEAN time *Richard* burning with Rage to be reveng'd on *Philip*, made great Preparations to carry the War into *France*; but was prevented by his Enemy, who besieg'd *Verneuil*, of which nevertheless he cou'd not make himself Master. This War, which continued three or four Years with various Success, the Particulars of which wou'd be very unnecessary here, was interrupted by a Truce of five Years.

War and Truce with France.

Anno 1199. *RICHARD* hearing some time after, that a Gentleman of *Limousin* had found Treasure hid in his Estate, demanded that Treasure, pretending that it belong'd to him as Sovereign of that Country, which was a Dependency on *Guyenne*. The Gentleman being loth to part with it, took Refuge in the Castle of *Chaluz*, belonging to the Viscount of *Limoges*, whither *Richard* march'd to besiege him. While he went round the Place to take a View of it, he was wounded in the Shoulder by an Arrow from a Cross-bow, of which in a few Days after he dy'd. He had made a Will in *Sicily* in favour of *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne* his Nephew; but he made another before his Death, in which he appointed Prince *John* his Brother to be his Heir.

Richard's *Death and Last Will.*

Acts of the Reign of Richard I.

Philip's *Letter of Summons to* Rich. 63.

1. A Letter from *Philip Augustus* to *Richard*, to summon him to execute their Conventions touching the Voyage to the *Holy Land*; dated in *October* 1189.

2. NEW

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2. NEW Conventions betwixt *Philip* and *Richard* on the ſame Head; dated *Dec.* 30 1189. at *Nonancart.* *A.* 1189. *Conventi- for the*

3. CHARTER of *Richard* I. by which he departs from his Sovereignty over the Kingdom of *Scotland*; dated at *Canterbury Dec.* 5. 1189. *Expedit. to the* Holy Land. 63. *Charter relating to ſigning the Sovereignty of* Scotland. 64.

Præterea quietavimus omnes pactiones quas bonus Pater noſter Henricus Rex Angliæ, per novas Cartas & per captionem ſuam extorſit, Ita videlicet, ut Nobis faciat integrè & plenariè quidquid Rex Scotiæ Macolmus frater ejus, Anteceſſoribus noſtris de jure fecit & facere debuit.

——*Reddidimus etiam ei ligantias hominum ſuorum quas Pater noſter de illo habuit per captionem ſuam, & quæ forte per oblivionem retentæ & inventæ fuerint, eas penitus cavere viribus præcipimus. Sæpedictus vero Gulielmus Rex ligius homo noſter deveniat, de omnibus terris, de quibus Anteceſſores ſui, Anteceſſorum noſtrorum ligii homines fuerint, & Nobis atque Hæredibus noſtris fidelitatem juravit.*

4. *RICHARD*'s Statutes for the Voyage to the *Holy Land*; dated in 1189. *Statutes for the Voyage to the* Holy Land. 65.

'HE that kills a Man aboard a Ship, ſhall 'be ty'd to the Corpſe and caſt with it into 'the Sea.

'IF he kills him aſhore, he ſhall be ty'd to 'the Corpſe and bury'd alive with it.

'HE that draws a Knife, or fetches Blood 'of another Perſon, ſhall loſe his Fiſt.

'HE that ſtrikes with his Hand, ſhall be 'duck'd three times in the Sea.

'HE that gives another hard Names or 'Curſes, ſhall give an Ounce of Silver for 'every ſuch Offence.

'AND a Robber ſhall be ſhav'd, and boiling Pitch pour'd upon his Head, and a Cuſhion of Feathers ſhook over it, that he may

Rich. I. ‘ be known; and he ſhall be put aſhore at the ‘ firſt place the Ship comes to.

Richard's *Treaty with* Tancred *King of* Sicily. 66.

5. A Treaty between *Richard* I. and *Tancred* King of *Sicily*, in 1190.

Ut autem pax iſta & fraterna dilectio, tam multiplici quam arctiori vinculo convertatur, prædictis Curiæ veſtræ Magnatibus, id ex parte veſtra tractantibus, Domino diſponente, condiximus inter Arthurum egregium Ducem Britanniæ, chariſſimum nepotem Noſtrum, & Hæredem, ſi fortè ſine prole Nos obire contigerit, & chariſſimam Filiam veſtram, matrimonium in Chriſti nomine contrahendum, ut cum illa ad nubiles annos pervenerit.

——Aut ſi Celſitudini veſtræ placuerit, eam infra annos nubiles deſponſari, prædictus nepos noſter, juxta beneplacitum veſtrum, id faciet, ſi ſummus Pontifex diſpenſare voluerit—— Si autem Nobis ſine Hærede decedentibus, ipſe ad Regnum noſtrum hæreditario jure pervenerit, ei (Filiæ) tale dotarium deſignamus de Regno noſtro, quale antiquum & conſuetum dotarium Reginarum Angliæ.

‘ *RICHARD* acknowledg'd that he had ‘ receiv'd 20000 Ounces of Gold from *Tancred*, and engages to reſtore them if the Mar‘ riage be not accompliſh'd; in which he ſub‘ mits to the Pope's Judgment.

Richard's *Letter to the Pope.* 68.

6. A Letter from *Richard* to Pope *Clement*; dated *Nov.* 11. 1190. near *Meſſina*.

‘ He gives him an Account of the Treaty ‘ he had made with *Tancred*, and repeats the ‘ Clauſe abovementioned, ſpeaking of *Arthur*, ‘ *Et Hæredem ſi fortè ſine prole*, &c.

‘ This ſhews that at that time it was no ‘ doubt with him, that if he ſhou'd happen to ‘ die without Children, *Arthur* ought to have ‘ been his Heir; and yet, when he was on his ‘ Death bed, he appointed *John* his Brother.

7. The

7. THE Treaty made at *Meſſina* between *Philip Auguſtus* and *Richard* I. dated at *Meſſina* in *March* 1191. *A.* 1191. *His Treaty with Philip of Fran.* 69.

Prædicto Regi (Ricardo) bono corde, & bona voluntate concedimus, quod amodò liberè quamlibet voluerit ducat uxorem, non obſtante illa conventione inter Nos & ipſum facta, de ſorore noſtra Adelais quam debebat ducere in uxorem.

——*Et ſi Rex Angliæ haberet duos Maſculos aut plures, voluit & conceſſit quod major natu teneat in capite de nobis, totum id quod tenere debet a nobis, citra Mare Angliæ, & alius tenebit a nobis in capite, unam ex tribus Baroniis, videlicet Dominium Normaniæ, aut Dominium Andegaviæ & Cenomaniæ, aut Dominium Aquitaniæ & Pictaviæ.*

——*Ipſe autem conceſſit quod de Terra Sancti Ægidii Comitis * nihil de cætero occupabit, ultra quod diximus, quamdiu Comes S. Ægidii in Curia noſtra ſufferre juſtitiam voluerit aut potuerit.*

——*Conceſſit etiam Nobis Rex Angliæ, quod infra primum Menſem a reditu ſuo, remittet in Franciam ſine contradictione aliqua & impedimento, Adelais ſororem noſtram, ſive vivi, ſive mortui fuerimus.*

8. A Letter from the Emperor *Henry* VI. to *Philip Auguſtus* King of *France*; dated at *Rhetienſe* the 5th of the Calends of *January* 1192. *Emperor's Letter to the K. of France.* 70.

'HE tells him the News of *Richard*'s being 'taken, and of the manner how. After *Richard* 'had ſuffer'd Shipwreck in the *Adriatick* near '*Aquileia*, the Count *de Gortze* purſued him, 'and took 8 of his Men. Afterwards *Richard* 'repair'd to a Town in the Archbiſhoprick of '*Saltzburgh*, where *Frederick* of *Boleſvowe* took 'ſix of his Men. After this, *Leopold* poſted

* The County of *Tholouſe*.

Rich. I. ‘ Guards in all the Roads, and took *Richard* ‘ in a Village near *Vienna*.

THIS may ſerve as one Circumſtance, to ſhew that according to all Appearance *Richard* took the Road to *Vienna*, on purpoſe to deceive his Purſuers.

Vetus de Monte *to the D. of* Auſtria. 71.

8. A Letter from *Vetus de Monte* * to the Duke of *Auſtria*; dated at the Caſtle of *Misfiat*, in the midſt of the Month of *September*, in the 5th Year of Pope *Alexander*.

‘ HE vindicates *Richard* from the Murder ‘ of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, and owns that ‘ it was himſelf that caus'd him to be aſſaſſi- ‘ nated in the midſt of *Tyre*, becauſe the Mar- ‘ quis had caus'd one of his Brothers that was ‘ drove upon the Coaſt of *Tyre* by the Storm, ‘ to be kill'd.’ If *de Monte* was not a Chriſtian, which all Authors agree he was not, the Date of this Letter in the 5th Year of *Alexander*'s Pontificate is enough to make the reality of it ſuſpected.

Eleanor *to the Pope.* 72, 74, 76.

9. THREE Letters from Queen *Eleanor* to the Pope, deſiring him to employ his Intereſt to procure *Richard*'s Liberty; dated in 1193.

THESE Letters are ſmart and full of Reproaches againſt the Pope upon his Indifference.

* MR. *Rapin* ſays in his large Hiſtory, that the *old Man of the Mountains* was a Title given to the Head of the *Chaſſins*, a People inhabiting about *Antioch*, whom the *French* call Aſſaſſins; and the Tranſlator of that Hiſtory has a Note upon them, p. 126. Vol. 3. that theſe *Aſſaſſins* were a Sect of *Mahometans*, dwelling in 6 Cities near *Antaradus* in *Syria*, who were ready to aſſaſſinate any Prince whom the *old Man of the Mountains* ſhou'd ſend them to, or to go upon any other deſperate Attempt.

10. ANO-

10. ANOTHER from *Peter de Blois* Archdeacon of *Bath* to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* on the ſame Subject, and of the ſame Date. *A.* 1193. *Archdeacon of* Bath *to the Abp of* Mentz. 78.

11. A Letter from *Richard* I. while in Priſon, to the Queen his Mother, and the Lords Juſtices of *England*; dated at *Haguenau* the 13th of the Calends of *May* 1193. *King's to the Queen Mother.* 80.

HE demands 70000 Marks of Silver to pay his Ranſom, and orders an exact account to be kept of the Plate taken from the Churches, as well as of what each Baron gives, to the end that he may be inform'd of every one's Benevolence, and that the Securities be kept ready.

Quem autem in noſtra neceſſitate promptum inveniemus amicum in ſuis neceſſitatibus nos reperiet, & remuneratorem, gratiuſque nobis erit, ſi quis in abſentia noſtra, in aliquo nobis ſubveniat, quam ſi in præſentia noſtra, in duplo quis nobis ſubveniret: i. e. The Man that we find a ready Friend in our Neceſſity, ſhall find us a Friend in his with Intereſt; and whoſoever in our Abſence affords us any Aſſiſtance, will be more acceptable to us than the Man that helps us to twice the Sum in our Preſence.

12. AN Agreement betwixt *Philip Auguſtus*, and the Ambaſſadors of *England*, who were ſent into *France* during *Richard*'s Impriſonment; dated at *Medunca* the 8th of the Ides of *July* 1193. Philip's *agreement with the* Engliſh *Ambaſſadors.* 81.

'THE Ambaſſadors promiſe in *Richard*'s 'Name to pay 20000 Marks to *Philip*, and to 'put four Caſtles into his Hands for Security 'of Performance.

'THEY promiſe that Prince *John* ſhall not 'be proſecuted for having broke the Promiſe 'which he made to *Richard* not to return 'to *England*.

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Rich. I. THERE is ſomething likewiſe with regard to *John*, which I do not underſtand, *viz. Si Homines Regis Angliæ poterunt monſtrare, quod Comes Johannes juraverit ad perquirendam pecuniam ad liberationem Regis Angliæ.*

THE Hiſtorians have ſaid, that *Richard* before he went, had ſtipulated with *John*, that during his abſence he ſhou'd ſtay in *Normandy* without ſetting his Foot more in *England*; but afterwards he diſcharg'd him of this Obligation.

His Letter to Archbiſhop Hubert. 83. 13. A Letter from *Richard* to *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; dated at *Spire, Sept.* 22. 1193.

HE tells him that the Emperor has fix'd on the *Monday* after *Chriſtmas* to ſet him at Liberty, and that on the *Sunday* following he ſhall be crown'd King of *Provence.*

Letter from the Emperor to the Engliſh. 84. 14. LETTER from the Emperor *Henry* VI. to the *Engliſh* Noblemen; dated at *Tholouſe* in 1193. the Eve of St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle.

HE acquaints them that he has fix'd on a Day to ſet *Richard* at Liberty, and on another to have him crown'd King of *Provence. Noſtræ ſiquidem eſt voluntatis præfatum Dominum veſtrum, ſicut amicum noſtrum ſpecialem, promovere & magnificentiùs honorare, i. e.* It being our Pleaſure to promote, and greatly to honour your ſaid Lord as our ſpecial Friend.

His Conventions with Richard *for his Liberty.* 84. 15. CONVENTIONS betwixt the Emperor and *Richard* in 1193.

'THE Emperor's Ambaſſadors ſhall go 'into *England* with thoſe of the King. They 'ſhall there receive 100000 Marks of Silver 'ſeal'd up, and the King's Servants ſhall be 'charg'd therewith till the Money arrives on 'the Lands of the Empire; ſo that if it be loſt 'before that time, the King ſhall ſtand to it.

'After-

'Afterwards it ſhall be deliver'd to the Em- *A.* 1194.
'peror's Ambaſſadors, and they only ſhall be
'charg'd with it. Moreover, the King ſhall
'give 50000 Marks of Silver of the weight of
'*Cologn* to the Emperor and the Duke of *Au-*
'*ſtria*, and on failure of that Sum he ſhall give
'60 Hoſtages to the Emperor for 30000 Marks,
'and 7 to the Duke of *Auſtria* for 20000
'Marks.

'2. IF the King of *England* will perform
'what he before ſtood engag'd in to the Em-
'peror, with reſpect to the Duke of *Saxony*,
'the Emperor ſhall excuſe him of the 50000
'Marks, and ſhall oblige himſelf to pay 20000
'to the Duke of *Auſtria*.

'3. THE King ſhall be ſet at Liberty, im-
'mediately after the Emperor has receiv'd the
'100000 Marks, and after the King has given
'the Securities.

'4. THE King of *England* obliges himſelf
'by Oath to give his Niece, the Siſter of *Ar-*
'*thur* Duke of *Bretagne*, in Marriage to the Son
'of the Duke of *Auſtria*, and to ſend her to
'the Territories of the Empire: And if the
'Duke refuſe to receive her, the King ſhall be
'quit of his Oath.

'5. IF he refuſe to fulfil his Engagement
'with regard to the Duke of *Saxony*, he ſhall
'be oblig'd to pay the remaining 50000 Marks,
'7 Months after his Arrival in *England*.

16. A Letter from Pope *Celeſtin* to the Biſhop of *Verona*; dated at *Rome* the 8th of the Ides of *June* in the 4th Year of the Pontificate, *A. C.* 1194. *Pope's Letter to the Biſhop of* Verona. 88.

'HE gives him a Commiſſion to order the
'Duke of *Auſtria* on his part to ſend home
'the *Engliſh* Hoſtages, and to make Reſtitu-
'tion to *Richard*. After the Duke has obey'd,

'he

Rich. I. 'he is order'd to go and make War againſt the 'Infidels in *Paleſtine*, for as long time as '*Richard* was detain'd in Priſon.

'IT muſt be obſerv'd, that all the time that '*Richard* was in Priſon, the Pope did not take 'the leaſt Step in his favour, as appears by '*Eleanor*'s Letters abovemention'd. But as 'ſoon as that Prince arriv'd in *England*, the 'Pope ſeem'd to have his Intereſt very much 'at Heart.

Richard's *Charter in favour of the* Scots *Kings*. 87. 17. A Charter of *Richard* I. in favour of the Kings of *Scotland*; dated *April* 17. 1194. at *Wincheſter*.

THIS Charter contains certain Privileges granted to the Kings of *Scotland*, when they happen to be in *England*.

Treaty with Philip. 91. 18. A Treaty betwixt *Philip Auguſtus* and *Richard* I. concluded between *Gaillon* and *Val Rodelle* in 1195. on the Eve of St. *Michael*.

Letter to the Biſhop of Durham. 96. 19. LETTER from *Richard* I. to the Biſhop of *Durham*; dated *Sept.* 30. 1197. at *Dangu*.

THE King acquaints the Biſhop of an Advantage which he has gain'd over the King of *France* near *Giſors*. He ſays that the King of *France* had 300 Knights with him, together with their Eſquires, and ordinary Servants; and that being puſh'd as far as *Giſors*, the Bridge broke under him. He adds, *Rex Franciæ ut audivimus bibit de riveria, & viginti Milites ſubmerſi ſunt. Nos autem ibi cum una lancea, proſtravimus Mathæum de Montmorency, & Alanum de Ruſci, & Fulconem de Gilerval, & captos detinuimus, & bene capti ſunt gentes uſque ad centum milites: i. e.* The King of *France*, as we have heard, drank out of the River, and 20 Soldiers are drowned. On the other hand, we with one Spear fell'd to the Ground *Matthew* of *Montmorency*,

rency, and *Alan* of *Ruſci*, and *Fulk de Gilerval*, and took them Priſoners; and the number of the Soldiers taken amounts to 100. *A.* 1198.

THIS Letter may ſerve to rectify the *Engliſh* and *French* Hiſtorians, ſome of whom ſwell this Advantage to a great Victory, while others ſpeak of it as a trifle.

20. A Letter from Pope *Innocent* III. to the Duke of *Auſtria*; dated the 3d of the Calends of *June*, in the firſt of his Pontificate, *A. D.* 1198. *Pope* Innocent *to the Duke of* Auſtria. 102.

'*LEOPOLD* Duke of *Auſtria* who arreſted *Richard*, was dead, and had order'd his Son and Succeſſor to return the Money he had taken from his Priſoner. The Pope in this Letter enjoins the Son to execute the Will of his Father on pain of Excommunication.

21. ANOTHER Letter from the ſaid Pope to the Archbiſhop of *Magdeburgh*; dated the 2d of the Calends of *June* 1198. *To the Archbiſhop of* Magdeburgh. 103.

HE orders him to ſollicit the Duke of *Swabia*, Brother and Heir to the deceaſed Emperor *Henry* VI. to make the like Reſtitution to the King of *England*.

22. A Brief from Pope *Innocent*, whereby he confirms the Statute of *Richard* I. enjoining that the Succours drawn from the Churches for enlarging him out of Priſon, be not made a Precedent for the future; dated the 15th of the Calends of *October* in 1198. at *Peruſa*. *Pope* Innocent's *Brief.* 104.

The

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The Reign of John, *ſurnam'd* Lackland.

John.

K. John's *Acceſſion and Title.*

THO *Richard* had appointed *John* his Brother Heir to all his Dominions, yet *John*'s Right was not indiſputable. His Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, Son to *Geoffry* his elder Brother, did not want plauſible Reaſons to diſpute his Title, not only to the Crown of *England*, but to the Provinces of *France* which were in *Richard*'s Inheritance. As for *England*, there had been no Law, nor Regulation, nor Cuſtom, nor Precedent ſince the Conqueſt that cou'd eſtabliſh a Limitation of the Succeſſion of the Crown, as I have already ſhewn. By Conſequence, the Rights both of *John* and *Arthur* were equally liable to embaraſſing Objections, and might be equally ſupported by powerful Arguments. As to the Provinces of *France*, *viz.* *Normandy*, *Guyenne*, *Poictou*, *Saintonge*, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and *Maine*; 'tis very probable that the Right of Succeſſion to them was better ſettled than in *England*: but as they were Fiefs of the Crown of *France*, 'tis apparent that *Philip Auguſtus* as Sovereign, wou'd claim a Right to decide the Queſtion between the two Competitors, and that he wou'd regulate himſelf rather by Intereſt than Juſtice. Were this Cauſe to have been decided regularly in a Court of Juſtice, with all the Forms of Proceeding, the Judges wou'd no doubt have found great difficulties in it. But *John* not thinking it fit to commit his Rights to a Trial of this Nature, choſe rather to take another Courſe. This Prince being in *France* at the time that his Brother *Richard* dy'd, immediately

The Meaſures he took to ſecure the Crown.

mediately ſent over to *England*, *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Marſhal*, (afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*) who were then with him, to diſpoſe the Minds of the *Engliſh* in his Favour. Thoſe two Noblemen who were devoted to his Service, being aſſiſted by the Credit of Queen *Eleanor* who declar'd for *John*, labour'd with ſo much Zeal to gain the Magiſtrates and the common People, that after vaſt difficulty they ſucceeded in what they had undertaken; not by promoting a Determination of the matter in queſtion, between *John* and *Arthur*, by a Decree of the States, or of the Parliament, but by gaining over all thoſe Nobles, one after another, who were in a capacity of oppoſing *John*'s Advancement to the Throne; which was the ſame Method that *William Rufus*, *Henry* I. and *Stephen* took to ſucceed in their Deſigns. *A.* 1199. *The Zeal of his Friends to ſerve him.*

WHILE *John*'s Friends did him good Service in *England*, he labour'd on his own part to ſecure himſelf of the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces of *France* which were part of the Inheritance of *Richard*. The firſt ſtep he took for this purpoſe, was to gain *Robert* of *Turnham*, who deliver'd up to him the late King's Treaſures, which he had in his keeping, together with the two important Cities of *Chinon*, and *Saumur*, of which he was Governour: but this was not enough. The Governour of *Angers* had already deliver'd up that Place to the Duke of *Bretagne*; the Lords of *Poictou*, *Touraine*, *Anjou* and *Maine*, were all diſpos'd to recognize this young Prince for their Sovereign; and it was highly probable that *Philip* wou'd alſo favour him, becauſe it cou'd not but be for the Advantage of *France* that thoſe Provinces ſhou'd be ſeparated from the Crown *He ſeizes the late K's Treaſure.*

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John. Crown of *England*. *John* not being able to provide for every thing at once, apply'd to that which was moſt preſſing, namely, to get himſelf recogniz'd in *Normandy*, the Inhabitants of which Province were ſtill uncertain which ſide to eſpouſe. Therefore he made uſe of the Treaſure that was in his Power, to gain over the principal *Norman* Lords; and at the ſame time rais'd an Army, with which he went and beſieg'd *Mans*, which had declar'd for *Arthur*.

Takes Mans, and raſes the Walls. As ſoon as he had made himſelf Maſter of that City, he caus'd the Walls of it to be demoliſh'd, and treated the Inhabitants with very great Severity. This Inſtance effectually determin'd the *Normans*, who fearingthe like Fate, recogniz'd *John* for their Duke without farther delay, and crown'd him at *Roan*. This done, he haſten'd over to *England*, where every thing was in a readineſs for his Reception: And in a few Days he was crown'd, after the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had made a Speech to the Aſſembly, in which he gave them to underſtand that *John* came not to the Crown but by Election; and that becauſe he was of the Royal Race, he had been thought a fit Perſon to bear Rule over the *Engliſh*. No doubt the Reaſon of that Prelate's expreſſing himſelf after this manner, was to poſtpone the Debate about *John*'s Right and Title, which was too uncertain to be a ſolid Foundation for his Advancement to the Throne.

John's Coronation in Normandy and England.

ABp of Canterbury's Remark on it.

His Return to France, where the Ducheſs of Bretagne puts her ſelf under his Protection. *JOHN* made but a ſhort ſtay in *England* after he was crown'd, becauſe he was preſs'd to return to *France*, where *Philip* had broke the Truce of five Years, which he had made with *Richard*. *Conſtantia*, the Mother of *Arthur*, had already deliver'd up to him all the Places which were in her Power to diſpoſe

of, and had put her ſelf together with the Prince her Son under his Protection, and in his Power. Conſequently, on pretence of acting for *Arthur*, *Philip* had taken Arms again, and ſeiz'd on *Evreux*, and the whole Province of *Maine*. *John* arriving at *Roan*, rais'd an Army there, which ſoon became very numerous by the Troops that were brought to join him from all parts. But *Philip* made him loſe Time, which was very precious to him, by demanding a Truce for only 50 Days, which was eaſily granted to him; *John* having a Notion that the Terror of his Arms had reduc'd his Enemies to take this Step, and that he wou'd ſhortly beg Peace of him. Mean time he ſuffer'd his Army, which conſiſted chiefly of Voluntiers, to diſperſe. But inſtead of the Peace which he expected, *Philip* in an Interview he had with him, demanded for *Arthur* all the Provinces of *France* which *Richard* had poſſeſs'd, and for which he had already receiv'd Homage from that young Prince. And this Demand being rejected, the War broke out again inſtantly.

A. 1200.

Truce for 50 Days.

War breaks out again.

AT the ſame time *Joan*, Queen Dowager of *Sicily*, who had the Count *de Tholouſe* for her ſecond Husband, dy'd at *Roan*, whither ſhe went to ſee the King her Brother. While *John* was taken up with his Siſter's Funeral, *Philip* made a Progreſs in *Anjou*, and ſeiz'd thoſe Places which had declar'd for *John*; but upon ſome Diſguſt which he gave to the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Governor, this young Prince, with the Ducheſs his Mother, and his Governour, went and threw himſelf into the Arms of the King his Uncle. This unforeſeen Stroke was enough to have broke the Meaſures of the King of *France*; but in a little time after, the Ducheſs

Death of the King's Siſter.

John. Ducheſs had Suſpicions of *John*, which engag'd her to go back with her Son to *Philip*.

Conſtance *and* Arthur *return to* Philip. Notwithſtanding all this, *John*'s Affairs were in a happy Situation. He had made an Alliance with the Emperor *Otho* his Nephew, and with the Earl of *Flanders*; and at the ſame time *Guyenne* declar'd for him: for which reaſon *Philip*, who was on the other hand much preſs'd, ſued for a Peace, which was concluded to *John*'s Advantage, to whom *Philip* ſacrific'd the Intereſts of the Duke of *Bretagne*, by engaging to give that Prince no Aſſiſtance. In order to bring *Philip* to this Agreement, *John* promis'd to yield *Auvergne* and *Berry*, for a certain time, to Prince *Lewis* his Son, and to give a Dowry of 20000 Marks with his Niece *Blanche* of *Caſtile*, whom that Prince was to marry. *Arthur* being thus abandon'd by his Protector, was no longer in a condition to oppoſe the King his Uncle, who put himſelf in poſſeſſion of all *Richard*'s Eſtate, and only left him *Bretagne*. The Marriage of *Lewis* with *Blanche* was celebrated not long after at *Roan*.

Good State of John's *Affairs.*

His Treaty with France.

Pr. Lewis *of* France *marry'd to* John's *Niece.*

While *John* was making theſe Acquiſitions, he fell in Love with *Iſabel* of *Angouleſme*, who had been contracted *per verba de præſenti*, to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *Marche*. His Paſſion was ſo violent, that whatever it coſt him he wou'd marry her; tho in order to bring it about, there was a neceſſity of diſſolving *Iſabel*'s Contract, and his own with *Aviſa* of *Gloceſter*. But the Favour and Authority of the Pope ſurmounted all Obſtacles that oppos'd his Happineſs.

John's *Divorce and Marriage.*

Every thing having ſucceeded to him according to his Wiſhes, he return'd to *England*, where he aſſembled a Parliament, of which he deſir'd a Sum of Money to pay the Dowry he had

John *demands a Subſidy of his Parliament.*

had promis'd to his Niece, *Blanche* of *Caſtile*. This ſeem'd a very extraordinary Demand, becauſe no body cou'd conceive what Buſineſs *England* had to pay the Dowry of a *Spaniſh* Princeſs, in Marriage with a Prince of *France*. But the King gave plain Intimation that he wou'd not be deny'd; and as it was the firſt Subſidy he had deſir'd, the Parliament granted it, tho in ſuch a way as ſhew'd they did it with Reluctance. Mean time, the King having made the Parliament truckle upon this occaſion, became more haughty afterwards. 'Tis even ſaid that he began from that Inſtant to aim at making himſelf abſolute, and that the great Men being aware that he had ſuch a View, began on their part to conſider how they ſhou'd oppoſe it. And really he had met with ſuch Mortifications in the firſt Year of his Reign, as were enough to convince him how difficult it wou'd be for him to ſucceed in his Deſigns. *Geoffrey*, Archbiſhop of *York*, his natural Brother, did all he cou'd to oppoſe the raiſing of the Money, which the Parliament had juſt granted to the King; and if that turbulent Prelate cou'd have had his Will, the whole Kingdom wou'd have rebelled. On the other hand, *Hubert*, Archbiſhop of *Cauterbury*, having call'd the Convocation of his Province, without informing the King of it, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, the King forbad them to aſſemble, but notwithſtanding his Prohibition they met.

A. 1201.

ABp of York *oppoſes the raiſing of it.*

ABp of Canterbury *calls a Synod, notwithſtanding the K's Prohibition.*

IT was not only the Clergy that *John* was embroil'd with at the beginning of his Reign, for all the Nobility in general were diſguſted. They had not plac'd him on the Throne, if he had not poſitively promis'd that he wou'd reſtore their Privileges, and yet they did not per-

Diſcontents of the Engliſh.

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John. ceive that he took one Step that had ſuch a Tendency. On the contrary, when he was return'd to *England*, after having ſucceeded ſo happily in *France*, he ſteer'd a Courſe which was directly oppoſite. He had already, as I ſaid above, demanded a Subſidy of the Parliament. Moreover, in a Journey which he made Northwards, he had extorted great Sums from ſome of the Counties, on pretence of puniſhing certain Miſdemeanors which had been committed in his Foreſts. Finally, he gave his Subjects great cauſe of Diſguſt, by debauching their Wives and Daughters, without any regard to the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Families. All this giving the Barons of the Kingdom great ſuſpicion, ſome of them had ſecret Meetings, and engag'd to ſtand by one another. At the ſame time they reſolv'd to take hold of the firſt opportunity that ſhould offer, to convince the King that they did not intend to ſubmit to abſolute Power.

The Nobles reſolve to oppoſe the King.

THE Inhabitants of the Province of *Poictou* having taken a ſtep ſome time after, which gave cauſe to ſuſpect that they had a deſign to revolt, *John* reſolv'd to go and puniſh them, and caus'd all the Vaſſals of the Crown to be ſummon'd to *Portſmouth*, in order to accompany him to *France*. But the Barons ſent him word that they wou'd not obey the Summons, unleſs he wou'd perform his Engagements with reſpect to their Privileges. *John* looking upon this Refuſal as a Rebellion, immediately put himſelf at the Head of ſome Troops, and without giving them time to look about, ſeiz'd ſome of their Caſtles. As they had not yet taken any Meaſures to oppoſe Force with Force, they were oblig'd to promiſe that they wou'd repair to *Portſmouth*, and

Refuſe to attend him into Fran. *He attacks and obliges them to ſubmit.*

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and to give him their Children for Hoſtages. When they were arriv'd at the Rendezvous, the King excus'd them from the Journey on their paying two Marks of Silver for every (Knight's) Fee; after which he repair'd with a few Troops to *Normandy*. *A.* 1200.

Interview and Careſſes betwixt John *and* Philip.

As ſoon as he was arriv'd at *Roan*, *Philip* deſir'd to have a Conference with him, wherein they confirm'd the laſt Treaty which they had made together. *Philip* careſs'd him to the utmoſt, and even prevail'd on him to go and ſee *Paris*, where he gave him ſo many Proofs of a perfect Eſteem and ſincere Friendſhip, that *John* thought him the beſt Friend he had; in which he was mightily deceiv'd, as we ſhall find hereafter.

The 3 *principal Events in this Reign.*

HITHERTO I have ſet down with all the Brevity I cou'd, what happen'd in the two firſt Years of the Reign of *John*; but what fell out afterwards was altogether as conſiderable. In the ſequel of this Reign we find three important Events, which took up the whole of it, and of which I ſhall make 3 ſeparate Articles. The firſt ſhall take in *John*'s Tranſactions with *Philip Auguſtus*. The ſecond his Affairs with Pope *Innocent* III. And the third his Quarrel with his Barons.

BEFORE I paſs to theſe three Articles, I will here point to the Acts which we meet with in the *Fœdera* for the two firſt Years of this Reign.

John's *Bond to the Merchants of* Placentia.

1. AN Engagement of *John* to pay 2125 Marks, which were lent to *Richard* by the Merchants of *Placentia*; dated at *Roan*, *Aug.* 25. 1199.

K. John's *Liege Men.* 115. 116, 117.

2. AN Act whereby *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *Marche*, and *Ralph* Count of *Angi*, declare themſelves King *John*'s Liege Men; dated at *Caen*, *Jan.* 28. 1200.

John. 3. ANOTHER of the like nature by the Viſcount *de Thouars.*

His Treaty with Philip of Fran. 117. 4. A Treaty of Peace between *Philip Auguſtus*, and *John*; dated at *Guleton* in *May* 1200. It has theſe Clauſes.

Præterea dedit nobis Rex Angliæ 20 millia marcarum Sterlingarum, ad pondus & legem in quo fuerunt, vid. 13 ſolidos & 4 denarios pro marca, propter Rechatum noſtrum & propter feoda Britanniæ quæ Nos ipſi demiſimus. Ipſe vero recipiet Arthurum in hominem, ita quod Arthurus Britanniam tenebit de Rege Angliæ.

In conventionibus iſtis cum Rege Angliæ, habemus conventionem, quod ipſe Othoni Nepoti ſuo, nullum auxilium faciet, nec per pecuniam, nec per milites, nec per gentem, nec per ſe, nec per alium, niſi per conſilium & conſenſum noſtrum.

——*De Arthuro ſic erit, quod Rex Angliæ non minuet eum nec de feudo nec de Dominio Britanniæ citra mare, niſi per rectum judicium Curiæ ſuæ.*

Another of King John's *Liege Men.* 123. 5. AN Act whereby *Leolin Ap Jorworth*, Prince of *Wales* declares himſelf King *John*'s Liege Man; dated the 5th of the Ides of *July* 1201. in the 3d Year of King *John.*

His Conventions with Richard's *Q. Dowager.* 124. 6. CONVENTIONS betwixt *John* and the Queen *Berengaria* of *Navarre*, Dowager of *Richard* I. dated *Aug.* 2. 1201. at *Chinon.*

JOHN ſettles a yearly Penſion on her of 1000 Marks, each Mark being 13 Shillings and 4 Pence *Sterling.*

K. of Navarre's *with* John. 126. 7. THE Charter of Don *Sancho* King of *Navarre*, whereby he declares that he makes an Alliance with King *John* againſt all Powers except the King of *Morocco*; dated at *Chinon*, *Oct.* 14. 1201.

ARTI-

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ARTICLE I.

Affairs of John *with* Philip Auguſtus.

WHILE *Philip* careſs'd *John* at *Paris*, he ſecretly ſtir'd up the Earl of *Marche* to take Revenge for the Affront he had receiv'd from him, and promis'd to ſupport him. The Earl ſeeing himſelf ſo ſecure of being ſupported, caball'd among the Inhabitants of *Poictou*, to diſpoſe them to a Revolt, in which he ſucceed with very great Eaſe. *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne* enter'd into the ſame Conſpiracy, with a view of taking ſomething from the King his Uncle, and *Philip* prepar'd likewiſe to improve ſuch Opportunities as might offer. When the Affairs of the Allies were ready, *Philip* had an Interview with *John*, wherein he publickly maintain'd the Intereſts of *Arthur*, and of the Earl of *Marche*, demanding for the one all the Provinces which *John* poſſeſs'd in *France*, and for the other a reaſonable Satisfaction. *John* having rejected theſe Demands with diſdain, was ſummon'd to the Court of Peers; and not appearing, *Philip* attack'd *Normandy*, and ſeiz'd ſome places.

Philip ſpirits up the Earl of Marche *againſt* John.

Arthur *joins them.*

Second Interview betwixt Philip *and* John.

Philip *ſummons him to appear before the Court of Peers, and on his refuſal attacks* Normandy.

AFTER this firſt Campaign, in which *John* made no Effort to defend himſelf, *Philip* granted *Mary* his Daughter in Marriage to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and caus'd the Nuptials to be celebrated at *Paris*. He afterwards ſent this young Prince into *Poictou*, there to command the Rebels of that Province. *Arthur* arriving in it, and hearing that Queen *Eleanor* his Grandmother had ſhut her ſelf up in *Mirabeau*, he went on a ſudden to that Town, and oblig'd the Queen to retire into the Caſtle,

Arthur *marries the K. of* France's *Daughter.*

John. where he beſieg'd her. While he was employ'd in that Siege, *John* made long Marches to deliver the Queen his Mother, and with ſuch Diſpatch that he ſurpriz'd *Arthur* in the Town, and took him Priſoner, together with *Eleanor* his Siſter. As ſoon as he had them in his Power, he caus'd the Duke to be conducted to *Falaize*, and the Princeſs to the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, where, after a tedious Impriſonment, ſhe ended her Days. *John* repair'd not long after to *Falaize*, where he endeavour'd by all manner of ways to oblige the Duke his Nephew to quit the Party of *France*, and to be reconcil'd with him. But the young Prince was inflexible, and inſtead of complying with his Sollicitations, he had the Boldneſs to reproach him with the Uſurpation of the Crown of *England*, and of the Provinces of *France*; adding that he cou'd not but look upon him as his greateſt Enemy, and that he wou'd never ceaſe his Endeavours to wreſt that Right from him, of which he had unjuſtly taken poſſeſſion. After ſo plain a Declaration, *John* deſpairing of gaining him, caus'd him to be conducted to the Caſtle of *Roan*, where, not long after, this young Prince was no more ſeen, and no body knew what became of him; but every body believ'd that the King his Uncle took away his Life: and what confirm'd the Suſpicion was, that *John* took no ſtep to clear himſelf of it, tho what was ſaid of him, was not unknown to him.

Beſieges Mirabeau, John *poſts to its Relief.*

Arthur *is ſent to* Falaize, *and* Eleanor *to* Briſtol.

John *trys in vain to gain him.*

His haughty Anſwer.

He is ſent to Roan, *where he is made away with as ſuppos'd by* John.

John *ſummon'd before the Peers.*

Is ſentenc'd to forfeit his Dominions in France.

It was from this Murder, real or pretended, that *Philip* took occaſion to ſummon *John* to the Court of Peers; and upon his Refuſal to appear, he caus'd all the Lands which *John* poſſeſs'd in *France* to be confiſcated, and in the ſpace of two or three Years he took *Normandy*, and all the other Provinces from him, except *Guyenne*.

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Guyenne. 'Tis by no means neceſſary to give a particular Account of this War, in which *John* made ſo weak a Defence, that he involv'd himſelf in a univerſal Contempt, and was particularly deſpis'd by the *Engliſh* which was very fatal to him afterwards. *A.* 1206. *Loſes* Normandy, *&c. by his Indolence.*

AT length, *Anno* 1205, *John* ſeem'd to take Courage again, as if he was inclinable to make ſome Effort for the Recovery of *Poictou*, and ſummon'd all the Vaſſals of the Crown, to meet him at *Portſmouth*. But as he was going to embark, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke* diverted him from it, by repreſenting to him that he wou'd expoſe himſelf too much, becauſe he had no place in *Poictou* to receive him. As ſoon as he was return'd to *London*, he repented that he had follow'd this Advice; and upon a groundleſs Suppoſition, that thoſe two Noblemen had acted in the Name, and on the behalf of all the others, he puniſh'd this pretended Fault by exacting ſuch Taxes of the Nobility as they did not think he had a Right to impoſe on them, and with which they were very much diſguſted. *He reſolves to recover them, but is diſſuaded from it.*

THE next Year, *Anno* 1206, he carry'd an Army into *Poictou*, and recover'd part of that Province. But while he was making a greater Progreſs, he conſented to a Truce of two Years; after which he was no longer able to carry on the War, by reaſon of the Quarrel betwixt him and the Pope, of which I ſhall treat in the next Article. *Recovers part of* Poictou, *and makes a Truce.*

The Acts relating to this Article are,

1. A Summons to *Arthur* Duke of *Bretagne*, to come and pay Homage to King *John*; dated at *Andel March* 27. 1202. *D. of* Bretagne *requir'd to do Homage.*

John.

2. THE King's Demand upon the Order of the *Ciſtercians*, for a Supply for the War againſt *France*; dated *Dec.* 11. 1202.

Demand of a Supply from the Ciſtercians 132.

3. A Charter ſettling the Dowry of *Iſabella* of *Angouleſme*, Wife to *John*; dated at *Porcheſter May* 5. 1203.

ARTICLE II.

John's *Affairs with the Pope.*

Auguſtin *Friars chuſe their Sub-Prior ABp of* Canterbury.

Hubert Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dying in 1205, a few of the Monks of St. *Auguſtin's* Monaſtery, repair'd in the middle of the Night to Church, where they choſe *Reginald* their Sub-Prior, but they kept this Election ſecret, becauſe they deſign'd to get it confirm'd by the Pope, before the King and the other Monks were inform'd of it. For this purpoſe they manag'd it ſo that *Reginald* was deputed to go to *Rome*, to ſollicit a certain Affair which concern'd the Society. But this indiſcreet Monk aſſuming the Title of Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* as ſoon as he was got over Sea, the King was inform'd of it, and not doubting but the whole Monaſtery was concern'd in it, he threaten'd the Monks, who had no way to appeaſe his Wrath but by chuſing the Biſhop of *Norwich* Archbiſhop, according to his Recommendation. This Election being over, the King put the Prelate Elect in poſſeſſion of the Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick, and the Monaſtery ſent a Deputation to the Pope to have it confirm'd. But *Innocent* III. thought it more proper to annnl the two Elections already made, and to compel the Deputation of Monks to chuſe Cardinal *Langton*, an *Engliſh* Man, who was then at *Rome*. He not only

John *threatens them.* *A new Election.* *Monks ſent to* Rome *for the Pope's Confirmation of it, who annuls both Elections, and orders a third.*

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confirm'd this laſt Election, which he had extorted from the Deputies by his Authority, but he even choſe to conſecrate the new Archbiſhop with his own Hand. That was the Reaſon of the great Quarrel betwixt *John* and *Innocent*, which laſted many Years. I do not propoſe to engage my ſelf in giving an exact Narrative here of all that paſs'd during this famous Quarrel; becauſe I think that it will be ſufficient to run over the principal Circumſtances of it, in order to underſtand the Acts which relate to it. *A.* 1207.

THE Pope in order to ſupport what he had done, contented himſelf at firſt with a kind Repreſentation to the King of the danger he was liable to if he ſhou'd oppoſe it. This he did by ſending a Brief to him, in which he gave him the myſterious Explanation of four Rings which he ſent him, ſet with different Stones, each of which had its particular Explication. But leſt *John* ſhou'd not fully underſtand his Meaning, he ſent him another Brief, to exhort him without any Evaſion to acknowledge Cardinal *Langton* for Archbiſhop, and at the ſame time order'd the Suffragan Biſhops to receive him in that Quality. *John* being nettled at the Pope's Conduct, and perſwading himſelf that he acted in Concert with the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*, he turn'd them all out of their Monaſtery, and baniſh'd them out of the Realm. Then he wrote a reproachful Letter to the Pope, to which the latter return'd an Anſwer mild in appearance, but very mortifying to the King. At laſt *Innocent* perceiving that the King was obſtinately bent againſt acknowledging *Langton*, put the Kingdom under an Interdict, and next Year excommunicated the King; but deferr'd the

Pope's Letter to the K. with 4 Rings.

He exhorts him and the Monks to own Cardinal Langton for ABp.

The K. baniſhes 'em. His ſharp Letter to the Pope and his Anſwer. The Kingdom interdicted and K. excommunicated.

John. the publiſhing of the Excommunication. As *John* was neither belov'd nor eſteem'd by his Subjects, the Pope had a fair Field to improve his Authority; the rather becauſe at the ſame time the King exercis'd ſuch Acts of Violence, as were far from a Tendency to gain the Affections of the Magiſtrates and Populace.

The Pope ſends two Nuncios into England. Mean time, as the Pope was willing to play a ſure Game, he was reſolv'd before he proceeded farther, to be ſure whether the King's Obſtinacy was real or feign'd. With this View he ſent two Nuncios into *England* on pretence of ſolliciting an Accommodation with the King, but it was only to ſound whether he was reſolv'd in good earneſt to maintain the Quarrel. *John* was bubbled by theſe Nuncios. After they had told him that the Pope paſſionately deſir'd to put an end to this Quarrel by gentle Methods, he ſeem'd to be overjoy'd, and made ſuch large Advances to them, that they eaſily perceiv'd that in the Temper they found him in, the Pope wou'd obtain every thing he had a mind to demand of him: Therefore they rejected his Offers, and having broke off the Negotiation, publiſh'd the Excommunication, and retir'd. Not long after this, the Pope abſolv'd *John*'s Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. *John* finding himſelf in this ſad ſituation, rais'd an Army under pretence of carrying the War into *Wales*; for he imagin'd that while he had an Army on foot, the Efforts of the Pope wou'd be in vain: but having receiv'd ſecret Intelligence that he wou'd be betray'd by his own Troops, he disbanded them and retir'd to *London*. In a ſhort time after, the Pope ſolemnly depos'd him, and committed the Execution of the Sentence to *Philip Auguſtus*, who accepted the Com-

John's Advances towards an Accommodation rejected by them.

They publiſh the Excommunication againſt him.

John's *deſign againſt* Wales.

He miſtruſts and disbands his Army.

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Commiſſion, and made prodigious Preparations for putting it in execution. *John* did the like on his part, and the Sea Coaſts on both ſides were cover'd with Troops. *A.* 1212.

Pandulph *the Legate's Arrival in* England.

WHILE the Army of *France* was preparing to embark, a Legate from the Pope nam'd *Pandulph*, arriv'd in *England* by the way of *France*, where he had exhorted *Philip* to behave like a true Champion of the Church. In the Conferences he held with *John*, he repreſented to him that probably he wou'd be overpower'd by the great Force which *France* had on Foot, and that his own Subjects, who pretended a Readineſs to ſerve him, only waited for an Opportunity to deliver him up to his Enemies. This Information, which was agreeable to the Tidings he had already receiv'd, put him into a degree of Confuſion, which it was no hard matter for the Legate to diſcern. *Pandulph* feigning a Compaſſion at that time for his Fate, repreſented to him that he had but one Remedy left, and that was to put himſelf under the Protection of the Pope, who alone was able to ſupport him; but that in order to obtain it, he muſt infallibly engage to do whatever the Pope ſhou'd command him, who as a tender Father did not deſire his Death, but his Converſion. *John* who had taken Alarm, and ſaw himſelf abſolutely reduc'd to the neceſſity of ſubmitting either to the Pope, or to the King of *France*, choſe rather to yield to the former, and promis'd a blind Obedience to the Pope. *Pandulph* contented himſelf at firſt with hinting to him ſome of the Terms on which his Abſolution depended, ſuch as his owning *Langton* for Archbiſhop, recalling the Exiles, making entire Reſtitution to the Church, and paying 8000 *l. Sterling*, in ready Specie.

His Offer of the Pope's Protection.

John *yields to the Pope's Terms of ſubmiſſion.*

Con-

John. Consequently, *John* who suspected nothing farther, promis'd upon Oath to obey the Pope; imagining that his Oath extended only to the Conditions which had been mention'd to him. But as soon as he was bound, the Legate gave him to understand that there was another necessary Condition for obtaining the Peace of the Church, and that was to resign his Crown to the Pope. The Step which *John* had taken, and which was known to the whole World, having entirely alienated the Hearts of his Subjects from him, he was no longer in a condition to refuse what was demanded of him.

Resigns his Crown to him. Therefore the very next Day he went to *Dover* Church with all the Regalia, and surrender'd them to *Pandulph*, in presence of the People, who were Spectators. He afterwards sign'd a Charter, in which he acknowledg'd that without being forc'd to it, and with the view only of atoning for his Sins, he resign'd the Kingdom of *England*, and the Lordship of *Ireland* to the Pope; adding, that it was by consent of the Barons, altho they had not been consulted. The Legate kept the Crown three Days, and then restor'd it to the King, as a signal Mark of the Pope's Goodness. But *John* was fain to own himself the Pope's Vassal, and to do Homage to him, engaging moreover to pay him an Acknowledgment of 1000 *l. Sterling per Annum*, viz. 700 for *England*, and 300 for *Ireland*. When he had made this Step, he was for ever after consider'd as a Prince unworthy to wear the Crown, which he had so shamefully resign'd.

And does Homage to him.

Pandulph *orders* Philip *to disband his Army.* *PANDULPH* having obtain'd what he wanted, return'd immediately to *France*, and order'd *Philip* in the Pope's Name to lay down his Arms, because the King of *England* was become

become an obedient Son of the Church. *Philip* surpriz'd at this Alteration, refus'd at first to obey the Order, and wou'd fain have engag'd his Vaſſals that were with him, to promiſe him upon Oath, that they wou'd not abandon him, even tho he ſhou'd be excommunicated. But the Earl of *Flanders* publickly oppos'd it, and ſaid that it wou'd be much more expedient to reſtore to King *John* what had been taken from him in *France*, than to add a freſh Act of Injuſtice by robbing him alſo of his Crown. *Philip* being offended at the Inſolence of the Earl of *Flanders*, reſolv'd to chaſtiſe him; the rather becauſe he hop'd that wou'd be a means to intimidate his other Vaſſals. With this View he caus'd his Army to march into *Flanders*, where it ſoon made a conſiderable Progreſs. But *John* having ſent his Fleet to the Aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Flanders*; the Earl of *Salisbury*, who commanded it, ſurpriz'd *Philip*'s Navy, and entirely deſtroy'd it. 'Tis ſaid that upon this occaſion, *Philip* loſt 400 Ships. This unexpected Succeſs oblig'd him to retire, and at the ſame time to lay aſide his Deſigns, as well with regard to *Flanders*, as to *England*.

A. 1212.

Philip *refus'd, and trys to bring his Peers to ſtand by him E. of* Flanders *oppoſes it.*

Philip *turns his Arms againſt him.*

His Fleet deſtroy'd by the Engliſh.

BUT on the other Hand, *John* was ſo puff'd up with this Advantage, that he was reſolv'd to improve it, and for that end to carry the War into *France*. With this View he caus'd the Barons to be ſummon'd to *Portſmouth* to attend him, but they refus'd to obey till he was releas'd from the Excommunication. Therefore he was forc'd to ſtay for the arrival of *Langton*, and the baniſh'd Clergy, to whom the King had ſent Letters of Safe Conduct. *Langton* arriving, made the King take an extraordinary Oath, whereby he engag'd to protect Holy

John *inclines to carry the War into* France.

The Barons refuſe to follow before he is abſolv'd.

Langton *arrives, and gives the K. an Oath.*

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John. Holy Church, to re-eſtabliſh the Laws of *Edward* the Confeſſor, to have Juſtice adminiſter'd by the common Courts, and not by arbitrary Decrees as he had hitherto done; to reſtore to Corporations, and to private Men their Liberties and Privileges, and to repair all the Damages he had been the occaſion of, before the enſuing Feſtival of *Eaſter*. After this, the King confirm'd the Charter of Reſignation, which he had given to *Pandulph*, and receiv'd his Abſolution.

Abſolves him.

JOHN being now ſecure of the Pope's Protection, thought he had nothing more to fear; but a little time convinc'd him that it was of no great Service to him. He was ſoon after embroil'd with his Barons, as we ſhall find in the next Article: and the Barons having made an Aſſociation againſt him, he was under the neceſſity of imploring the Pope's Aſſiſtance, who immediately ſent a Legate into *England*. But this Legate wou'd do nothing in the King's Favour, till he had reſign'd his Crown to the Pope a ſecond time, and diſpatch'd a new Charter more extenſive than the former. After this, he took off the Interdict, which the Kingdom had till then lain under, and diſcharg'd the King for a very moderate Sum, from the Reſtitution which he was bound to make.

Barons Aſſociation againſt the King.

Arrival of another Legat from the Pope to whom the K. reſigns the Crown a 2d time.

The Interdict on the Kingdom taken off.

The Acts which relate to the ſecond Article are,

Pope Innocent's *Letter to* K. John. 139.

1. *INNOCENT* the Third's Brief to King *John*, when he ſent him the 4 Rings; inſerted in the Year 1205.

Truce with Philip. 141.

2. A Treaty of Truce for 2 Years betwixt *Philip* and *John*; dated *Octob.* 26. 1206. at *Thoars*.

3. ANO-

3. ANOTHER Letter from *Innocent* III. to *John*; dated at *Viterbo*, the 3d of the Nones of *September* 1207. *A.* 1209. *Other Letters from the Pope to the K.* 142. 143.

'HE exhorts him to do Juſtice to the Queen 'Berengaria, his Siſter-in-Law.

4. ANOTHER from the Pope to the King, relating to the Election of *Stephen Langton*; dated at St. *John Lateran*, in the 10th Year of the Pontificate, *A. D.* 1207.

5. ANOTHER from the Pope to the *Engliſh* Nobility on the ſame Subject; dated *Anno* 1208. at St. *Peter's* at *Rome*. It has theſe Clauſes. *To the* Engliſh *Nobility.* 147.

Vos igitur quorum fidem atque prudentiam, Regis & Regni neceſſitates debent efficaciter experiri, ſic in articulo mali hujus, intentioni præfati Regis occurratis fideliter & prudenter, ut non patiamini Vos & Regnum ejus in illam perturbationem induci, quâ (quod abſit) de facili nequeat expediri.

Nos enim qui pro juſtitia cauſæ hujus, ſi forſitan expediret, certare uſque ad mortem nullatenus vitaremus, à defenſione libertatis Eccleſiaſticæ manum Apoſtolicam retrahere non diſponimus, quæ profecto abbreviata non eſt, imo per Dei gratiam, ſic extenta quod in quem fuerit aggravata, ſpiritualiter & temporaliter, ingens pondus oppreſſionis inducere valebit in ipſum.

6. A Brief of *Innocent* III. to *John*, in favour of the Queen *Berengaria*; dated at the *Lateran* the 12th of the Calends of *Feb.* 1209. and the 11th of the Pontificate. *To the K. in favour of Q.* Berengaria. 152.

7. AN Engagement of the King of *Scotland* to pay *John* 15000 Marks, and to give him his two Daughters in Hoſtage; dated at *Northampton Auguſt* 7. 1209. *K. of* Scotland's *Bond to K.* John. 155.

'*JOHN* being deſirous to put himſelf in-'to a Warlike Poſture during his Broil with 'the Pope, pick'd a Quarrel with the King of '*Scotland*, and rais'd an Army to make War

John.

'upon him; which was the thing that produc'd 'this Engagement on the part of the King of 'Scotland.

Pope's menacing Letter to John. 165.

8. *INNOCENT* IIId's menacing Brief to *John*, relating to his Excommunication; dated in 1213.

His Propoſal to him of the Terms of Accommodation. 166.

9. THE Conditions of Accommodation propos'd by the Pope; dated in the Calends of *March* 1213. the 15th of the Pontificate, at the *Lateran.*

I. THAT *John* ſhall bind himſelf by Oath to obey the Pope in all the Articles for which he ſtands excommunicated.

II. THAT he ſhall receive to favour Archbiſhop *Langton*, and all the other Exiles.

III. IF he forfeit his Word, he ſhall loſe the Cuſtody of the vacant Churches, and the Right of Patronage to all the Churches of *England.*

IV. HE ſhall ſend a Safe Conduct in form of Letters Patent to the Archbiſhop, and to all the other Exiles, before they return to *England.*

V. HE ſhall make entire Satisfaction for all Damage without Exception.

VI. HE ſhall pay 8000 *l. Sterling* immediately after the Arrival of the Perſon who ſhall come to abſolve him in the Name of the Pope, which Sum is to be divided betwixt him and ſeveral other Biſhops.

VII. HE ſhall reſtore all the Eſtate, Real and Perſonal, taken from the Biſhops, Clergy, and Churches.

VIII. HE ſhall revoke all the Outlawrys granted, as well againſt the Laity, as againſt the Clergy.

10. THE

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10. The Pope's Instructions to *Pandulph* and *Durand*; dated the same Year. *A.* 1214.

'These Instructions are agreeable to the Terms of the foregoing Act. But there being not a word in them of the Resignation of the Crown, 'tis probable that this Article was reserv'd for secret Instructions. *Pope's Instructions to his Legates.* 167.

11. Conventions betwixt *John* and the Earl of *Holland*; dated at *London*, *March* 29. 1213. John's *Agreement with the E. of* Holland 168.

'The Earl declares himself the King's Liege Man, and promises to support him.

12. The Form of the Peace betwixt *John* and the Church; dated *May* 13. 1213. at *Dover*. John's *Reconciliation to the Church.* 170.

'This is agreeable with the Terms above mention'd.

13. A safe Conduct for the Cardinal Archbishop, *&c.* dated at the Church of *Ewel*, *May* 24. 1213. *Pass for the Exiles.* 171.

14. The Act by which *John* resign'd his Crown to the Pope; dated at St. *Paul's* Church *London*, *Oct.* 3. 1213. *His Resignation of the Crown.* 176.

'This is the second Resignation, the first having been made at *Dover*.

15. The Pope's Order to his Legate the Cardinal *de Tusculum*, to burn all the Letters obtain'd against King *John*; dated from the *Lateran* at *Rome* the 11th of the Calends of *November*, in the 16th of the Pontificate, *A D.* 1213. *Pope orders the Letters against* Joh. *to be burnt.* 180.

16. A Treaty of Truce betwixt *Philip* and *John*, at *Chinon* in *September* 1214. *Truce with* France. 192.

'It was to continue till *Easter* 1215. and from thence forward for 5 Years.

17. Letter from *William Mauclere*, Ambassador from *John* to the Pope; inserted in 1214. *Letter to* John *from his Ambassador at* Rome. 184.

John.

'He acquaints him that the Barons com-
'plain to the Pope.

John's *Bond to the ABp.* 187. 18. *JOHN*'s Engagement to pay 12000 Marks every Year to the Archbiſhop, till the Reſtitution is compleated; dated at *Angers June* 17. 1214.

His Order for extirpating Hereticks. 195. 19. ORDER from the King to the Seneſchal of *Guyenne*, to extirpate certain Hereticks; dated *Nov.* 20. 1214. at *London*.

ARTICLE III.

John's *Quarrel with his Barons.*

Reaſons of the Barons Diſcontent with King John. WHEN the Barons of *England* conſented to the Advancement of *John* to the Throne, in oppoſition to the Pretenſions of the Duke of *Bretagne*, it was owing only to the Aſſurances that had been given them on his part, that he wou'd reſtore them to their Privileges, for which the Kings his Predeceſſors ſince the Conqueſt had ſhewn little Regard. But when he was ſeated on the Throne, he did not diſcover the leaſt Care to keep his Promiſes. This bred Suſpicions in the Breaſts of the great Men, which became as it were certain, when he was ſeen upon ſeveral Occaſions to exerciſe an Arbitrary Power, from which all the great Men paſſionately deſir'd to be deliver'd. On the other hand, his Conduct did not contribute to procure him the Love and Eſteem of his Subjects. The Diſſolution of his Marriage with *Aviſa* of *Glouceſter*, the Indolence with which he ſuffer'd the Provinces of *France* to be taken from him, the Murder of his Nephew the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Reſignation of his Crown twice to the Pope, and the Servitude to which he had ſubmitted *it*; finally,

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finally, the Arrogance with which he treated the Nobility, as well as the reſt of his Subjects, had render'd him odious and contemptible both to the Nobles and Commons. The Barons thought this a favourable Juncture to be reſtor'd to their Privileges, and reſolv'd to improve it. 'Tis highly probable that Cardinal *Langton*, before he ſet out from *Rome*, was enter'd into the Conſpiracy, if he was not himſelf the Author of it. Otherwiſe, 'tis hardly to be imagin'd, that before he gave the Abſolution to the King, he ſhou'd try to make him take the Oath I mention'd above, in which there were ſeveral things that had no relation to his Quarrel with the Pope. 'Tis not at all likely that he receiv'd any ſuch Order from the Pontiff, who being become Sovereign Lord of *England*, cou'd not reap any Advantage from enlarging the Privileges of the *Engliſh*. Be this as it will, the deſign of the Barons broke out immediately after *John* receiv'd the Abſolution. They had already refus'd to accompany him to *France*, on pretence that he was excommunicated; and when that Pretence was taken away by his Abſolution, they had another ready, which was, that by their long ſtay at *Portſmouth*, they had ſpent the Money which they had deſign'd for the Campaign. The King being diſguſted at this denial, was reſolv'd to puniſh them; but *Langton* publickly oppos'd it, and threaten'd to excommunicate all that ſhou'd take up Arms before the Interdict was remov'd. This Menace oblig'd *John* to deſiſt from his Undertaking.

A. 1212.

John *reſolves to puniſh the Barons, for which* Langton *threatens him. The King deſiſts.*

LANGTON having not long after recover'd an authentick Copy of the Charter which *Henry* I. had formerly granted to his Subjects, aſſembled the chief Barons; and having ſhewn

Langton *gives the Barons a ſight of the Charter of* it Henry. I.

John. it to them, ſtrenuouſly exhorted them to lay hold of it, and to take advantage of the King's Folly for the Re-eſtabliſhment of their antient Privileges. The Barons were pleas'd to ſee this Charter, which confirm'd the Liberties the *Engliſh* had enjoy'd under the Dominion of the *Saxon* Kings, and made a Confederacy in order to obtain a Confirmation of it, and for their mutual Defence. *John* being inform'd of it, and dreading the Conſequences, implor'd the Pope's Protection, and took the Croſs as if he had a deſign to go and fight the Infidels. It was upon this occaſion that the Pope ſent a Legate into *England*, who oblig'd the King to reſign his Crown to the Pope a ſecond time, but did nothing in his favour except taking off the Interdict, under which the Kingdom had groan'd for many Years. But *John* thought this was enough to let the Barons ſee that the Pope's Favour wou'd not fail him in caſe of need. Conſequently, thinking he had ſufficiently provided for his own Safety, he went to *Rochel* with a numerous Army, and recover'd *Poictou* with great eaſe, becauſe the King of *France* was employ'd elſewhere. From thence he march'd into *Anjou*; but Prince *Lewis*, Son to *Philip*, ſtopp'd him in his Career, ſo that *John* was afraid to give him Battle, becauſe he found himſelf abandon'd by the Inhabitants of *Poictou*. After this, the News of the Victory at *Bovines*, which *Philip* had juſt gain'd over the Emperor and the Earl of *Flanders*, convincing *John* that he ſhou'd ſoon have this Enemy upon his Back, he deſir'd a Truce, which was granted him for five Years.

Barons League againſt the King.

John *ſues to the Pope for Protection.*

Reſigns the Crown a ſecond time.

Carries the War into Fran. *and ſubdues* Poictou.

Pr. Lewis *ſtops his Progreſs.*

Philip's *Victory at* Bovines.

John *obtains a Truce.*

This Truce only procur'd *John* a little Reſpit, in order to caſt him into greater Troubles. He had domeſtick Enemies about him, who were

as

as much to be fear'd as the King of *France*. The Barons, as I have ſaid, were reſolv'd to improve the favourable Conjuncture ariſing from the univerſal Contempt of the People for the King, and from the Situation he ſtood in with regard to the Powers abroad. They knew well that *John* wou'd not find many Friends in *England*, that he cou'd hope for no Aſſiſtance either from *France* or *Scotland*, much leſs from the Emperor his Nephew, and from the Earl of *Flanders*, who were quite ruin'd by the Loſs of the Battle of *Bovines*. In purſuance of this Deſign they aſſembled at *St. Edmondsbury*, and after having renew'd their Aſſociation, went in a Body to the King, and preſented him a very reſpectful Petition, whereby they deſir'd the Confirmation of the Charter granted by *Henry*, and the Re eſtabliſhment of the *Saxon* Laws. The King, who only ſought to amuſe them, deſir'd time to conſider of it, and promis'd to anſwer their Petition at the enſuing Feaſt of *Eaſter*. During this the Barons made ready to compel the King if it was neceſſary, to grant them their Demands, and the King wrote to the Pope to deſire his Protection againſt the Barons. As this is an Affair of vaſt Importance, and what was attended with great Conſequences, the Reader will not be ſorry to ſee here in a few words, wherein conſiſted the Rights of the Barons, and the Reaſons which the King had for rejecting their Demand.

A. 1212.

The Barons Aſſociation for the Reſtoration of their Liberties.

Examination of the Pretenſions of the K. and the Barons.

'TIS very certain, whatever ſome Hiſtorians may ſay of it, that *William* the Conqueror oppreſs'd the *Engliſh* very much; whether it was from political Reaſons, or to puniſh them for the frequent Rebellions which they were guilty of in his Reign, this is not a place to examine: but it cannot be deny'd

John. that he depriv'd the *Engliſh* Noblemen of the Fiefs which they held of the Crown, in order to give them to the Natives of *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, and others who had ſerv'd him in his Conqueſt. This Violence was ſtrain'd to ſuch a Point, that at laſt there was ſcarce an *Engliſh* Nobleman that poſſeſs'd a Fief, was it ever ſo inconſiderable. The *Saxon* Laws reduc'd into a Body by *Edward* the Confeſſor, were not mention'd at that time without Ridicule. If *William* the Conqueror did not expreſly repeal them, at leaſt no regard was had to them in Trials. At that time the new Poſſeſſors of the Fiefs did not think it a Grievance that the King made uſe of a deſpotick Power, becauſe it was in their favour. But when at laſt they ſaw themſelves in quiet poſſeſſion of the Eſtates which had belong'd to the *Engliſh*, they began to think that the ſame Royal Authority which had granted them thoſe Eſtates, had alſo a Right to take them away. Then it was that they wiſh'd to be incorporated with the *Engliſh*, and to enjoy the ſame Privileges which the *Engliſh* had enjoy'd under the *Saxon* Kings. Opportunities naturally preſented for their improving this Claim; for the three firſt Kings who ſucceeded *William* the Conqueror, having no Right to the Crown, were oblig'd to promiſe whatever the Barons had a mind to require of them, before they cou'd aſcend the Throne. This Promiſe was ill obſerv'd by *William Rufus*. *Henry* I. who had ſo much reaſon to dread the Attacks of his elder Brother *Robert*, liſted the Barons in his Intereſt, by granting them a very advantageous Charter; but when he found himſelf well eſtabliſh'd, he diſpens'd with himſelf from obſerving it. *Stephen* behav'd after the ſame manner; and the War

War which he had to carry on againſt *Maud*, proceeded only from the Diſcontent of the Barons, who complain'd that he did not perform his Promiſes. Mean time theſe Engagements of thoſe Kings, tho ill obſerv'd, did nevertheleſs give the Barons a Right, which otherwiſe they cou'd not have legally claim'd. For it was in the Breaſt of the Conqueror whether he wou'd give them the Lands he had taken from the *Engliſh*, without thereto annexing the Privileges which the old Poſſeſſors enjoy'd, and which the new ones had no right to demand of him or his Succeſſors. All the Right of the Barons was therefore only founded upon the repeated Promiſes, and upon the Charters of ſome of the Kings who were the Conqueror's Succeſſors. But as thoſe Charters, and thoſe Promiſes were never duly obſerv'd, *John* did not intend to be any more bound than his Predeceſſors. From the non-performance of their Promiſes, he deriv'd an Argument which he thought very plauſible for refuſing them Privileges they had never enjoy'd, tho they had offer'd to extort them from the preceding Kings. That was the true Foundation of *John*'s Quarrel with the Barons, of which I ſhall now briefly proſecute the Narrative. *A.* 1212.

K. John cauſes the Barons to renew their Fealty and Homage.

BEFORE the Expiration of the Term fix'd by the King for returning his Anſwer, he caus'd all the Barons to renew their Homage and Oath of Allegiance. But this did not hinder their repairing to *Stamford*, to the number of above 1000 Knights well arm'd and mounted, beſides Eſquires and Domeſticks. *John* who ſtay'd for them at *Oxford* to give them an Anſwer from his own Mouth, not thinking it fit to ſtand to their Mercy, ſent *William Marſhal* Earl of *Pembroke* to demand of

They preſs the King for his Anſwer to their Petition.

John. them what were thoſe Laws and Liberties which they talk'd of in their Petition. They anſwer'd this Queſtion by a long Memorial, in which they inſerted all the Articles contain'd in the Charter of *Henry* I. and ſent word to the King that that was what they deſir'd, and that if they cou'd not obtain it by fair means, they were reſolv'd to make uſe of Force. *John* having read this Memorial, haughtily rejected it, ſaying that he wou'd not make himſelf the Slave of his Subjects. Hereupon the Barons rais'd Troops, choſe a General, and commenc'd Hoſtilities. During this, the King retir'd to the *Tower* of *London*, from whence he did not dare to ſtir, becauſe he had not had time to aſſemble his Troops, and becauſe moreover he had few Friends in the Kingdom. But not long after, the Barons being introduc'd into *London* by the Citizens, beſieg'd the King in the *Tower*, and caus'd it to be publiſh'd thro'out the Realm, that they wou'd not ſuffer a Neutrality, and that ſuch as did not join with them ſhou'd be treated as Enemies. As they were in a capacity to execute their Menaces, and as the King was beſieg'd in the *Tower*, their Party grew ſo ſtrong, that the King finding himſelf abandon'd by every body, ſubmitted at laſt to all the Conditions they were pleas'd to require of him. For this purpoſe he went with all the Barons to a place call'd *Runnemede*, between *Staines* and *Windſor*, where he ſign'd two Charters drawn up by the Barons, who had therein inſerted what they had a mind to. The firſt of theſe Charters was call'd the Charter of Liberties: or the Great Charter, and the other the Charter of the Foreſts. The firſt has been ſince that time regarded as the Baſis of the Liberties

He rejects it.

They chuſe a General, and begin Hoſtilities.

They beſiege the K. in the Tower of London.

He ſubmits.

And ſigns Magna Charta and the Charter of Foreſts.

of *Engliſhmen*, and from which they have never departed, whatſoever Efforts *John* and ſome of his Succeſſors have made uſe of to free themſelves from this Yoke. *A.* 1 12.

JOHN had no ſooner ſign'd theſe two Charters, than he ſought for means to revoke them. But finding almoſt the whole Kingdom ſet againſt him, he ſent Perſons into foreign Countries, there to raiſe Troops, with a Power to engage in his Name, that he wou'd give to thoſe who wou'd come and ſerve him, the forfeited Eſtates of the rebellious Barons: At the ſame time he wrote to the Pope to beg his Aſſiſtance and Protection. While he waited the Iſſue of theſe Precautions, he retir'd to the *Iſle of Wight* with a very ſmall Retinue, leſt if he took too much Company with him, his Secret ſhou'd be found out. Not long after, *Innocent* III. ſent a thundring Brief to the Barons, in which he commanded them to give up the Charters they had extorted from the King, if they wou'd not draw down upon their Heads the Indignation of the Holy See. But the Barons, without regarding this Order, ſtill went on as they had begun, and put themſelves in poſſeſſion of *Rocheſter*, which was deliver'd up to them by Cardinal *Langton*. It was in this place that *John* had erected a great Magazine of Ammunition and Proviſion for his Service in caſe of need. Mean time the Pope, being to the laſt degree provok'd at the Diſobedience of the Barons, repeal'd the two Charters by his ſingle Authority, and loos'd the King from the Oath he had taken to obſerve them. At the ſame time, the King being inform'd that the Agents, whom he had ſent into Foreign Countries, had ſucceeded perfectly well, repair'd to *Dover*, there to wait for the Troops which

He repents the ſigning of thoſe Charters, and ſollicits Levies of Troops abroad.

Demands the Pope's Aſſiſtance.

Retires to the Iſle of Wight.

Popethreatens the Barons.

They deſpiſe him, and ſeize Rocheſter.

Pope annuls the Charters, and abſolves the K. from his Oath.

John.

which were brought to him in great numbers. As soon as they were arriv'd, he put himself at the Head of them; and after having retaken *Rochester*, he ravag'd the Lands of his Enemies without Mercy. Not long after this, the Pope fulminated against the Barons a Bull of Excommunication, which was publish'd by *Pandulph* and the Bishop of *Norwich*, upon the refusal of *Langton*, who had receiv'd an Order to publish it, but excus'd himself from obeying it, on pretence that the Pope was surpriz'd into it. But the Barons did not value this Excommunication, because none of them in particular was nam'd in the Bull. This was the reason that the Pope sent a second, wherein all, and every one in particular were excommunicated by Name, and moreover their Lands and the City of *London* were put under an Interdict. But this was not more effectual than the former. The Barons hinder'd it from being publish'd in *London*, maintaining that the Pope exceeded his Power, by meddling with Affairs which did not concern him.

Foreign Troops come over to John *in great numbers, with which the K. retakes* Rochester, *and ravages the Kingdom.*

Pope's Excommunication of the Barons.

His Interdict of the City of London, *hinder'd from being publish'd there.*

MEAN time the King still continuing to ravage the whole Kingdom with his Army of Foreigners, the Barons at length chose the desperate Expedient to call to their assistance Prince *Lewis*, Son to *Philip Augustus*, by promising to own him for their King; and this Prince, by the Consent of the King his Father, accepted of the Invitation. Immediately after this, great Preparations were made in *France*, notwithstanding the Pope's Menaces, to which *Philip* had no regard; and *Lewis* went over to *England* with a good Body of *French* Troops. Then the Barons Affairs began to look with a new Face. *Lewis* besieg'd and took *Rochester*; and tho the Abbot of St.

John *continues his Ravages, and the Barons offer the Crown to Pr.* Lewis *of* France.

Philip promises to assist them.

His Preparations for it notwithstanding the Pope's Menaces.

Rochester taken.

Augustin

Auguſtin by the Pope's Order had ſolemnly declar'd him excommunicate, the Barons own'd him as King of *England*, and took the Oath of Allegiance to him. The King of *Scotland* alſo went to pay him Homage for the Lands which he held of the Crown of *England*. Finally, *Lewis* brought all the Southern Counties under his Subjection in a little time; and *Dover*, of which *Hubert de Burgh* was Governour, was the only place that he beſieg'd in vain. *A.* 1198. *Lewis is excommunicated but receives the Allegiance of the* Engliſh, *and the Homage of the K. of* Scotland. *His victorious Progreſs.*

THO *John* had a conſiderable Army, yet as it was compos'd for the moſt part of *French* Officers and Soldiers, he was afraid to truſt to his Troops, or to offer the Enemy Battle. On the contrary, he endeavour'd to avoid it by marching into the Eaſtern Counties, where he committed great Ravages. But hearing that *Lewis* and the Barons were preparing to follow him, he reſolv'd to retire into *Lincolnſhire*. He narrowly miſs'd periſhing with his whole Army as he paſs'd over a large Moraſs, by ſtaying ſo long till the Tide overtook him. But he cou'd not ſave his Baggage, his Money, nor his Crown, which he caus'd to be carry'd with him. His Grief for this Loſs threw him into a violent Fever, which in a few Days carry'd him to his Tomb, after he had made a Will, whereby he appointed his eldeſt Son *Henry*, who was twelve Years of Age, to be his Heir. He had alſo a ſecond Son nam'd *Richard*, who was Earl of *Cornwal*. John's *Ravages.* *He loſes all his Baggage, in which was his Treaſure and Crown.* *His Sickneſs and Death.*

The Acts which relate to the Third Article, are,

1. A Brief from *Innocent* III. to Cardinal *Langton*, for accomodating the Diſpute betwixt King *John* and the Barons; dated at *Rome* the 14th of the Calends of *April* 1215. *Pope's Letters about the Barons Confederacy againſt K.* John.

12. ANO- 196, 197.

John. 2. ANOTHER from the ſame Pope to the Barons, of the ſame Date.

From John to the Pope. 200. 3. A Letter from *John* to the Pope; dated at *Odiham*, *May* 29. 1215.

'HE ſays, that the Revolt of the Barons 'hinder'd him from performing his Vow with 'relation to the Voyage to the *Holy Land*.

Agreement between the K. and Barons. 201. 4. AN Agreement betwixt the King and Barons, inſerted *Anno* 1215.

'IT is ſaid that the Barons ſhall keep the City of *London*, and that the Archbiſhop ſhall keep the *Tower*.

King's Letter to the Pope. 202. 5. A Letter from the King to the Pope without a Date. It has this Clauſe,

Pro certo habentes, quod poſt Deum, perſonam veſtram & auctoritatem Apoſtolicæ Sedis habemus unicum & ſingulare præſidium, ac ſub veſtri confidentia patrocinii reſpiramus.

Bull diſſolving the King's agreement with the Barons. 205. 6. A Bull which diſſolves the Agreement made betwixt the King and the Barons; dated at *Anagni* the 8th of the Calends of *Sept.* 1215.

'HE exhorts them to depart from the A-'greement they have made with the King.

K's Letter to the Pope. 207. 7. THE King's Letter to the Pope; dated *Sept.* 13. 1215. at *Dover*.

'HE tells him that the Barons are revolted, 'becauſe he has reſign'd his Crown to him.

Barons excommunicated. 208. 211. 8. A Bull containing a General Excommunication of the Barons; it has no Date.

9. ANOTHER containing a particular Excommunication; dated at *Rome* the 17th of the Calends of *January* 1216.

The

The Reign of HENRY III.

IN order to give a tolerable Idea of this Reign which laſted 56 Years, I find my ſelf oblig'd to divide it into two Parts; the firſt of which ſhall contain what paſs'd in *England* from the Death of King *John*, to the Year 1254. This firſt Part ſhall be divided into five Articles, *viz.* 1. The Domeſtick Affairs. 2. *Henry* IIId's Affairs with *France*. 3. The Affairs with *Scotland*. 4. His Affairs with the *Welch*. 5. The Behaviour of the Popes towards *England*.

THE ſecond Part ſhall contain what paſs'd from the Year 1254, to the Death of *Henry* III. which happen'd in 1272, and ſhall be divided into three Articles, *viz.* 1. What relates to the Grant of *Sicily* made by the Pope to *Henry* for *Edmund* his ſecond Son. 2. The War of the Barons. 3. The Remainder of this Reign, from the end of the Civil War to the Death of the King.

PART I.

ARTICLE I.

Of Domeſtick Affairs.

UNDER this Article we find a great Crowd of Facts, which, tho of little importance in themſelves, and independent on one another, ſerve however to diſcover the Temper and Character of *Henry* III. and his Miniſters,

Hen. III. sters, and to give an Idea of the Government of this Prince, which at last produc'd a Civil War. Among these Facts, I shall single out some of the most considerable, and especially those relating to the Efforts made by the King and the Barons severally, to annul or to maintain the Charters granted by King *John*.

General Character of his Reign.

Thro'out the whole History of this Reign, we see a King of very mean Merit, who was inconstant, capricious and imprudent, Ministers who were insolent and haughty, kept no measures with the Subjects, and shew'd no regard to the Welfare of the Kingdom; and on the other hand, a Class of stubborn Lords, who wou'd not suffer themselves to be stripp'd of what they had gain'd in the preceding Reign, nor let go the opportunity which a weak King, who was not of a martial Temper, offer'd them to maintain themselves in their Privileges. Finally, we see the Popes exercising a barefac'd Tyranny over the Clergy of *England*, and treating that Kingdom as a conquer'd Country. To this may be refer'd almost all the Events of the Reign of *Henry* III. of which I shall only run over some of the chief, for fear of making this Extract too long.

His Coronation.

Anno 1216. As soon as *John*'s Eyes were clos'd, the Earl of *Pembroke* who had always been attach'd to the Service of that Prince, assembled the few Lords who adher'd to his Party, and with their Approbation, caus'd *Henry*, *John*'s eldest Son, who was but in the 12th Year of his Age, to be crown'd; and by the same Lords he himself was declar'd Regent.

E. of Pembroke declar'd Regent.

Defection of the Barons from Lewis.

The Coronation of the new King being notify'd to the whole Kingdom, several Barons fell off from *Lewis*'s Interest, their Aversion to

John

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John being extinct with his Death. Beſides, they were not pleas'd with a Foreign Prince, who miſtruſting the Fidelity of the *Engliſh*, committed the Cuſtody of Places to none but *Frenchmen*. This Diſcontent, the Death of *John*, the tender Age of *Henry*, who was not guilty of the Faults of the King his Father, the Abilities of the Earl of *Pembroke* who knew how to make a good uſe of thoſe Diſpoſitions, the Favour and Protection of the Pope, which was at that time a very conſiderable Support, fram'd a Party for the young King, which put him in a Capacity to reſiſt his Enemy. *A.* 1217.

Anno 1217. As the Detail of this War wou'd be very needleſs in this place, I ſhall only ſay in one word, that *Lewis* was at length reduc'd to the Extremity of deſiring Peace, that he might return to *France* with Safety. This Peace was very ſoon concluded. *Lewis* who was block'd up in *London*, only ſtudy'd by what means to free himſelf from the Danger to which he was render'd liable by the Revolt of the *Engliſh*, who were viſibly inclin'd to favour the new King. The Regent on his part deſir'd nothing ſo much as to ſee the Kingdom clear'd of the *French*, and almoſt all the Barons were of the ſame mind; and tho they ſtill reſerv'd a ſeeming Attachment to Prince *Lewis's* Party, it was only in hopes of finding their Security in a general Treaty. For *Lewis* proteſted that he wou'd not ſign a Treaty, which did not ſecure his Friends againſt all manner of Proſecution. The Regent did not think fit to refuſe this Condition, becauſe his View was to reſtore Tranquillity to the Kingdom, and to cauſe his young Pupil to be recogniz'd in all places. Yet 'tis pretended, and perhaps not without ſome Foundation, that *Lewis*, in

Lewis begs and obtains a Peace.

Is block'd up in London.

The View of the Barons in his Party.

Hen. III. order to obtain this Point, with the Liberty of returning home, made a Promiſe, that when he was upon the Throne of *France*, he wou'd reſtore the Provinces which *Philip* his Father had taken from King *John*. Indeed the Treaty I have been ſpeaking of, made no mention of ſuch Engagement: but the Hiſtorians of both Nations have aſſerted it very poſitively, and we diſcover ſome Traces of it in the Scruples which were afterwards made upon this Head by St. *Lewis*, that Prince's Son.

Henry's Entry into London upon the withdrawing of Lewis.

LEWIS being withdrawn, *Henry* made his Entry into *London*, and ſwore to obſerve the two Charters of the King his Father. Thus the whole Kingdom was reconcil'd to the Obedience of young *Henry*, and Peace was entirely reſtor'd.

E. of Pembroke's *regard to K.* John's 2 *Charters.*

Anno 1218. THERE were indeed ſome turbulent Spirits who ſtill endeavour'd to excite Diſturbances, but they were reduc'd to their Duty. As the Efforts which *John* had made to deliver himſelf from the Yoke of the two Charters, had been the ſole Cauſe of the preceding War, the Earl of *Pembroke* took care to let the Barons know that it was his Intention to have them punctually obſerv'd, by giving ſeveral Orders divers times upon that Head.

His Death.

Anno 1219. BUT this great Man, who had the welfare of his King and Country ſo much at Heart, dying not long after, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, a Native of *Poictou*, who was made Regent in his place, and *Hubert de Burgh*, who had the Poſt of Chief Juſtice, happen'd to be of a very different Character; and were the cauſe of all the Misfortunes with which *England* was oppreſs'd in this Reign. Theſe two Men, who govern'd the Kingdom during the

The contrary Principles of the Biſhop of Wincheſter *his Succeſſor.*

the Minority, inſpir'd the young King with Principles directly contrary to the Liberties eſtabliſh'd by the two Charters; and during their Adminiſtration, they continually infring'd them. *Henry* being come to Age, and having imbib'd the ſame Principles, try'd all poſſible Efforts to free himſelf from the Yoke of thoſe Charters; and the Barons continually ſought ways and means to maintain them. This is the principal Subject of the Domeſtick Affairs of this Reign, of which I ſhall now run over the moſt conſiderable Events, according to the Order of Years in which they happen'd. *A.* 1220.

Henry aims to ſet aſide the Charters, and the Barons to maintain them.

Anno 1220. *HENRY* was crown'd a ſecond time with more Solemnity than he was before. Next Year a Nobleman nam'd *William* of *Albemarle* rebell'd, and gave the Regent ſome Diſturbance.

He is crown'd a 2d time. E. of Albemarle's Revolt.

A Quarrel which happen'd in 1222, betwixt the Inhabitants of *Weſtminſter*, and the Citizens of *London*, upon a trifling Account, occaſion'd a violent Tumult in *London*. A Citizen thereof, whoſe Name was *Conſtantine*, march'd at the Head of the Populace to *Weſtminſter*, crying out as they paſs'd, *Montjoye St. Denis*, which was the Military ſhout of the *French*; and reveng'd an Affront which the Citizens of *London* pretended to have receiv'd from their Neighbours. The Tumult being over, *Hubert de Burgh* the Chief Juſtice, went to the *Tower*, of which he was Governour; and by good Cunning wheedled the principal Rioters thither, of which number was *Conſtantine*, whom he detain'd and hang'd upon the Spot. Next Day he caus'd others of the moſt noted Rioters to be taken out of their Houſes, and had their Feet and Hands cut off.

Quarrel betwixt London and Weſtminſter.

The Rioters puniſh'd arbitrarily.

Hen. III. *Anno* 1223. THO the Puniſhment of the guilty Perſons was juſt, yet as it was inflicted by Arbitrary Power, the Parliament which aſſembled ſoon after was very much diſſatisfy'd with it, and demanded of the King that he wou'd take care to have *Magna Charta* ſtrictly obſerv'd, as he was bound by Oath. When this Addreſs was preſented to the King, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* anſwer'd, that the ſaid Charter having been extorted from the late King, there was no Juſtice in ſuch Demand. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* reply'd very ſharply, and reproach'd him that he only wanted to plunge the Kingdom into freſh Troubles. The King, who was then in his 16th Year, took the Archbiſhop's part, and ſaid, without conſulting the Regent, that he agreed to the Parliament's Demand; and in purſuance thereof, he ſent Orders over all the Kingdom to have the two Charters executed.

Parl. complain of it by Addreſs.

Diſpute about it, betwixt the ABp of Canterbury *and the Bp of* Winchester.

K's Orders for the Obſervation of the Charters.

THIS was a Mortification to the Regent, but it was not long before he met with a worſe. *Hubert de Burgh* who engroſs'd all the King's Favour, finding himſelf incommoded by the Regent's Authority, got the Pope to declare the King to be of Age, tho he was not yet attain'd to the Years preſcrib'd by the Laws. The Lords indeed ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it; but *Hubert*, who had engag'd the King in his Deſign, brought it about by mere Artifice. As it was to no purpoſe to have had the King declar'd to have been of Age, becauſe the great Men wou'd not agree to it, and becauſe it was a matter of too great difficulty to extort their Conſent, while the ſtrong Places were in their hands, he got the King to demand of him thoſe that were in his keeping; and accordingly he deliver'd up *Dover* and

Hubert de Burgh's *Stratagem to deprive the Regent of his Authority.*

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and the *Tower* of *London* to him. Some of the Barons follow'd his Example; and when once the King was in poſſeſſion of their Places, he reſtor'd thoſe he had receiv'd from *Hubert*. The Nobility were very much diſpleas'd at being thus over-reach'd. Many of thoſe who had Offices reſign'd their Commiſſions to the King; and they who had not deliver'd up their Places, reſolv'd to keep them, notwithſtanding the Excommunication with which *Hubert* threaten'd them. In general, the Step which the King had now taken, gave the Lords a bad Opinion of him, and all the People a mortal enmity to *Hubert*. *A.* 1227.

The K. and Hubert *hated for it.*

Anno 1224. THE King of *France* having made himſelf Maſter of *Rochel*, the King demanded a Subſidy of the Parliament, to enable him to recover it. The Parliament granted it, with this Condition however, that the two Charters ſhou'd be ſtrictly obſerv'd, to which the King agreed; and even ſent Orders for that purpoſe thro'out the Kingdom, by which it appear'd that there had been ſome remiſsneſs in the execution of thoſe Charters.

Parliam. grants a Supply for the recovery of Rochel.

K. declar'd of Age.

Anno 1226. THE Parliament having declar'd the King of Age, he began his Majority by a Step which diſpleas'd every body. For, in order to raiſe Money, he oblig'd all that had Offices or Patents, to get them renew'd, and impos'd a Tax upon every one of them.

His falſe Step at firſt ſetting out.

Bp. of Winchester *ſent to his Dioceſe.*

Anno 1227. THE Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being no longer neceſſary to the King, *Hubert* order'd it ſo that he was ſent to his Church, and thereby he enjoy'd the King's Favour ſolely. As ſoon as this Miniſter ſaw himſelf without a Rival, he put it into the King's head, that it was unworthy of a Prince to live a Slave

Hubert *prejudices the K. againſt the Charters, and adviſes him to become abſolute.*

Hen. III. Slave to Charters which had been extorted from the King his Father; and he found him a very apt Scholar to learn his Leſſons. Very ſoon after this, the King demanded a Loan of 5000 *l. Sterling* of the City of *London*, on pretence of their having lent the like Sum to Prince *Lewis* when he left *England*. The Town of *Northampton* was alſo compell'd to give him 1200 *l.* Nor were the very Monaſteries exempt, for they were forc'd to give the King whatever he thought fit to demand of them, and it was in vain for them to appeal to the Pope. Finally, *Henry* annull'd King *John*'s two Charters, on pretence that they had been extorted, and that he was not bound to ſtand to what he had ſeveral times promis'd upon Oath during his Minority. But not long after, the Lords made a League together for the maintenance of the Charters; and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, the King's Brother, who was at variance with him, put himſelf at the head of the League, which nevertheleſs came to nothing, becauſe by *Hubert*'s Counſel the King took care to make the Chief eaſy, by gratifying his private Views.

The K. demands 5000 l. of the City of London.

His Exaction upon Northampton and the Monaſteries.

He makes void the Charters.

Confederacy of the Barons to maintain them.

It proves abortive.

Anno 1228. *HENRY* having rais'd an Army to carry the War into *France*, when his Troops were juſt ready to embark, there were no Ships to tranſport them, by which means he was forc'd to put off his Expedition to the following Spring. He was in ſuch a Paſſion upon it, that he offer'd to kill *Hubert* with his own hands; but *Hubert* found a way to pacify him.

Henry's *Wrath againſt* Hubert, *becauſe no Ships were ready to carry his Troops to* France.

WHILE he waited for a fit time to paſs over to *France*, he demanded Money of the City of *London*, and the Clergy, and compell'd the *Jews Anno* 1229, to pay him a Tax

His Demand upon London, *the Clergy, and the* Jews.

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of one third of their Eſtates. I ſhall ſay nothing here of his Expedition to *France*, becauſe I am to treat of it in another place. *A.* 1232.

Anno 1231. PRINCE *Richard* marry'd the Counteſs Dowager of *Gloceſter*, Siſter to the Earl of *Pembroke*. The ſaid Earl dying not long after, and having made *Richard* his Brother his Heir, the King ſeiz'd his Inheritance, and refus'd to reſtore it to the Heir, on pretence of certain imaginary Crimes of which he accus'd him. But *Richard* retiring to *Ireland*, invaded the King's Lands there by way of Repriſal for the Eſtate which was kept from him in *England*. At laſt the King was forc'd to recal him, and to reſtore him his Eſtate and Offices, after having manifeſted his ingratitude to the Son of a Man who had done ſuch great Service both to himſelf, and the King his Father.

Pr. Richard's *Marriage.*

K. ſeizes his Eſtate.

Richard *goes and makes Repriſals in* Ireland, *from whence he is recall'd and reſtor'd.*

Anno 1232. NEXT Year the King demanded Money of the Parliament, which bluntly refus'd him, becauſe he had made a very ill Uſe of what had been granted him before. Moreover, all the Subjects were diſſatisfy'd, as well with the Repeal of the Charters, as with the Favour which the King openly ſhew'd to the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, and his Connivance at the Intruſion of a very great number of Foreigners into Benefices.

Parl. will not grant the King Money.

THE Enemies of *Hubert de Burgh* having made way for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s Recal to Court, the ſaid Prelate was no ſooner there, but he made uſe of all his Power to ruin *Hubert*, and at length he ſucceeded. The Particulars of the King's Conduct thro'out this whole Affair, his Inconſtancy, his Acts of Injuſtice and Violence towards this diſgrac'd Favourite, wou'd be of great uſe to diſcover his Temper

Biſhop of Winchester *recall'd to Court.*

Hubert's *Ruin.*

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Hen. III. and Character. But my fear of being too prolix, makes me pass over all those things, to say in one word, that *Hubert de Burgh* was not only disgrac'd and turn'd out of all his Offices, and the greatest part of his Estate, but actually oppress'd, persecuted and imprison'd, and that it was with very great difficulty that he escap'd with his Life.

Anno 1233. The People of *England* got nothing by the Change of the Minister. The Bishop of *Winchester* who succeeded him, and was as fond as he for establishing a despotick Government, endeavour'd immediately to reduce the too great Power of the Nobility; for it appears that of them and the Clergy, the Parliament did then consist. At least I have never seen any Proof strong enough to convince me, that the Commons sent any Members thither at that time. Be this as it will, the new Minister persuaded the King that the *English* Barons were not very well affected to him, that they aim'd to keep him in a sort of Dependency, under colour of their pretended Liberties, by not granting him Money till such time as they thought fit; that in order to restrain their Insolence, it was absolutely necessary to remove them by degrees from those Offices and Governments which serv'd to feed their Pride; and that this might easily be done by giving the Lucrative Offices and the Custody of the strong Places to Foreigners, who might grow rich and powerful enough in time to check the *English* Barons. *Henry* approving of this Advice, a swarm of People came into *England* on a sudden from *Poitou*, to whom the Bishop of *Winchester* their Countryman gave the best Employments. The

Bishop of Winchester inflames the K. against the Barons, and attempts to make him absolute.

Persuades him to prefer Foreigners.

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The Barons murmur'd ſadly to ſee Foreigners ſo well provided; and the Earl of *Pembroke* made a ſtrong and publick Remonſtrance to the King, of the Inconveniences with which it might be attended. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* anſwer'd for the King, that if the Number of Foreigners already in *England* was not ſufficient to tame the Rebels, he wou'd ſend for more. From that time the *Engliſh* Barons withdrew from Court, and began to form a Confederacy for maintaining themſelves in their Privileges. *A.* 1233. *E. of* Pembroke *remonſtrates againſt it.*

SOME time after this, the King having call'd a Parliament, the Barons refus'd to repair to it, tho they were ſeveral times ſummon'd. At length hearing that another great Troop of People was arriv'd from *Poictou*, they met together on ſome pretence, and ſent word to the King, that if he did not remove the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and the other Foreigners from his Perſon and Councils, they were reſolv'd to chuſe another King that ſhou'd be more obſervant of the Laws of the Realm. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* finding he had ſo fair an opportunity to exaſperate the King againſt the Barons, gave him to underſtand that it was high time to uſe Force to puniſh them; and the King actually began to proceed againſt ſome of them. Afterwards he call'd a Parliament on a ſuppoſition that the greateſt number of the Barons wou'd not venture to go to the Houſe, and that this wou'd give him a good handle to proſecute them. But contrary to his Expectation, the Barons went to Parliament ſo well accompany'd, that they had nothing to fear, either from the King or his Miniſter. The Earl of *Pembroke* who was the Head of the Confederacy, was upon the Road to *London*; but *The Barons threaten the K. to chuſe another if he does not put away the Foreigners.* *E. of* Pembroke *flies to* Wales, *and makes a League with the Prince.*

Hen. III. but hearing that the Miniſter was brewing ſome Miſchief againſt him, he turn'd back and retir'd to *Wales*, where he obtain'd the Protection of *Lleolyn* Prince of that Country, and made an Alliance with him. The Withdrawing of the Earl of *Pembroke* and ſome others, having furniſh'd the King with the Pretence which he wanted, he caus'd their Eſtates to be plunder'd, and gave the Spoil to the Inhabitants of *Poictou*. This he did with the more eaſe, becauſe, a Difference ariſing among the Barons, they had not taken any meaſures for their Defence. The King purſuing his Point, beſieg'd a Caſtle belonging to the Earl of *Pembroke*; and finding it too difficult to make himſelf Maſter of it, he made as if he was willing to refer the Quarrel he had with the abſent Barons to the Deciſion of the Parliament, which was to meet in *October*. But he demanded that for his Honour, the Place which he beſieg'd might be deliver'd up to him, promiſing to give it back again to the Earl in a Fortnight after. This being granted him, he wou'd not reſtore the Caſtle when once he had it in his power, tho ſeveral Biſhops were Sureties for him.

The K. beſieges one of his Caſtles in vain.

Propoſes an Accommodation, and breaks it.

Parl. Remonſtrance to him.

THE Parliament which met in *October*, made a ſerious Remonſtrance to the King upon his Conduct in general, and more particularly for his repoſing all his Confidence in Foreigners, and aſſuming to himſelf the Power of declaring and treating Perſons as Traitors and Rebels who had not been legally condemn'd. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who upon theſe occaſions was always Spokeſman for the King, anſwer'd this Remonſtrance after a manner ſo harſh and haughty, that the Biſhops threaten'd to excommunicate

Bps threaten to excommunicate the Bp of Wincheſter for his impudent Anſwer.

municate him. Mean time the Earl of *Pembroke* having retaken his Caſtle which the King had refus'd to reſtore to him, the King march'd with a deſign to go and chaſtiſe him; but to his misfortune the Earl ſurpriz'd him in the Night, put his Army to the Rout, and forc'd him to return to *Gloceſter*. After that time the Earl growing more and more formidable, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* contriv'd to have his Eſtate in *Ireland* ravag'd, and to draw him by that means into that Iſland, where he caus'd him to be aſſaſſinated.

A. 1236. *E. of* Pembroke *ſurprizes and defeats the K's Army.*

Is drawn into Ireland *and murder'd.*

AT length the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having remonſtrated to the King what Dangers he expos'd himſelf to by following the violent Counſels of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, prevail'd ſo, that this hateful Miniſter was diſcarded, together with *Peter de Rivaux* his Son, who paſs'd for his Nephew, *Segrave*, *Paſſelew*, and the other Natives of *Poictou*, on whom the King had confer'd the moſt important Offices of State.

Foreigners remov'd from their places.

Anno 1236. THEY were actually proſecuted at Law, to give an Account of their Management, but they found means to obtain their Pardon.

Proſecuted and par-don'd.

THIS ſame Year, *Iſabel* the King's Siſter was ſent to the Emperor *Frederick* II. who had demanded her in Marriage; and the King marry'd *Eleanor* of *Provence*, after having attempted to match elſewhere for many Years to no purpoſe. The new Queen brought into *England Athelmar*, one of her Brothers, who had been elected Biſhop of *Valence*, and afterwards became a Favourite of the King. So that the *Engliſh* Barons were no great Gainers by the Expulſion of the *Poictevin* Miniſters. The Parliament made ſuch a ſmart Complaint to the King

Marriages of the Emperor Frederick, *and of King* Henry.

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Hen. III. King of his continuing ſtill to repoſe all his Confidence in Foreigners, that the King fearing ſome Inſult from that quarter, wou'd fain have remov'd to the *Tower*: but the Barons refuſing to go thither, the King was oblig'd to return to *Weſtminſter*, and to promiſe them ſome Satisfaction of their Grievances. Not long after, inſtead of keeping his Word with the Barons, he recall'd his old Miniſters from *Poictou*, except the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was gone to *Rome*. He was alſo inclinable to revoke all the Grants which he had made during his Nonage, on pretence that the Pope had not confirm'd them: but the Parliament refus'd their Conſent to ſuch Revocation, and chiefly on account of the Bull which the King founded his Plea upon.

Parl. complains again to the K. againſt Foreigners.

Old Miniſters recall'd from Poictou.

Parl. will not let him revoke his old Grants.

Obtains Money of Parl. on promiſe of a regard to K. John's *Charters.*

Anno 1237. The King having a great occaſion for Money, and finding the Parliament not diſpos'd to give him any, promis'd upon his Honour to cauſe King *John*'s two Charters to be obſerv'd; and on this Condition his Demand was granted.

Simon de Montfort's *Origin and Marriage.*

At that time, *Simon de Montfort* began to be in the King's Favour. He marry'd the Counteſs of *Pembroke*, Siſter to the King, and was made Earl of *Leiceſter*. He was Son to the famous *Simon de Montfort*, General of the Cruſado againſt the *Albigenſes*. Prince *Richard* complain'd ſharply to the King againſt this Marriage, not only by reaſon of the Inequality of their Conditions, but becauſe *Montfort* had had the boldneſs to debauch their Siſter, who was big with Child when he marry'd her, and becauſe the King without ſhewing any Reſentment, had caus'd the Marriage to be ſolemniz'd in his Chappel. *Richard*'s Complaints oblig'd *Montfort* to go to *Rome*, there to

to get his Marriage confirm'd by the Pope. At his Return he was very well receiv'd by the King, who afterwards indeed was inclinable at one time to puniſh him for debauching his Siſter; but at laſt he reſtor'd him to his Favour and Confidence. *A.* 1240. *The latter confirm'd by the Pope. The K's variable Diſpoſition towards him.*

Anno 1238. FOREIGNERS ſtill increaſing in Favour and Credit, Prince *Richard*, who was no leſs diſguſted than the Barons, put himſelf at the Head of 'em; and they all in a Body ſent to deſire the King, that he wou'd pleaſe to remember what he had promis'd. The King choſe to amuſe them by a general Anſwer; but as it was not long ere they all repair'd to *London*, well accompany'd, the King was forc'd to comply, and to give his Conſent to a Regulation which was made for the Government of the Kingdom, tho it was very ill obſerv'd. *Barons enter into a Leag. with Pr. Richard, and demand Redreſs of their Grievances. The K. is forc'd to comply.*

Anno 1239. *HENRY* had a Son born, to whom he gave the Name of *Edward*. *Pr. Edward's Birth.*

Anno 1240. IN the Year following, the King ſent Itinerant Juſtices into the Counties, on pretence of reforming certain Abuſes; but it was only to get a lump of Money by Fines and Forfeitures, which thoſe Judges inflicted for ſmall Faults, and by arbitrary Sentences. Prince *Richard* ſet out this ſame Year to make a Voyage to the *Holy Land*. *Fines and Forfeitures illegally inflicted to raiſe Money for the King.*

THOMAS Earl of *Savoy*, Uncle to the Queen, arriving in *England*, in 1241. and the King wanting Money to give him a ſumptuous reception, he forc'd the *Jews* to raiſe him 20000 Marks, threatning otherwiſe to drive them out of the Kingdom. *Henry ſqueezes Money out of the* Jews *to entertain the E. of* Savoy.

Anno 1242. *HENRY* being engag'd in a War againſt *France*, demanded an Aid of the Parliament, but had the Mortification to meet with

Hen. III. with a flat denial, accompany'd with tart Reproaches for the Non-obſervance of the Charters, and the Breach of his Promiſe. As he ſaw that he cou'd get nothing of the Parliament, he had recourſe to divers unjuſtifiable and violent Methods of extorting Money from private Men; after which he went to *Poictou*. He had very ill Succeſs in this War. He was twice defeated, and forc'd to fly to *Bourdeaux*, where he obtain'd a Truce for 5 Years. He ſpent the Winter there, but was ſo bare of Money that he had not wherewithal to defray the Expences of his Houſhold, inſtead of being able to pay his Troops, which ſuffer'd extremely for want of Proviſions, the *Gaſcons* refuſing to let them have ſubſiſtence. At laſt he wrote to the Archbiſhop of *York*, whom he had left Regent in *England*, to confiſcate the Eſtates of ſome of the Barons who had left the Army without Leave. But the Regent refus'd to execute this Order, for fear of kindling a Fire too difficult to quench. This Method failing, he gave Orders to the Archbiſhop to borrow of the *Ciſtercian* Friars one Year's Revenue of their Wool; but he cou'd obtain nothing, and the Regent was ſenſible that to uſe Violence wou'd be very dangerous. At laſt the Archbiſhop hearing that the King was in a very poor plight, aſſembled the Parliament, who granted the King ſome Money, which came to him in a very good Seaſon; but 'twas ſoon conſum'd, and the Regent receiv'd a freſh Order to demand a Loan of Money of ſuch private Men as were reckon'd the moſt able to ſpare it. This Order was executed in part; but the Regent acquainted the King that this was the laſt ſhift he cou'd make, and conjur'd him to return forth-

His unjuſtifiable Methods of raiſing Money.

Truce with France.

He paſſes the Winter at Bourdeaux, and ſends for Money from England.

Parliam. grants him an Aid.

Regent borrows Money for him of private Perſons.

forthwith to his Kingdom. Theſe Intreaties oblig'd *Henry* to ſet out homewards, where he was no ſooner arriv'd, but he demanded a great Sum of the *Jews*. *A.* 1244.

He raiſes another Contribution on the Jews.

THE Counteſs of *Provence*, Mother-in-Law to the King, arriv'd in *England* not long after, bringing with her *Sanche* her ſecond Daughter, to be marry'd to Prince *Richard*, whoſe firſt Wife was dead. The King was at the Expence of this Wedding, and 'tis ſaid that 30000 Diſhes were ſerv'd up at the Marriage Feaſt.

Marriage of Prince Richard.

Anno 1244. THE King conven'd the Parliament, and deſir'd a ſupply of Money; but he found the two Bodies of the Clergy, and the Nobility, ſo united together, that he not only foreſaw he ſhou'd obtain nothing, but that it was even dangerous to keep the Parliament ſitting any longer. For meaſures were already taken in it to deprive him of the Adminiſtration of the Government. For this reaſon he prorogued them, after having made them a poſitive Promiſe, that at the next Seſſion he wou'd give them all the Satisfaction they cou'd wiſh for. When the Parliament met again, the King renew'd his Demand, and promis'd upon Oath to cauſe the two Charters to be executed; and he even conſented that the Biſhops ſhou'd excommunicate him if he broke his Promiſe. Which Declaration of his was the very thing that put him in poſſeſſion of what he deſir'd.

Parl. is prorogued becauſe they will not grant the King an Aid.

He obtains it at laſt on a promiſe to keep the Charters.

Anno 1245. *HENRY* had another Son born, to whom he gave the Name of Prince *Edmund*.

P. Edmund born.

Anno 1247. TWO Years after this, arriv'd in *England* 3 of the King's Brothers by the Mother's ſide, who were Sons to the Earl of *Marche*, and

Arrival of the K's 3 half Brothers.

Hen. III. and of the Queen Dowager, who, after the Death of King *John*, marry'd that Earl to whom ſhe had formerly been contracted.

His Parl. prorogued and diſſolv'd, for taxing him with breach of his Promiſe.

Anno 1248. THO the King had promis'd upon Oath to have the two Charters obſerv'd, yet he had not perform'd his Promiſe. Notwithſtanding this he again demanded a Supply of the Parliament, which met in the beginning of the Year 1248. but he receiv'd ſo ſharp an Anſwer from it, that he prorogued it inſtantly. At the next Seſſion he ſpoke very roughly to the Lords, and they anſwer'd him in the ſame Tone; which was the reaſon that the Parliament was diſſolv'd.

The King ſells his Plate, and trys other vile means to raiſe Money.

Anno 1249. *HENRY* not being able to obtain any thing of the Parliament, and having a preſſing occaſion for Money, becauſe his Brothers, and the Queen's Relations ſpent a vaſt deal, ſold his Plate; and moreover, he demanded a great Sum of the City of *London*. He wou'd alſo have fain borrow'd Money of ſome private Men; but as he was not belov'd, nor much confided in, this Method fail'd him.

E. of Leiceſter ſent into Guyenne.

Anno 1250. THE next Year *Henry* being inform'd that the *Gaſcons* were upon the point of revolting, ſent *Simon de Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter* into *Guyenne*, who found means to reconcile them to their Duty.

Henry *takes the Croſs.*

AT laſt the King finding no Remedy left to raiſe Money, thought fit to take up the Croſs, and to engage himſelf to make War againſt the *Saracens*, after the Example of the King of *France*, who was already ſet out upon the like Deſign. Not that *Henry* intended to perform ſuch Engagement, but he thought 'twas a ſure way to bring Money into his Coffers, and that the Parliament wou'd not venture to refuſe him any Sum when he demanded it upon

on this pretence. A multitude of People follow'd his Example, and prepar'd to make a Voyage to *Paleſtine*. But when they were ready to ſet out, the King, who had made no Preparations on his part, obtain'd a Prohibition from the Pope to the *Croiſes*, to ſet out without him, and by that means the Expence they had been at became of no effect, Mean time, tho the King of *France*'s Expedition was attended with ill Succeſs, becauſe that Prince fell into the hands of the Infidels, *Henry* ſtill pretended an Inclination to ſet out forthwith. But as he wanted Money, and did not dare to ask it of the Parliament, after he had ſo ill executed his Promiſes, he appointed Commiſſioners to go into the Counties, to inquire into the Miſdemeanors committed in the Foreſts. This Commiſſion procur'd the King a great deal of Money; but the Vexations exercis'd by the Commiſſioners occaſion'd a univerſal murmuring.

A. 1251.

Pope forbids the Croiſes to ſet out before him.

Inquiſitions touching the Foreſts.

Anno 1251. THE Earl of *Leiceſter* being come to give an account to the King of the Command which he had in *Guyenne*, he brought *Guy de Luſignan*, one of his Brothers by the Mother's ſide, whom the King mightily careſs'd and loaded with Preſents. His Brothers, and the Queen's Kindred ſwallow'd up all his Revenues, and every Penny that he cou'd raiſe elſewhere, by ſuch ways and means as were not always lawful.

Return of Guy de Luſignan *the King's half Brother, whom he loads with Preſents.*

Anno 1252. THE *Gaſcons* were ſo diſſatisfy'd with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, that they made great Complaints againſt him to the King, and accus'd him of having tyranniz'd over them in an extraordinary manner. Hereupon the King ſent Commiſſioners into *Guyenne* to know the Truth

Gaſcons *complain of the E. of* Leiceſter.

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Hen. III. Truth of it. But tho thoſe Commiſſioners at their Return had fully diſcharg'd the Earl, yet the *Gaſcons* renew'd their Complaints; and the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* went to Court to plead againſt him, in quality of Deputy from the whole Province of *Guyenne*. This Prelate ſo artfully turn'd the King's Mind, by poſſeſſing him with the Fear that he wou'd loſe all *Guyenne* if the Earl was not puniſh'd, that the King took up a Reſolution to make a Sacrifice of that Nobleman to the *Gaſcons*. But the Earl found ſo many Friends among the Lords before whom he was oblig'd to make his Appearance, and defended himſelf with ſuch good Arguments, that he render'd the Archbiſhop's Complaints of no effect. The King perceiving that he cou'd not accompliſh what he had undertaken, fell into a violent Paſſion, and told the Earl of *Leiceſter* that he was a Traitor. The Earl being ſtung with this Reproach, and forgetting that he ſpoke to his Sovereign, told him to his Face that he ly'd, in preſence of all the Peers. One wou'd have thought that an Inſult of this nature wou'd not have been eaſily pardon'd; but the King did not dare either to take Revenge himſelf, or to cauſe the Earl to be apprehended, becauſe he obſerv'd that all the Peers were in a diſpoſition to eſpouſe this Nobleman's Quarrel. He was actually oblig'd in a manner to be reconcil'd to him, tho it was only in outward appearance, and to ſend him back to *Guyenne*. But not long after, that he might have a pretence to take that Government from him, he inveſted his eldeſt Son Prince *Edward* in the Duchy of *Guyenne*.

K. ſends Commiſſioners to 'em.

K. reſolves to ſacrifice him.

Calls him Traitor.

Earl gives him the Lye.

K. durſt not apprehend him, and is reconcil'd to him.

He ſends him to Guyenne.

THIS

THIS Affair being ended, the King attempted to obtain an extraordinary Subsidy of the Clergy, to enable him to support the Charges of his pretended Voyage to the *Holy Land*, but the Clergy were inflexible. *A.* 1253. *He demands a Subsidy of the Clergy.*

Anno 1253. *HENRY* imagin'd that he had prevented the Revolt of the *Gascons*, by removing the Earl of *Leicester* from the Government of *Guyenne*, but he was ignorant how things stood in that Country. The *Gascons* had only acted against the Earl to remove too vigilant a Governour, and that they might have the better Success in the Conspiracy they had form'd to deliver up *Guyenne* to the King of *Castille*, who began immediately after this Earl's Departure, to declare openly that he had pretensions to this Duchy. *Henry* perceiving himself in danger of losing *Guyenne*, resolv'd to go into that Country himself, in order to secure it. But foreseeing that it wou'd be a hard matter for him to get the Money from the Parliament, which was necessary for that Voyage, he made the Expedition to the *Holy Land* his Pretence, and demanded a Supply proportionable to his Necessities. The Parliament readily granted it, but 'twas upon condition that sufficient Security shou'd be given for the Observation of the two Charters, and the King was willing to consent to it. The Security was, that all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal went into the Great Hall at *Westminster*, where the Archbishop denounc'd a Curse upon those that for the future directly or indirectly oppos'd the Execution of the two Charters. This done, the Lords who had each of them a Wax Taper in his Hand, threw their Tapers on the Ground, wishing that they who shou'd violate the Charters, might smoke after the *Charters*.

Secret Practices of the Gascons.

K. of Castille pretends to Guyenne.

Henry demands an Aid to go to the Holy Land, which was granted on condition the Charters are kept.

Excommunicatio on solemnly denounc'd against the Violaters of the

Hen. III. the ſame manner in Hell. The King did not care to carry a Taper, but he always held his Hand to his Heart during the whole Ceremony, as a Mark of the ſincere approbation which he gave to the Anathema. Mean time the Parliament was no ſooner diſſolv'd, but he deſir'd the Pope to give him a Diſpenſation from his Oath.

Henry's *Departure for* Guyenne.

HENRY being ſet out for *Guyenne*, made ſome Progreſs there at firſt againſt the Rebels, who were Friends to the King of *Caſtille*. But as he knew himſelf to be in no condition to maintain an Army in that Country as long as it wou'd be neceſſary, he found means to rid himſelf of that Difficulty, by ſending to the King of *Caſtille*, to deſire one of his Daughters in Marriage for *Edward* his eldeſt Son. This Propoſal being accepted, the King of *Caſtille* yielded up his Pretenſions to *Guyenne* to his future Son-in-Law, and the Marriage was conſummated next Year.

The K. of Caſtille's *Daughter marry'd to Pr.* Edward.

Henry *trys to get Money from the Parliament on pretence of the War in* Guyenne.

As this Negotiation had been kept ſecret, *Henry* was willing to make a trial if he cou'd force the Parliament to do ſomething more for him, under pretence of the Danger which *Guyenne* was in of being invaded by the *Caſtillians*. But when the Queen, who was Regent in the King's Abſence, went to make this Demand, the Lords who knew more of the matter than ſhe imagin'd, made anſwer that they wou'd hold themſelves in a readineſs to ſerve the King with their Perſons, upon the firſt Advice they ſhou'd have that the *Caſtillians* were enter'd into *Guyenne*. The King not being able to get any thing from the Parliament, return'd to *England* thro' *France*, where *Lewis* being lately come back from his Slavery among the Infidels, paid him all the Honours due to his Rank.

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Rank. He was ſcarce arriv'd at *London*, but upon ſome pretence or other he demanded a Preſent from that City. *A.* 1219. *He exacts Money from* London.

The Acts which refer to this firſt Article are theſe,

1. A Treaty betwixt *Henry* III. and Prince *Lewis*, Son to *Philip Auguſtus*; dated at *Lameth Sept.* 11. 1217. Henry's *Treaty with Pr.* Lewis. 221.

'THIS Treaty contains 18 Articles, but 'there's not one that makes mention of the 'Reſtitution of the Provinces of *France*. If '*Lewis* enter'd into any ſuch Engagement, it 'muſt have been *vivâ voce*, or elſe by ſome 'ſecret Article.

2. THE Prohibition of Trials by *Ordeal*; dated *Jan.* 26. 1219. at *Weſtminſter*. *Trials by* Ordeal *interdicted.* 228.

'THESE Trials, which had been very com- 'mon among the *Saxons*, were made ſeveral 'ways, but generally with a hot Iron, or boiling 'Water *.

* 'TIS ſaid this Cuſtom ſtill prevails in ſome Provinces of *Sweden*, where 'tis as antient as their old eſt Records. Theſe Trials were always manag'd with great Solemnity by the Clergy. That by Fire was perform'd either by a red hot Iron put into the Hands of the Perſon accus'd, or by his walking bare-foot and blindfold over 9 red hot Plowſhares plac'd at proper diſtances; as Queen *Emma*, Mother to *Edward* the Confeſſor, did: and if the Perſon had the good Luck to come off unhurt, he was declar'd innocent; but if burnt, he was pronounc'd guilty. The Trial by Water *Ordeal* was made either by cold or ſcalding hot Water, which was the Puniſhment for the meaner ſort. In that of cold Water, the Party accus'd was thrown with Hands and Feet ty'd into ſome River or Pond, and if he ſunk, was adjudg'd innocent, and if he ſwam guilty; like the old Cuſtom which ſtill prevails in ſome parts of *England* of trying Witches. When the trial was by ſcalding Water, the ſuppos'd Delinquent was to plunge his Arm or Feet into it. *Ordeal* is a *Saxon* Word which ſignifies great or impartial Judgment.

Hen. III.

3. A Decree of the Pope, that no Perſon in *England* ſhall keep in his Hands more than two of the King's Caſtles; dated at *Viterbo* the 5th of the Calends of *June* 1220.

Pope's Decree about the Poſſeſſors of the K's Caſtles. 240.

4. A Letter from *Henry* III. to the Pope; dated *June* 20. 1220. at *Nottingham*.

'IT was to deſire the Pope to give Orders 'to *Hugh de Luſignan*, Earl of *Marche*, to ſend 'back to him his Siſter *Joanna*, who was pro- 'miſ'd to the King of *Scotland*.

Berengaria's *Jointure contin- u'd.* 242.

5. THE Act whereby *Henry* continues to *Berengaria* of *Navarre*, Dowager to *Richard* I. the Jointure which had been ſetled on her; dated in *July* 1220. at *London*.

Legate's Order againſt Tournaments. 245.

6. THE Legate's Ordinance forbidding Tournaments; dated the 8th of the Calends of *Sept.* 1220. at *Cery*.

'IT was becauſe under this pretence the 'Barons met to conſpire againſt the King.

Letter from Bayonne *about* Rochel. 269.

7. A Letter from the Inhabitants of *Bayonne* to the King; dated *Anno* 1224.

'THEY ſay that *Rochel* has been given up 'to the King of *France*, tho it was ſtill in a 'Capacity to hold out a Siege.

Archdeacon of Litchfield *to the Bp of* Cheſter. 271.

8. A Letter from the Archdeacon of *Litchfield*, to the Biſhop of *Cheſter*.

'HE tells him of the Diſpenſation which 'the Pope grants to the King, to marry the 'Daughter of the Count of *Bretagne*.

Henry *to the D. of* Auſtria. 275.

9. A Letter from *Henry* III. to the Duke of *Auſtria*; dated *Jan.* 3. 1225. at *Weſtminſter*.

'TIS concerning the Marriage which had 'been propos'd betwixt the King and a 'Daughter of the Duke of *Auſtria*.

His Marriage Contract with the Daughter of the D. of Bretagne. 283.

10. LETTERS Patent of *Henry* III. whereby he declares that he is engag'd by Oath to marry *Yolante*, Daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Bretagne*, provided he can obtain a Diſpenſation

tion from the Pope; dated *Octob.* 19. 1225. at *Weſtminſter*. *A.* 1235.

11. A Letter from *Henry* III. to the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*; dated *April* 13. 1227. at *Weſtminſter*. *His Letter to the ABp of Cologn.* 293.

'HE propoſes to him his Marriage with a 'Daughter of the King of *Bohemia*.

12. POPE *Gregory* the IXth's Brief to the Biſhops of *England*; dated the 3d of the Calends of *March*, *Anno* 1228. at the *Lateran*. *Pope's Letter againſt Tournaments.* 301.

'HE orders them to excommunicate the 'Barons who ſhall be ſeen at Tournaments, 'for the reaſon abovemention'd.

13. THE King's Order, forbidding the Barons to come to the Round-Table; dated *July* 20. 1232. at *Weſtminſter*. *Barons not allow'd to ſit at the Round Table.* 324.

14. THE Pope's Letter to the King; dated the 5th of the Nones of *May* 1234. at the *Lateran*. *Pope's Interceſſion for* Hubert de Burgh. 330.

''TIS an Interceſſion for *Hubert de Burgh*.

15. A Letter from the King to the Count *de Ponthieu*; dated *April* 8. 1235. at *Havering*. *K's Letter to the C.* de Ponthieu. 338.

''TIS concerning the Marriage propos'd 'betwixt the King and the Count's Daugh- 'ter.

16. ANOTHER from *Joan*, Daughter of the Count *de Ponthieu* to the Pope, on the ſame Subject. *Letter from the C.* de Ponthieu's *Daughter to the Pope.* 339.

17. LETTER from the King to *Thomas* Count of *Savoy*; dated *June* 2. 1235. at *Windſor*.

''TIS concerning a Deſign which he has to 'marry *Eleanor* of *Provence* his Niece.

18. LETTERS Patent, whereby *Henry* ſuſpends the Power given to his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, to ſollicit the Diſpenſation of his Marriage with the Count *de Ponthieu*'s Daughter; dated *July* 16. 1235. at *Weſtminſter*. Henry *ſuſpends the Sollicitation of a Diſpenſation for his Marriage.* 342.

Hen. III. 19. LETTER from the King to the Count and Counteſs of *Provence*; dated *Oct.* 10. 1235. at *Windſor*.

His Letter to the C. and Cſs of Provence. 343.

'TIS concerning his Marriage with *Eleanor* their Daughter.

His Marriage Articles. 344.

20. ARTICLES agreed upon for the King's Marriage to *Eleanor* of *Provence*; dated *Oct.* 15. 1235. at *Weſtminſter*.

His Bride's Portion. 346.

21. A Power given by the King to his Ambaſſadors, to receive 20000 Marks from the Count of *Provence* for *Eleanor*'s Portion; dated *Oct.* 19. 1235. at *Windſor*.

His Siſter's Marriage Treaty with the Emperor. 353.

22 A Treaty concerning the Marriage of *Iſabel*, Siſter of *Henry* III. to the Emperor *Frederick* II. dated *Feb.* 22. 1236. at *Weſtminſter*.

His Reference about her Portion. 361.

23. AN Act whereby the King ſubmits to the Pope's Judgment, touching the Payment of the Portion of his Siſter *Iſabel*; dated *May* 3. 1 36. at *Weſtminſter*.

Letters from the K. to the Emperor, 365. 366.

24. LETTER from the King to the Emperor.

'HE excuſes himſelf, becauſe he was not a-'ble to ſend *Richard* his Brother to him.

25. ANOTHER from the King to the Emperor.

'HE deſires a ſafe Conduct of him for 'Richard.

Abſolution of Henry *from his Oath of Marriage.* 371.

26. A Bull from *Gregory* IX. by which he abſolves *Henry* from the Oath he had taken to marry the Daughter of the Earl of *Ponthieu*; dated at *Viterbo* the 5th of the Calends of *May*, the 10th of the Pontificate.

Pope's Letter to the ABp of Canterbury. 372.

27. A Letter from that Pope to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* on the ſame Head; dated at *Interamnium* the 3d of the Calends of *June*, 1237.

28. A

28. A Letter from the Emperor *Frederick* II. to *Henry* III. *A.* 1242. *Emperor to Henry.* 374.

'HE acquaints him of the Birth of a Son, 'whom he has had by *Iſabel*, to whom he has 'given the Name of *Henry*, and ſays that he has 'made him Viceroy of the Kingdom of *Sicily*.

29. ANOTHER Letter from *Frederick* II. to the King. *Another.* 383.

'HE chides him for permitting the Ex-'communication fulminated againſt him by the 'Pope, to be publiſh'd in the Churches of *Eng-'land*, and for ſuffering Money to be rais'd 'in his Kingdom, to make War upon him.

30. ANOTHER from *Frederick* to the Barons of *England* on the ſame Head; dated the 3d of the Calends of *November* 1238. in the Camp before *Piacenza*. *To the Barons.* 385.

31. A Letter from *Frederick* II. to *Henry* III. dated *Jan.* 30. 1242. at *Coronatum*. *To* Henry III. 399.

'HE acquaints him of the Death of the 'Empreſs *Iſabel* his Wife, which happen'd in '*December* 1241.

32. AN Order from the King to raiſe Money in *England*; dated *June* 8. 1242. at *Saintonge*. It has this Clauſe. *K's Order to raiſe Money.* 404.

Et quod idem Archiepiſcopus Eborum, & Gulielmus de Cantilupo ſciant, quod Dominus Rex incidit in talem neceſſitatem, quod ultra modum indiget pecunia, quia ad præſens recuperaturus eſt honorem ſuam in partibus tranſmarinis, vel ignominiam, quod abſit, incurret in perpetuum.

i. e. 'AND that the aforeſaid Archbiſhop 'of *York*, and *William de Cantilupe* may know 'that the Lord the King is in ſuch neceſſity 'that he is in extreme want of Money, be-'cauſe he is now about to recover his Ho-'nour in Parts beyond the Sea, or, which

'God

Hen. III. ‘ God forbid, to fall under perpetual Ignominy.

Henry's *Treaty with the Count* de Thoulouſe. 410.

33. A Treaty of Alliance betwixt *Henry* III. and the Count *de Thoulouſe*, againſt all Perſons, except the Pope and the Emperor; dated at *Bourdeaux Aug.* 28. 1242.

Order for the Feſtival of St. Edward. 418.

34. A Bull from *Innocent* IV. which orders that the Feſtival of St. *Edward* ſhall be obſerv'd thro'out all Chriſtendom; dated the 4th of the Calends of *June*, 1243. at the *Lateran*.

Henry's *agreement with his Brother* Richard. 421.

35. An agreement betwixt *Henry* III. and Prince *Richard* his Brother; dated *in Craſtino Sancti Andreæ Apoſtoli*, 1243.

‘ *RICHARD* recedes from the Grant ‘ which had been made to him of *Gaſcoigne*, ‘ and from all his other Pretenſions.

‘ THE King grants him the Earldom of ‘ *Cornwal*, a Penſion, and ſome other Favours.

Innocent's *Letter to* Hen. III. 423.

36. A Letter from *Innocent* IV. to *Henry* III. dated the 10th of the Calends of *Feb.* 1244. at *Lyons*.

‘ HE exhorts the King to take up the Croſs ‘ for the War in the *Holy Land*.

Count of Sayoy's *Penſion.* 441.

37. GRANT of a Penſion of 1000 *l. Sterling* to *Amadeus* Count of *Savoy*, for certain Lands which the Count acknowledg'd he held in Fee of the Crown of *England*; dated *Jan.* 16. 1246. at *Weſtminſter*.

Laws of Engl. *to be obſerv'd in* Ireland. 442.

38. LETTERS Patent of *Henry* III. confirming thoſe of King *John*, relating to the Laws of *England* to be obſerv'd in *Ireland*; dated *Sept.* 9. 1246. at *Woodſtock*.

Counteſs of Flanders's *Homage and Penſion.* 445.

39. A Commiſſion from the King to *Thomas* of *Savoy*, to receive Homage from the Counteſs of *Flanders* for the Penſion which ſhe receiv'd of the King; dated *Feb.* 15. 1248. at *Weſtminſter*. It has theſe words. *Quanquam inuſita-*

inuſitatum in Regno noſtro, i. e. tho a thing unuſual in our Realm. *A.* 1253.

40. A Brief from the Pope to the King; dated the 3d of the Ides of *April* 1250. at *Lyons*. *Pope's Brief to the K.* 451.

'HE endeavours to diſſuade him from undertaking the Voyage to the *Holy Land*.

41. THE King's Order to all his Subjects in *Normandy*, to obſerve the Anniverſary of the Death of the Queen his Mother; dated *Oct.* 7. 1250. at *Weſtminſter*. *Order to obſerve the Anniverſary of the Queen's Death.* 458.

42. THE Sentence paſs'd by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and the Archbiſhop of *York*, Judges delegated from the Pope, annulling the Oath which *Henry* III. had taken to marry the Count *de Ponthieu*'s Daughter; dated the *Wedneſday* before *Palm-Sunday*, 1251. Henry's *Oath of Marriage annull'd.* 464.

'THE reaſon alledg'd for this Sentence is 'becauſe the two Parties were related in the '4th Degree of Conſanguinity. *Gregory* IX. 'had already made the ſame Oath void in 1237; 'therefore 'tis not eaſy to conceive what ne'ceſſity there was for this laſt Sentence.

43. AN Act whereby the King conſents that the Infringers of King *John*'s two Charters be excommunicated; dated *May* 13. 1253. *Infringers of King* John's *Charters to be excommunicated.* 489.

44. INSTRUCTIONS relating to the Marriage of *Henry* the Third's Son, Prince *Edward*, with *Eleanor* of *Caſtille*; dated *May* 24. 1253. at *London*. *Pr.* Edward's *Marriage.* 491.

45. LETTERS Patent for eſtabliſhing the Queen Regent in the abſence of the King, and for committing the Cuſtody of the Great Seal to the Queen and Prince *Richard*; dated *June* 22. 1253. at *Wincheſter*. *The Queen is made Regent in the King's Abſence.* 491.

'THE

Hen. III. 'THE King was going at that time to 'Guyenne.

Order against the Invasion of the K. of Castille. 1253. 497. 46. AN Order from the Queen and Prince *Richard*, to all the Subjects to be in a readiness to repulse the King of *Castille*; dated *Dec.* 29. at *Westminster*.

'TIS pretended in it, that the King of 'Castille had a Design to invade *Guyenne*, 'England and *Ireland*, in order that *Henry* 'might have a Colour to get Money from 'the Parliament. Mean time there was a 'Peace made with the King of *Castille*, and 'Prince *Edward*'s Marriage was concluded.

Q's Letter to the K. 499. 47. A Letter from the Queen to the King.

'SHE acquaints him with the Barons Answer, that they were ready to serve him as 'soon as they heard that the King of *Castille* 'was enter'd into *Guyenne*; and that the Clergy wou'd give him nothing.

Grants to Pr. Edward. 500. 48. LETTERS Patent by which the King makes a Grant to Prince *Edward* of all the Lands in *France*, seiz'd by the Kings of *France*; dated *Feb.* 18. 1254. at *Bazas*.

'HE had before made him a Transfer of 'the Duchy of *Guyenne*.

501. 49. OTHERS by which the King grants *Ireland* to Prince *Edward* his Son; dated *Feb.* 14. 1254. at *Bazas*.

Henry's *Confederacy with* Alphonsus 503. 50. CONFEDERACY betwixt *Henry* III. and *Alphonsus* King of *Castille*; dated at *Toledo* the Day before the Calends of *April* in 1254.

'TIS a Confederacy against all Mankind. '*Salva fide Ecclesiæ Romanæ, i. e.* Saving our 'Allegiance to the Church of *Rome*.

K. of Castille *quits* Guyenne. 509. 51. LETTER from the King of *Castille* to the Barons of *Guyenne*, by which he acquaints them that he has quit his Pretensions to *Guyenne*, in favour of King *Henry*, and his Son Prince

Prince *Edward*; dated the 10th of the Calends of *May*, and in the *Æra* of 1292. at *Toledo*. *A.* 1255.

THE Epocha made uſe of in *Spain*, was different from that us'd over all the reſt of Chriſtendom.

52. AN Act whereby *Henry* delivers up to *Richard* his Brother, all the *Jews* of his Kingdom, for payment of the Sum he owes him; dated 24. 1255. at *Weſtminſter*. Henry *makes over all the* Jews *to* Richard *for the Payment of his Debt.* 543.

Rex omnibus, &c. *Noveritis Nos mutuo accepiſſe a dilecto Fratre & fideli noſtro Ricardo Comite Cornubiæ*, 5000 *marcarum Sterling*—— *ad quarum ſolutionem aſſignavimus & tradidimus ei omnes Judæos noſtros Angliæ*, &c.

i. e. 'TO all Perſons the King ſendeth 'Greeting, *&c.*

'KNOW all Men that we have borrow'd '5000 Marks *Sterling*, of our Truſty and Well-'beloved Brother *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*—— 'for the Payment whereof we have made over, 'and deliver'd to him all our *Jews* of *England*, '&c.

ARTICLE III.

Affairs of Henry III. *with* France.

PHILIP Auguſtus dy'd in 1223, and was ſucceeded by *Lewis* VIII. his Son. As ſoon as this Prince was upon the Throne, *Henry* ſent Ambaſſadors to challenge the performance of the Engagement he had enter'd into when he left *England*, to reſtore to him thoſe Provinces which *Philip* his Father had taken from King *John*. But whether the Promiſe he made was not ſo poſitive as *Henry* pretended, or whatever elſe was the reaſon, he made Anſwer that he wou'd ſubmit it to the Judgment of the Philip *of* France *his Death and Succeſſor, who refuſes to perform his Oath.*

Hen. III. Court of Peers; which was the ſame thing as a denial.

NEXT Year *Lewis* caus'd all *Henry*'s Territories in *France* to be confiſcated. His pretence for it was, that *Henry* had not aſſiſted at his Conſecration; but according to all appearance the true reaſon was that he had a mind to take the Advantage of *Henry*'s Minority to rob him of his Domains.

He attacks Saintonge and Rochel.

IN purſuance of that Confiſcation he march'd into *Saintonge*, and after having made himſelf Maſter of ſome little places, he beſieg'd *Rochel*, which was ſurrender'd to him in a few Days, by *Savary de Mauleon* the Governour of it, who enter'd into his Service. This unexpected Attack having convinc'd *Henry*'s Council of the neceſſity of oppoſing the Deſigns of the King of *France* betimes, the Parliament was conven'd, and it was therein reſolv'd to raiſe an Army, and Prince *Richard* the King's Brother was ſent into *Guyenne* to command it, having under him the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was Baſtard Brother of King *John*. *Richard* preſently took poſſeſſion of the Town of St. *Mazaire* which revolted, and then beſieg'd *Reole*, of which the Earl of *Marche* caus'd him to raiſe the Siege. The *French* Hiſtorians ſay that this Prince retir'd on the other ſide of the *Dourdogne*, and that ſoon after he return'd to *England*. But 'tis certain that he was ſtill in *Guyenne Anno* 1227. The Detail of this War, concerning which the Hiſtorians of the two Nations are not agreed, wou'd be of no Service here. It will be ſufficient to mention, that before it was ended, *Lewis* being declar'd General of the Cruſado againſt the *Albigenſes*, obtain'd an Order from the Pope to *Henry* to ſuſpend Hoſtilities; while he

An Army ſent into Guyenne under Pr. Richard.

Lewis VIII. *Head of the Cruſado againſt the Albigenſes.*

he was taken up in this Expedition. *Lewis* dy'd at *Perpignan* in 1226, leaving for his Succeſſor his Son *Lewis* IX. a Minor, under the Government of *Blanche* of *Caſtille* his Mother. *A.* 1229. *His Death and Succeſſor.* 457.

Anno 1228. THE Regency of this foreign Queen bred Diſcontents in *France*, which at length roſe to a Civil War, of which *Henry* might have made great Advantage, if he had taken Time by the Forelock. But whether it was owing to his extreme Blindneſs, or to the Treachery of his Miniſters, he let the fair opportunity ſlip; and it was upon this occaſion that he was going to lay violent Hands upon *Hubert de Burgh*. *Troubles in* France.

Anno 1229. AT laſt when it was too late, he went and landed at St. *Malo*, where the Duke of *Bretagne* receiv'd him, and put his ſtrongeſt Places into his Hands. The *French* having had all the Winter to make their Preparations, were poſted in *Anjou*, where *Henry* gave them all the time that was neceſſary to fortify themſelves, and to hinder his Paſſage into *Poictou*. Mean time, the Malecontents of *France* taking freſh Courage when they heard that the King of *England* was in *Bretagne*, the Army of *France* was oblig'd to quit *Anjou*, in order to go and oppoſe their Deſigns. Then was the time for *Henry* to have acted vigorouſly, the rather becauſe the *Normans* offer'd to receive him in their Country. But inſtead of improving this opportunity, he went to *Guyenne*, there to receive the Oath of Allegiance of the *Gaſcons*. Afterwards he return'd to *Bretagne*, where he trifled away his time, and embark'd at laſt for *England*, when he heard that the Army of *France* was coming down upon him, after having reduc'd the Malecontents to Henry *makes a Deſcent in* Bretagne. *Marches into* Guyenne, *and returns to* Bretagne *and* England.

Hen. III. to their Duty. This Conduct gave the People of *England* ſo bad an Opinion of him, that from that time the Parliament wou'd grant him no more Money for ſuch Expeditions. This War was determin'd without any Treaty either of Peace or Truce. The King of *France* who had attack'd the Duke of *Bretagne*, forc'd him at laſt to ſubmit to his own Terms, and *Henry* did nothing to ſupport the Duke, who put himſelf under his Protection.

Anno 1241. THERE was a new War betwixt *Lewis* IX. and *Henry*, from which the latter according to Cuſtom came off very badly. *Henry* having inveſted his Brother Prince *Richard* in the Earldom of *Poictou*, *Lewis* who poſſeſs'd part of that Province, made a Preſent to *Alphonſus* his Brother, of that part which was in his Power, and gave him the Inveſtiture of it. *Hugh de Luſignan* Earl of *Marche*, who had marry'd *Henry*'s Mother, and whoſe Eſtate lay in that part of *Poictou* which had been juſt given to the Prince *Alphonſus*, had always perform'd Homage for it to the King of *France*, but the Pride of the Queen his Wife wou'd not ſuffer her to ſee her Husband bend the Knee to *Alphonſus*. Therefore ſhe teaz'd him to ſuch a degree, that at laſt ſhe perſuaded him to refuſe paying Homage to the new Earl of *Poictou*. But as he plainly foreſaw that the King of *France* wou'd not let ſuch a Neglect paſs unpuniſh'd, he engag'd *Henry* to make War upon *France*, and promis'd him a Force ſufficient to drive the *French* out of all *Poictou*, provided he wou'd defray the Expence of the War. *Henry* accepted of his Offers, and repair'd to *Poictou*, but he found things there far ſhort of what he had been made to expect.

Grounds of a freſh War in France.

Earl of Marche *engages* Henry *to carry the War into* Poictou.

His

His Army was very weak, and much inferior to that of *Lewis*, which was already enter'd into the Province, and beſieging *Fontenay*. Tho *Henry* was in no condition to force him to raiſe the Siege, yet he ſent Ambaſſadors to him to demand of him all the Provinces which the King his Father had engag'd to reſtore, and in caſe of refuſal, to declare War againſt him. *Lewis*, who was canoniz'd after his Death, had a tender Conſcience, and in all appearance had ſome ſcruple of Mind concerning the Engagement of the King his Father. He offer'd therefore to reſtore to *Henry* part of *Poictou* and *Normandy*, and to conſent to a Truce of three Years, provided he wou'd deſiſt from protecting the Earl of *Marche*. But *Henry* rejected thoſe Offers, how advantageous ſoever they were as things then ſtood with him. Mean time, *Lewis* having made himſelf Maſter of *Fontenay*, advanc'd towards *Henry*, who had retir'd behind the *Charente*; but *Lewis* having gain'd the Bridge of *Taillebourg*, and being got over to the other ſide, gave him ſuch a terrible ſhock, that he forc'd him to fly to *Xaintes*, where he again defeated great part of his Army. Theſe two Loſſes one upon the Neck of another, oblig'd *Henry* to go and ſhut himſelf up in *Bourdeaux*. Mean time the Earl of *Marche* made his ſeparate Peace with *Lewis*, and left the King of *England* to ſhift for himſelf as well as he cou'd. Nothing cou'd have hinder'd *Lewis* from carrying his victorious Arms into *Guyenne*, but the Plague in his Army, which made him willing to grant *Henry* a Truce of five Years.

A. 1241.

Lewis *beſieges* Fontenay.

He makes advantageous Offers which are rejected.

Takes Fontenay.

Defeats the Engliſh.

Earl of Marche *makes his Peace with* Lewis.

Lewis *grants a Truce.*

The Acts which relate to the ſecond Article are, viz.

Henry's Complaint to the Pope againſt the D. of Bretagne. 335.

1. A Letter from *Henry* III. to the Pope; dated *Feb.* 25. 1235. at *Weſtminſter*.

'HE complains that the Duke of *Bretagne* 'has abandon'd him; that he has made his ſe- 'parate Peace with the King of *France*, and 'perform'd Liege Homage to him. This Duke 'of *Bretagne* was *Peter* I. to whom upon Ac- 'count of this Homage, the Natives of *Bre- 'tagne* gave the Surname of *Mauclerc*; but he 'was forc'd to do as he did, becauſe he cou'd 'no longer expect any aſſiſtance from the King 'of *England*.

He breaks the Truce with Fra.

2. HERE are ſeveral Pieces inſerted in this Year's Collection, by which it appears that *Henry* was the firſt that broke the Truce with *France*, tho he complain'd ſadly of St. *Lewis*.

Copy of the Truce. 416.

3. A Treaty of Truce between the two Kings of *France* and *England*, to the Feaſt of St. *Michael* enſuing, and from thence forwards for five Years; dated at *Bourdeaux April* 7. 1243.

ARTICLE III.

Affairs of Henry III. *with* Scotland.

THE Affairs which paſs'd betwixt *England* and *Scotland* during the Reign of *Henry* III. were of no great Conſequence, ſo that this Article will not be long.

K. of Scotland's Homage to Henry.

THE King of *Scotland* who had perform'd Homage to *Lewis*, when that Prince was call'd into *England* by the Barons, embrac'd the Offer made him to be compriz'd in the Treaty which

which was concluded betwixt *Henry* and *Lewis* in 1217. As ſoon as he had heard that *Lewis* was return'd into *France*, he repair'd to *England*, where he perform'd Homage to *Henry* for the Lands he held in that Kingdom, and reſtor'd *Carliſle* to him, which he had taken during the Civil War. *A.* 1238.

Anno 1221. *HENRY* made a Progreſs to *York*, where he agreed to the Marriage of *Joanna* his Siſter with *Alexander* II. King of *Scotland*. This Princeſs who had been contracted to the Son of the Earl of *Marche*, being in the Hands of her intended Father-in-Law, it was no eaſy matter to get her away. But at length the Earl ſent her back to the King her Brother, and her Nuptials with the King of *Scotland* were celebrated. *His Marriage to Henry's Siſter.*

Anno 1236. *HENRY* being not much dreaded by his Neighbours, by reaſon of the Miſunderſtanding that prevail'd between him and the Barons, *Alexander* renew'd his Pretenſions to *Northumberland*; and demanded that Province with an air of Bully, which the Kings of *Scotland* did not uſe to ſhew to the Kings of *England*. *Henry* far from repaying him the ſame Language, took a Journey to *York*, there to negotiate a Treaty with him, and made no ſcruple to purchaſe a Peace, by granting him a Penſion of 80 Marks of Silver. *Henry's diſhonourable Treaty with him.*

HENRY's Siſter *Joanna* Queen of *Scotland* dying in 1238, and *Alexander* having marry'd a *French* Woman to his ſecond Wife, ſignify'd to *Henry* that he wou'd pay him Homage no longer. He expected that *Henry*, as he had done before, wou'd decide this Affair by a Negotiation, in which he hop'd to be a Gainer. But the Parliament was ſo incens'd at this Bravado, that a War with *Scotland* was reſolv'd on, and *Death of the Q. of Scotland.* *The King marries again, and refuſes Homage to Henry.*

Hen. III. n Army immediately rais'd, which march'd as far as *Newcaſtle*. When *Alexander* ſaw the *Engliſh* ſo near him, he deſir'd a Peace, which *Henry* readily granted him, on condition that he wou'd perform the ſame Homage as his Predeceſſors.

He ſues for Peace.

His Death and Succeſſor. THIS Prince dy'd in 1249, leaving for his Succeſſor his Son *Alexander* III. a Minor, who in 1251 marry'd *Margaret* the Daughter of *Henry* III. The two Kings repairing to *York*, where the Nuptials were to be celebrated, *Henry* wou'd fain have engag'd the young King his Son-in-Law to perform Homage to him for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*. But *Alexander*, tho earneſtly preſs'd to it, made a handſome Excuſe, and only pay'd the ſame Homage as his Predeceſſors had done for the Lands he held of *England*. And with this *Henry* was ſatisfy'd; either becauſe he did not think he was right in his Demand, or becauſe he had not a mind to diſturb the Feaſt. We ſhall find hereafter that *Henry*'s Son *Edward* I. left no Stone unturn'd, but made it his Buſineſs to improve his pretended Right, for the Eſtabliſhment of which the King his Father had only made a ſlight Attempt.

His Marriage.

Henry *preſſes him to do Homage for* Scotland, *which he refuſes.*

The Acts relating to Scotland *are,*

Henry's *Letter to the Pope.* 241. 1. *HENRY* IIId's Letter to the Pope; dated *June* 20. 1220. at *Nottingham*.

'HE begs him to employ his Authority for 'compelling the Earl of *Marche* to ſend home 'to him *Joanna* his Siſter, who was contracted 'to the King of *Scotland*.

To the Cardinals. 242. 2. ANOTHER to the Cardinals on the ſame Subject, and of the ſame Date.

3. ANO-

3. ANOTHER from the King to the Earl of *Marche* on the ſame Affair; dated *Sept.* 16. 1220. at *Wincheſter*. *A.* 1237. *To the E. of* Marche. 248.

4. THE King of *Scotland*'s Letters Patent for ſettling a Jointure on Queen *Joanna* his Wife; dated at *York*, *June* 18. 1221. *Jointure of the Q. of* Scotland. 252.

5. A Brief from *Gregory* IX. to the King of *Scotland*; dated the 2d of the Nones of *January* 1235. at *Peruſa*. *Pope's Letters to the King of* Scotland. 334. 371.

'HE exhorts him to perform Homage to 'the King of *England*.

6. ANOTHER from the ſaid Pope to the ſame King; dated the 5th of the Calends of *May* 1237. at *Viterbo*.

'HE blames him for not having perform'd 'his Homage to the King of *England*.

7. TREATY of Peace betwixt the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*. On the *Friday* preceding the Feaſt of St. *Michael*, 1237. *Treaty with* Scotland. 374.

'THE King of *Scotland* gives up, 1. His 'Pretenſions to *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, 'and *Weſtmoreland*. 2. His Claim to the Sum 'of 15000 Marks which his Father had paid 'to King *John*, on Conditions which the lat-'ter had not perform'd. 3. He recedes from 'the Engagement which *Henry* and Prince 'Richard his Brother had enter'd into, to marry 'Margaret and *Iſabel* his Siſters. 4. And from '*Henry*'s particular Engagement with his Siſter 'Margaret.

'*HENRY* gives him in recompence 200 'Libratas terræ * in the County of *Cumberland*,

* ACCORDING to *Skene de verb. ſignif. verbo Bovata terræ Librata terra* contains four Ox-gangs, and every Ox-gang 13 Acres. In the Regiſt. Orig. fol. 1. B. *Librata terræ* is ſuppos'd to amount to twelve ſcore Acres. And in the ſame Regiſt. fol. 94 A. and fol. 248 B. it ſeems that *Librata terræ* is ſo much Land as yielded 20 *s. per Ann.*

Hen. III. ‘ to holdof the Crown of *England*, on his ſend-
‘ ing a Goſhawk every Year to the King
‘ and his Heirs.

Ratification of it by the K. of Scots. 428. 8. THE King of *Scotland*'s Ratification of the Treaty, concluded with *Henry* in 1237. The Ratification is dated in 1244.

Pope's Letter to Henry III. 463. 9. *INNOCENT* IVth's Letter to *Henry* III. dated the 8th of the Ides of *April* 1251, at *Lyons*.

‘ HE refuſes him two things which he had
‘ deſir'd of him, *viz.* that the King of *Scot-*
‘ *land* as his Vaſſal might not be crown'd with-
‘ out his permiſſion, and the Power of levy-
‘ ing the Clergy's Tithes in *Scotland*.

King of Scotland's Marriage. 467. 10. AN Act relating to the Marriage of *Alexander* III. with *Margaret* the Daughter of *Henry* III. dated at *York Dec.* 27. 1251.

ARTICLE IV.

Affairs of Henry III. *with the Princes of* Wales.

THE *Welch* were the Deſcendants from the antient *Britons*, who having been drove out of their Country by the *Engliſh Saxons*, retir'd to a mountainous Country ſituate on the Weſt of the *Severn*. The *Saxons* call'd that Country the Country of the *Gaul*, becauſe they ſuppos'd that the *Britons* were of *Gauliſh* Extract. Therefore when they gave that Country the Name of the *Gauls* Country, they thereby intended to denote that it was the Country to which the *Britons* were retir'd, in order to diſtinguiſh it from the reſt of *Britain*, which they themſelves had conquer'd. As to the *Britons* or *Welch*, they call'd themſelves *Cambri*, and the Country ſituate on the Weſt ſide of the *Severn* to which they retir'd, retain'd among

among them the Name of *Cambria*. This was probably the Name they gave to the Country which they inhabited in the Iſle of *Great Britain*, tho the *Greeks* and *Romans* had only known it by the name of *Britannia*, which was the Appellation given to the Iſland by Foreigners. *A.* 1218.

AFTER the *Engliſh Saxons* had made themſelves Maſters of *Britain*, there were continual Wars betwixt them and the *Welch*, who inhabited on the other ſide of the *Severn*, but the former cou'd never make themſelves Maſters of *Wales*. After the Diſſolution of the Heptarchy, the *Saxon* Kings made ſeveral Attempts to conquer it; but all that they cou'd do was to keep it in ſome ſort of Dependance on their Crown. The *Norman* and *Angevin* Kings who reign'd in *England* after the Conqueſt, very often attempted likewiſe to make themſelves Maſters of it, but always in vain. Indeed they frequently compell'd the Princes of *Wales* to pay them Homage, but this Dependence laſted no longer than while it was exacted by force of Arms. Whenever the Kings of *England* were involv'd in Civil Wars or Foreign ones, the Princes of *Wales* generally ſhook off the Yoke; which was a continual Cauſe of Quarrel betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Welch*. The Church of *Wales* ſtood as it were upon the very ſame Terms; for ſometimes ſhe acknowledg'd the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and at other times rejected it, according to the Changes which happen'd in the State. *Origin of the* Welch. *Their Hiſtory.*

UNDER the Reign of King *John*, *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales* taking advantage of the Difference which happen'd betwixt the King and the Barons, ſeiz'd ſeveral Places which the *Engliſh* *Prince of* Wales *makes Peace with the King.*

Hen. III. *Engliſh* had taken from his Predeceſſors, and was excommunicated by the Legate who was ſent over to *England* to favour the King's Party. Peace being reſtor'd in the Kingdom by the Treaty which was concluded in 1217, betwixt *Henry* III. and Prince *Lewis*, the Regent whoſe Aim was to eſtabliſh the young King firmly on the Throne, did not think it adviſable to undertake a new War for the ſake of diſpoſſeſſing *Lewellyn* of thoſe Places which he had taken. He choſe rather to grant him an honourable and advantageous Peace, on condition that he ſhou'd perform Homage to the Crown of *England*. *Lewellyn* perceiving the Troubles of *England* at an end, accepted the Peace, and after having perform'd his Homage, receiv'd Abſolution from the Legate.

War with the Welch.

TEN Years after, *viz.* *Anno* 1228, the *Welch* being deſirous to take Advantage of the univerſal Diſguſt in *England* occaſion'd by the Revocation of the Charters, made Incurſions into the Counties that lay near theirs, and by ſo doing engag'd *Henry* to bring an Army upon their Frontiers. But as he was not a Prince of a warlike Genius, he had ill Succeſs in his Expedition, and return'd without having done any thing conſiderable.

The Prince makes a League with the E. of Pembroke *againſt* Henry.

AFTERWARDS *Anno* 1233, *Lewellyn* eſpous'd the Intereſt of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and made a League with him againſt the King. Had it not been for the Prince of *Wales*'s Aſſiſtance, the Earl of *Pembroke* cou'd not have ſtood his Ground. After the Death of this Nobleman, who was kill'd in *Ireland*, *Henry* ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, to the Prince of *Wales*, with whom they concluded a Peace.

Another Peace with the Welch.

Anno

Anno 1237. *Lewellyn* who was grown old and infirm, finding himſelf perſecuted by *Griffin* his Son, put himſelf under the Protection of the King of *England*, and paid him that Homage voluntarily which his Predeceſſors never did without being forc'd to it. *A.* 1244. *Prince of Wales does Homage to Henry.*

THIS Prince dy'd in 1241, leaving his Dominions to *David* and *Griffin* his Sons, who were to ſhare them equally, but *David* ſeiz'd his Brother's Portion, and ſhut him up in a Priſon. *Griffin*'s Wife finding her Husband robb'd and impriſon'd, made Application to the King of *England*, and promis'd him in her Husband's Name a Preſent of 600 Marks, and a yearly Tribute of 300, if he wou'd releaſe him from Priſon, and put him in Poſſeſſion of his Rights. *Henry* accepted of this Offer, and ſent a Summons to *David* to ſet his Brother at Liberty. *David* finding himſelf preſs'd, determin'd with himſelf to gain the King of *England*'s good Will, by making him Offers which were much more advantageous than thoſe of his Brother; and *Henry* accepted them without Heſitation. He actually took upon him to ſee that *Griffin* ſhou'd be remov'd under a Guard to the *Tower* of *London*, to which this Prince was committed; and as he attempted 3 Years after to make his Eſcape out at a Window, he fell into the Ditch and broke his Neck. *His Death and Diſpute betwixt his Sons.*

Anno 1244. *DAVID* was no ſooner rid of his Brother, but he fell out with *Henry*; and upon ſome very far-fetch'd pretence, made Incurſions upon the *Engliſh* Frontiers. *Henry* making no Stir to repel this Inſult, the Country People themſelves took Arms in their own Defence, but were always beaten. This was juſt at the time that an *Engliſh* Army was on the march towards

Hen. III. towards *Scotland*, which having no occaſion to act, by reaſon of the Peace which was concluded betwixt *Henry* and *Alexander*, the Prince of *Wales* did not doubt but it wou'd be turn'd againſt him. On this Suppoſition, as he was in no condition to make Reſiſtance againſt ſo ſtrong a Force, he wrote word to the Pope, that he had been compell'd to perform Homage to the King of *England*, and to pay him a Tribute of 5000 Marks, by a Treaty which had been extorted from him. Therefore he deſir'd the Pope to unlooſe him from his Oath, and to annul the Treaty, upon his Offer to perform Homage to the Holy See, and to pay it the ſame Tribute as he paid to the King of *England*. *Innocent* IV. who was then in the Papal Chair, was far from refuſing this Offer. Yet to give ſome Colour to the Undertaking, he gave Commiſſion to two Abbots of *Wales* to inquire into the Affair; and if they ſhou'd find that *David* had been forc'd, he gave them a Power to abſolve him from his Oath, and to make the Treaty void. Theſe two Abbots having had the Inſolence to ſummon the King before them, the Parliament, was ſo enrag'd at it, that a War with *Wales* was reſolv'd on in the Year 1245, but it was faintly carry'd on by the *Engliſh*, who were always beaten: At laſt in 1246, *Henry* going to put himſelf at the Head of his Army, the *Welch* retir'd to their Mountains, where it was not poſſible to overtake them, for which reaſon *Henry*, after having caus'd a Caſtle to be built in an advantageous place, retir'd. *David* dying a little while after without Iſſue, was ſucceeded by his Nephew *Lewellyn*, *Griffin's* Son.

Prince of Wales offers to become Vaſſal to the Pope.

War with Wales.

FROM that time the *Engliſh* and *Welch* liv'd in a good Underſtanding for 10 Years: But

But in 1256, *Henry* having given the *Welch* some Cauſe of Diſguſt, they took Arms and made Incurſions into *England*. Prince *Edward* who was then about 17 Years of Age, was very eager for repulſing them; but he cou'd not accompliſh it, becauſe for want of Money he was very ill ſerv'd by his Troops. *A.* 1257.

Anno 1257. AT length the Progreſs of the *Welch* oblig'd the King to march in Perſon into their Country. But ſince at his approach they laid waſte their own Lands, and then retir'd to their Mountains, he was forc'd to halt. Mean time, while he thought his Enemies at a great diſtance from him, they ſurpriz'd him on a ſudden, and put his Army to the Rout. After that time, other Affairs hinder'd the *Engliſh* from continuing the War. Henry *is defeated.*

The Acts relating to Wales *are,*

1. A Summons to *Lewellyn* Prince of *Wales*, to come and perform his Homage; dated *Feb.* 12. 1218. at *Exeter*. *Homage requir'd of the Pr. of* Wales.

2. LETTERS Patent by which *Henry* takes *David* the Son of *Lewellyn* into his Protection; dated *May* 5. 1220. at *Shrewsbury*. 225. David *protected.*

3. A Bull from *Innocent* IV. which makes void the Abſolution given to *David* Prince of *Wales*, on pretence that the Oath he had taken to *Henry* had been extorted; dated the 7th of the Ides of *April*, 1244. at *Lyons*. 239. *His Abſolution from Alleagiance to* England.

4. An agreement betwixt *Henry* III. and the two Princes, *Owen* and *Lewellyn*, Sons to *Griffin*; dated *April* 30. 1247. at *Woodſtock*. 425. Henry's *agreement with two* Welch *Princes.*

'THE King pardons them for their Rebellion, 'and leaves them a part of the North of *Wales*, 'on condition of their paying him Homage, 443.

'and

Hen. III. and furniſhing him with a certain number of Soldiers.

ARTICLE V.

Henry IIId's *Affairs with the Court of* Rome.

Henry's Homage to the Pope's Legate.

Anno 1216. IMMEDIATELY after the Coronation of *Henry* III. he perform'd Homage to the Pope before the Legate; the Regent who thought fit to engage the Court of *Rome* in the Intereſts of the young King, confirming by this Homage what had been done by the King his Father. He wrote to the Pope at the ſame time to acquaint him with the Death of *John*, and the Coronation of *Henry*, and to deſire his Protection for this young Prince. The Pope was far from neglecting his own Intereſts on ſuch an occaſion as this, when the point in Queſtion was the Preſervation of *England*, which was become the Patrimony of St. *Peter*. Therefore in order to favour *Henry* all that lay in his Power, he ſent a new Legate to *England*, who renew'd and aggravated the Excommunication againſt *Lewis* and all his Adherents: And *Lewis* on his part ſolemnly proteſted againſt every thing that the Legate ſhou'd do to his Prejudice.

Pope's Legate proceeds againſt the Clergy that adher'd to Lewis.

THE Treaty which was concluded the Year following, *viz.* 1217. betwixt *Henry* and *Lewis*, was not ſtrong enough to ſhelter thoſe Clergymen who had adher'd to a foreign Prince, from the Reſentment of the Pope. Tho it provided in expreſs Terms, that no Perſon ſhou'd be call'd to account for having eſpous'd *Lewis*'s Party; yet the Legate pretended that the Clergy cou'd not be included in this Article, becauſe as they had diſobey'd the Pope

Pope by not obſerving the Interdict, it was an Affair which related to Religion, and with which the two Princes had no Concern. Therefore they who were guilty of this Crime, were forced to purchaſe their Pardons with great Sums of Money, the Regent refuſing to protect them, for fear of drawing down the Pope's Anger upon the King, at a time when he was ſcarce ſettled on the Throne. *A.* 1226.

INNOCENT III. dy'd in the Year 1218. and *Honorius* III. ſucceeded him. Some years after this the Pope paſs'd an Act of Sovereign Authority, declaring by a Bull that the King was of Age, tho he was not yet attain'd to the Years preſcrib'd by the Laws; and ordering all that had Places belonging to the Crown in their keeping, to ſurrender them immediately to the King. But this Bull which was obtain'd by *Hubert de Burgh*, in order to be rid of the Regent who made him uneaſy, was not punctually obey'd, as we obſerv'd under the firſt Article. *Pope's Bull declaring the K. of Age.*

Anno 1226. THE Pope ſent a new Legate to *England*, who demanded at his Arrival that the Parliament might be call'd to conſider of a Propoſal which he had to make from the Pope. His Demand being granted him, he propos'd that by the Authority of Parliament, two Prebends might be ſet apart for the Pope in every Cathedral, and two Monks Portions in every Monaſtery. He back'd his Propoſal with theſe Reaſons: That it had been publickly complain'd for a long time that the Court of *Rome* granted no favour without Money; that to wipe off this ſcandal, there was an abſolute neceſſity of removing the Cauſe that produc'd it, *viz.* the extreme Poverty of the Holy See, and to provide for its Neceſ- *An extraordinary demand of the Pope.*

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Hen. III. Neceſſities after another manner. The Parliament having ſeparated without returning any Anſwer to this Propoſition, the Legate took a Journey into the Northern Counties, where he ſo oppreſs'd the Churches, that they were forc'd to complain to the Pope, who recall'd him for fear of exaſperating the *Engliſh*, and prejudicing his Demand; from which the Pope was ſo far from receding, that on the contrary he enjoin'd the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to get the Parliament conven'd again, and to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly upon the Demand which had been made by his Legate; but he cou'd not obtain any thing.

Pope inſiſts upon it but in vain.

Gregory IX. *Pope.*

In 1227. *HONORIUS* III. was ſucceeded by *Gregory* IX.

Death of ABp Langton, *and the Election of another, whom the K. refuſes to confirm.*

Cardinal *Langton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* dying next Year, the Monks of St. *Auſtin* immediately choſe one of their Brethren without any Leave had from the King. But the King refuſing to acknowledge him, and the Suffragan Biſhops denying their Conſent to the Election, there was a neceſſity of carrying this Affair to *Rome*. As the Pope was in no great haſte to determine it, the King without conſulting the Parliament, made an Offer to him of the tenth Part of the Moveables of *England* and *Ireland*, provided he would vacate the Election. This Offer ſo weaken'd the Title of the Archbiſhop elect, that the Pope annull'd his Election, and at the ſame time with his own Authority, he confer'd the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* on *Richard le Grand*, a Canon of *Lincoln*, who probably had been recommended to him by the King. Tho this was a manifeſt Injuſtice, the King was far from complaining of it, and the Suffragan Biſhops were content, after they had ſeen the Election

Pope nominates another.

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Election of the Monks of St. *Auſtin* made void. *A.* 1232.
Not long after, the Pope ſent a Nuncio into *England* to receive what had been promis'd to him. The King having aſſembled a Parliament upon this occaſion, the Lords ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the Pope's Demand: But ſome of them having been gain'd over by Promiſes, and others frighten'd by Threats, the Nuncio at length obtain'd his Ends. Afterwards in purſuance of a Power which he had from the Pope, he himſelf levy'd that Tax with ſo much Rigour, that he compell'd the People to pay him the Tenth of Fruits which were not yet gather'd. Moreover he forc'd the Biſhops to advance the Money for the reſt of the Clergy, and left them a Power to reimburſe themſelves afterwards. As to thoſe who had no Money ready, the Nuncio had a Remedy at hand, for he carry'd with him *Italian* Uſurers, who lent it them at extravagant Intereſt.

He demands the promis'd Tenths.

His Nuncio raiſes them with Rigour.

THE Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* having ſome Difference with the King, ſet out in 1231, to carry his Complaints to the Pope. That Prelate dying this very Year at *Rome*, the Friars of St. *Auguſtin* choſe the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* in his place, and the King put him in poſſeſſion of the Temporalities of the Archbiſhoprick. But the Pope being inform'd that the Archbiſhop Elect was too much a Dependant on the Court, made the Election void, and order'd the Monks to proceed to another. The ſecond Election which was in 1232, not being to the Pope's liking, he wou'd needs have a third, which fell upon *Richard Bland*, a Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*, whom the Pope did not like neither. But at laſt, for fear that the Monks ſhou'd miſtake again, he gave them

ABp of Canterbury goes to Rome to complain of the K.

His Death and Succeſſor.

Pope makes void the Election.

And a ſecond.

And a third.

Hen. III. them a Power to elect *Edmund* a Canon of *Salisbury*, who was actually chose and confirm'd by the Pope.

A Crusade publish'd. THIS same Pope publish'd a Crusado in 1236, because the Truce which *Frederick* II. had made with the *Saracens* was on the point of Expiration. A multitude of People took up the Cross on supposition that a War wou'd now be made upon the Infidels in good earnest, but while Preparations were making for the Voyage, the Pope issued a Bull, whereby he excus'd the Croises from their Vow, on paying a Tax which he impos'd on each of them.

Arrival of Otho the Legate. IN 1237, the Pope sent a new Legate nam'd *Otho* into *England*, tho there did not seem to be any necessity for one then; but it appear'd afterwards that the King had requir'd one, that he might make use of his Power and Protection against the Barons who threaten'd him.

Cold reception of the English Clergy at Rome. BUT next Year the King was so embroil'd with the Court of *Rome*, by sending a Body of *English* Troops to the Emperor's Service, that for some time the *English* Clergy there were very ill receiv'd. But the King and the Pope stood too much in need one of another to continue long at variance. The Bishop of *Winchester* dying this same Year, the King recommended the Bishop of *Valence*, to the Chapter of that Church, who was the Queen's Brother. But without regard to such Recommendation, the Chapter elected the Bishop of *Chichester*; which Election not being agreeable to the King, he made Advances towards a Reconciliation with the Pope, and at length got it to be annull'd.

Death of the Bp of Winchester.

Henry recommends the Q's Brother to that See.

Anno

Anno 1239. AFTER the Legate *Otho* came to *England*, he never ceas'd extorting Money from the Clergy on various pretences. His Exactions were push'd to that degree, that the Clergy complain'd of him to the Pope, who had a great mind to recal him, but the King still oppos'd it. At last the Clergy seeing that there was no End of the Oppressions which they suffered from the Legate, had an extraordinary Assembly to consider of some Remedy for that Evil, and were no sooner met, but the Legate demanded of them a Supply of Money for the pressing Necessities of the Holy See. But he was told in plain Terms, that the Clergy were resolv'd to endure his Oppressions no longer: And then the Assembly separated, for fear of giving the Legate an opportunity to insist upon his Demand. However the Pope was no Loser by it, because the Legate made the Monasteries pay what he had thought fit to demand of the Clergy.

A. 1239.

The Legate's Exactions.

He demands a Subsidy of the Bishops, who deny him.

THIS Legate, who was always insatiable, not content with having pillag'd *England* with Impunity, had a mind to do the same in *Scotland*. But when he came upon the Frontier, he there found the King of *Scotland*, who stay'd to prevent his Entrance into that Kingdom, and actually gave him to understand, that his Person wou'd not be safe among a People who were not accustom'd to see the Pope's Legates. The Legate insisted on his Entrance, and even threaten'd to excommunicate the King of *Scotland*, who did not seem to be much concern'd at it. At last some Lords interposing to accommodate them, the King consented he shou'd enter *Scotland* as a private Person, on condition that he wou'd by a Writing sign'd with his own Hand, acknowledge that when

The Legate makes a fresh Attempt upon Scotland.

Hen. III. he had that Permiſſion granted him, it was not in regard to his Dignity, but only to his Perſon. Notwithſtanding this, when he came to *Edinburgh*, he extorted ſome Money from the Clergy of *Scotland*; and that was the only Buſineſs of his Journey.

Extorts Money from the Clergy there.

THE King favour'd the Court of *Rome* upon all occaſions, becauſe the Pope's Protection was the only Remedy that he had againſt the Diſcontents of his Subjects. In order not to diſoblige the Pope, he had given leave that the Excommunication of the Emperor his Brother-in-Law ſhou'd be publiſh'd in all the Churches of *England*; and when the Emperor thought fit to complain of it, he told him, that as he was a Vaſſal of the Holy See, he cou'd not diſpenſe with his Obedience to the Pope's Orders. After this, 'tis no wonder that the Legate continu'd to oppreſs the Clergy of *England* with all the Severity imaginable, becauſe he was ſure of being ſupported by the King. But the Clergy was not the only Body that ſuffer'd. For in the Year 1240, the Legate made Proclamation thro'out the Kingdom, that he had not only a Power to excuſe the Croiſes from their Vow, but alſo to compel them on pain of Excommunication to compound for their Abſolution by Money.

Demands of the Pope upon the Clergy.

IMMEDIATELY after this, the ſaid Legate demanded of the Clergy the 5th part of all their Goods, to go towards the Defence of the Church againſt the Attacks of the Emperor. The Biſhops at firſt loudly refus'd what was demanded of them; but at laſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* who was willing to live in Peace, made the Clergy conſent to give the 5th part of their Revenues. The Legate accepted of the Gift, but with as much Difficulty as if he had

had been giving his Maſter's Money to the Clergy. The Archbiſhop ſeeing there was no way to turn the Heart either of the King or the Pope, and deſiring to ſpend the remainder of his Life in quiet, retir'd to the Monaſtery of *Pontigny* in *France*, where he dy'd that ſame Year with the Character of a Saint, and was afterwards canoniz'd at the Council of *Lyons*. *A.* 1240. *Retirement and Death of the ABp of* Canterbury.

THIS Prelate was no ſooner gone, but a new Nuncio came, one *Peter Roſſi*, who brought a Liſt of 300 *Italians*, on whom the Pope order'd the firſt vacant Benefices ſhou'd be conferr'd, notwithſtanding all Right of Election, Patronage, or any other whatſoever. But that was not the only Motive of his Voyage. He had a more important Commiſſion, which was to ſqueeze Money from all the religious Houſes, in a way that it might not ſeem as if they were forc'd to give it. For this end he engag'd ſome Abbots to ſign a Writing, whereby they promis'd to give a certain Sum to the Pope. He afterwards made uſe of this promiſſory Note, to induce others to follow the Example, by telling them how dangerous it wou'd be for them to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the others by a Refuſal. But this Trick being too ſoon diſcover'd, he cou'd not ſucceed in his Project. Mean time the Legate made a new Demand upon the Clergy, ſtill upon pretence of defending the Church againſt the Emperor. The Clergy publickly refus'd to ſubmit to that Exaction, and parted without granting any thing. But the King and the Legate having found means to intimidate ſome of the Members, the latter ſuffer'd themſelves to be prevail'd on, and the others were in a manner forc'd to do as they did. So that every one

300 Italians nominated to vacant Benefices.

Pope's Nuncio trys to extort Money from the Monaſteries.

Legate demands a freſh Subſidy of the Clergy.

Hen. III. did for himself what they had refus'd in a Body.

He returns to Rome.

At last *Otho* the Legate set out for *Rome* in 1241. carrying immense Sums with him,

Is rifled by the Emperor's Forces.

which he had amass'd in *England*. But as he enter'd *Italy*, he had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the Emperor's Troops,

Death of Gregory IX.

who strip'd him of all his Riches. *Gregory* IX. dy'd while the Legate was upon the Road.

His Simoniacal Proposal.

This Pope who had in a manner exhausted *England*, was not yet satisfy'd; for a little before his Death he had made a Proposal to the Abbot of *Peterborow*, that if he wou'd give him a certain Benefice of 200 *l. Sterling* a Year, he wou'd let it out to him again for 100 *l.* and consequently they shou'd share the Benefice between them; but the Abbot was so honest a Man as to reject this Simoniacal Proposition. Probably if the Pope had succeeded, he wou'd have try'd the same thing with all the other Abbots. The Death of *Gregory* IX. produc'd a Schism which lasted 18 Years.

Schism after his Death.

Q's Brother chose ABp.

In that same Year, *Henry* contriv'd to have *Boniface* the Queen's Brother elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho he was a young Man and did not understand the *English* Language.

Innocent IV. *Pope.*

The Papal Throne was fill'd in 1243 by *Innocent* IV. This new Pope sent a Nuncio to *England* nam'd *Martin*, who was authoriz'd to fill up all the vacant Benefices. Moreover he had a Power to suspend, excommunicate and depose all Ecclesiasticks that shou'd prove refractory; that is to say, such as refus'd to give whatever Money was demanded of them.

He vexes the Clergy.

This Nuncio, after having committed an infinite number of private Extortions by virtue of his Power, demanded also an extraordinary Subsidy

Subſidy of the Clergy, to pay the Debts which *Gregory* IX. had contracted in the War againſt the Emperor, but he cou'd not obtain any thing. *A.* 1245.

Reſolves of the Barons againſt him.

AT length in 1245, the Barons perceiving that the Court of *Rome* drain'd the Kingdom of Money, and that the Clergy always relax'd, when they ſhou'd have withſtood the Pope, reſolv'd to oppoſe thoſe Extortions with their own Authority. For this purpoſe they order'd the Governours of the Sea Ports to arreſt all Perſons that came into the Realm from the Pope. Not long after this, a Courier from *Rome* was apprehended, who came furniſh'd with ſeveral Bulls to demand Money of the Clergy. Upon Complaint made of it by the Nuncio, the King caus'd every thing that had been taken from the Courier to be reſtor'd. But the Nobility made a ſmart Remonſtrance to him on that Head, and ſhew'd him by an exact Calculation, that the Revenues of the *Italian* Benefices far exceeded thoſe of the Crown. The King was ſurpriz'd at it, and permitted the Nobility to make their Complaints to the General Council which was aſſembled at *Lyons*. They therefore wrote a long Letter to the Council, by Ambaſſadors ſent on purpoſe, to repreſent their Grievances to it. But as the Nobility apprehended that this Affair might be ſpun out to a greater length than they wou'd have had it, they met notwithſtanding the King's Prohibition, and ſent a Knight to the Nuncio, who commanded him in their Name to quit the Kingdom immediately, unleſs he had a mind to be cut in pieces. It ſignify'd nothing for the Nuncio to apply to the King, who was not then in a condition to protect him. He was forc'd to obey, and

His Courier ſtop'd.

Barons ſend a Letter to the General Council.

Hen. III. all that he cou'd obtain was a Paſsport that he might retire with Safety.

The Ambaſſadors lay open the Nation's Grievances.

When the Ambaſſadors came to the Council, they deliver'd in their Letter, which was publickly read. Then they gave a more particular Narrative of all the Grievances complain'd of by the *Engliſh*; and after having proteſted againſt the Tribute of 1000 Marks, granted to the Pope by King *John*, they retir'd without one word of anſwer from the Pope to their Complaints. But when they were gone, he endeavour'd to make the Council believe, that he intended to remedy thoſe Abuſes. For this purpoſe he publiſh'd two Bulls, the firſt of which granted it as a Favour to ſuch *Engliſh* as had the Right of Patronage, to nominate whomſoever they pleas'd to thoſe Benefices which belong'd to them. The ſecond order'd that when a benefic'd *Italian* dy'd, or quitted his Benefice, the *Engliſh* ſhou'd not be oblig'd to put another *Italian* in his place. He made a great flouriſh with theſe two Bulls, as if he had thereby entirely redreſs'd all the Injuries which *England* complain'd of. But as ſoon as the Council was broke up, he compell'd all the Biſhops of *England*, on pain of Excommunication, to ſubſcribe the Charter of King *John*'s Reſignation, and *Henry* ſuffer'd it without oppoſing it.

Proteſt againſt the Tribute promis'd by King John.

Pope pretends to ſatisfy the Engliſh.

He forces the Biſhops to ſign John's *Charter of Reſignation.*

Freſh Exactions of the Court of Rome.

Anno 1246. The Complaints of the Barons were not effectual to put a ſtop to the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*. Next Year the Pope impos'd an intolerable Tax upon the Clergy of *England*, and the Biſhops did not dare to ſtir. But it was not ſo with the Temporal Lords who got the Parliament to paſs a Reſolution to have the Grievances of the Nation committed to Writing, and to demand Satisfaction

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tion from the Pope by a Letter, which was *A.* 1247.
ſign'd by all the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal. This Letter, as vigorous as it was, produc'd an Effect contrary to what was expected. The Pope being reſolute, whatever was the Conſequence, compell'd the Clergy to ſubſcribe the Excommunication which he had fulminated againſt the Emperor; after which, pretending that all the Churches, and more eſpecially that of *England* were equally concern'd to ſupport him in his War with that Monarch, he oblig'd every Member of the Clergy to ſupply him with Money, for raiſing and maintaining his Troops. Moreover by a Bull he appropriated to himſelf the Eſtates of all the Clergy that dy'd without a Will. And finally to compleat his Oppreſſion, he offer'd to lay a Tax upon the Clergy of *England* of one third of the Moveables of thoſe who reſided at their Benefices, and of one half of thoſe who were Non-Reſidents. But the King cou'd not help prohibiting the Clergy from ſubmitting to that Impoſition.

Pope claims the Goods of the Clergy dying inteſtate, and lays a heavy Tax on them.

IN the beginning of the Year 1247, a new Legate arriv'd, who immediately demanded a Preſent of 1000 Marks from the Biſhops and Abbots of *England*, and 500 from thoſe of *Ireland*. In order to compenſate the King for his ordinary Complaiſance, with regard to the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, the Pope ſent him a Bull, whereby he order'd that no *Italian*, not even a Nephew of one of the Cardinals, or of the Pope himſelf, ſhou'd be put in poſſeſſion of any Benefice in *England*, without the King's Conſent. But he well knew that ſuch Conſent wou'd very eaſily be obtain'd.

IN the Year 1250, *Henry* caus'd *Athelmar*, his Brother by the Mother's ſide, to be choſe Biſhop

Henry's half Brother choſe Bp. of Wincheſter.

Hen. III. Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Pope confirm'd the Election.

I might enter into a more particular Enumeration of the Exactions of the Court of *Rome* upon the Clergy of *England*. But I think what I have already related, is ſufficient to ſhew the Avarice of the Popes, and the rather becauſe I ſhall be oblig'd in the ſecond part of this Reign, to give more undeniable Proofs of it.

The Acts which relate to the 5th Article concerning the Court of Rome *are theſe,*

Pope's Letter to Henry *to take up the Croſs.* 267.

1. A Letter from *Honorius* III. to *Henry* III. exhorting him to take up the Croſs, after the Example of the Emperor *Frederick*; dated the 5th of the Calends of *May* 1224. at the *Lateran.*

Gregory's Complaint to him. 322.

2. A Letter from *Gregory* IX. to the King; dated at *Spoleto* the 7th of the Ides of *June*, 1232.

'HE complains that his Miniſters are a-'bus'd, and his Bulls deſpis'd.

K's Anſwer to the Cardinals Complaint. 337.

3. A Letter from the King to the Cardinals; dated *Feb.* 25. 1235. at *Weſtminſter.*

''TIS an Anſwer to their Complaint, that 'the Tribute of 500 Marks had been paid to 'the Pope alone without giving them a ſhare 'of it.

Exhorted to go to the H. Land. 423.

4. A Letter from *Innocent* IV. to the King; dated the 10th of the Calends of *February* 1244. at *Lyons.*

'HE exhorts the King to make a Voyage 'to the *Holy Land.*

His Order to the Prelates at the Council of Lyons. 434.

5. AN Order from the King to the *Engliſh* Prelates who are to go to the General Council

at

at *Lyons*, to do nothing in the Council to the prejudice of his Crown; dated in 1245. *A.* 1250.

6. A Bull againſt the Biſhops, who receive Money for abſolving Perſons excommunicated; dated the 10th of the Calends of *July* 1245, at *Lyons*. *Bull againſt Biſhops abſolving for Money.* 435.

7. A Letter from *Innocent* IV. to the King; dated the ſecond of the Ides of *June* 1246, at *Lyons*. *Pope deſires the K. to let him levy the Tenths on the Clergy.* 441.

'HE deſires him to permit the Levy of the 'Twentieth of the Revenues of Benefices; on 'which condition he promiſes to be very mo- 'derate with regard to the Affair of Provi- 'ſions.

8. ANOTHER to the King; dated the 3d of the Ides of *April* 1250, at *Lyons*. *Diſſuades him from going to the* Holy Land. 451.

'HE endeavours to diſſwade him from un- 'dertaking the Voyage to the *Holy Land* for 'the preſent.

9. A Bull which takes off the Excommunication fulminated by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* againſt the Monks of St. *Auguſtin*; dated the 5th of the Ides of *October* 1250. at *Lyons*. *Excommunication of the Monks of St.* Auſtin. 458.

10. THE Pope's Letter, anſwering the Complaints of the Biſhops of *England* againſt the great number of Foreigners holding Benefices; dated the 11th of the Calends of *June*, 1252, at *Aſſiſio*. *Complaint againſt the number of Foreigners in Benefices.* 471.

'HE eludes this Complaint by general Ex- 'preſſions.

11. A Bull of *Innocent* IV. concerning Proviſions to Benefices; dated the 3d of the Nones of *November* 1253, at the *Lateran*. *Bull for Proviſions.* 495.

'HE grants ſomething, but 'tis a very ſmall 'matter.

The

The Second Part of the Reign of Henry III.

Article I.

Henry IIId's *Affairs with the Popes, touching the Grant of the Kingdom of* Sicily.

In the laſt Article of the firſt Part, we ſaw that the Pretence of all the Exactions of the Court of *Rome* upon the Clergy of *England* was the War which the Church was engag'd in againſt the Emperor. This Article is properly but another Link of the former. Here we ſhall find Exactions yet more intolerable, tho under another Pretext; which will ſhew to what a degree the Popes puſh'd their Avarice of Money, and their Severity to the Clergy of *England*. In order to convince the Reader of this Truth, I ſhall here as briefly as poſſible explain thoſe two Pretexts which I have been ſpeaking of, becauſe that which is the Subject of this Article is but a Sequel and Dependant of the former.

Tancred K. of Sicily's Death and Succeſſor.

I took notice before, in the Abridgment of the Reign of *Richard* the Firſt, that *Tancred*, the natural Son of *Roger* King of *Sicily* ſeiz'd that Kingdom, and kept poſſeſſion of it to his Death, notwithſtanding the Efforts of the Emperor *Henry* of the Houſe of *Suabia*, whom the Pope had caus'd to marry *Conſtantia* of *Sicily*, tho 50 Years of Age. After the Death of *Tancred*, his Son *William* III. aſcended the Throne of *Sicily*; and the Emperor *Henry* renewing his Pretenſions to that Kingdom, repair'd to *Italy*, and beſieg'd *Naples*. *Sicily* was at that time divided into two Parts, the firſt of

Diviſion of that Country.

which

which contain'd that part of the Iſland which is call'd *Sicily* beyond the *Fare*, and the ſecond that part which is now call'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, and then known by the Name of *Sicily*, on this ſide of the *Fare*. *Henry* meeting with more Difficulties in the Siege of *Naples* than he expected, made a Propoſal of an Accommodation to *William*, which was accepted. By the Treaty which was concluded on this Head, the Emperor had *Sicily* beyond the *Fare*, and *William* kept the Kingdom of *Naples*. But *Henry* having contriv'd to ſeize the Perſon of *William*, caus'd his Eyes to be put out, and ſent him Priſoner to *Germany*. After this he made himſelf Maſter of *Naples*, and kept the two Kingdoms united till his Death, which happen'd in 1199. *Frederick* his Son who was 11 Years of Age, ſucceeded him, and was crown'd at *Palermo* with the Approbation of the Pope, who gave him the Inveſtiture of both *Sicilys*. *Conſtantia* the Emperor's Widow dying three Years after, left the ſame Pope *Innocent* III. to be Guardian of her Son *Frederick*, who at the Age of 14 marry'd *Conſtantia* of *Caſtille*. This ſame Prince was elected Emperor by *Innocent* the Third's Party, which oppos'd that of the excommunicated Emperor *Otho*; but he was not crown'd till after the Death of *Otho* in 1220, by Pope *Honorius* III. *Conſtantia* of *Caſtille* dying in 1222, *Frederick* marry'd *Yolante*, Daughter of *John de Brienne*, titular King of *Jeruſalem*. As this Kingdom was ſtill in the hands of the *Saracens*, *Honorius* III. publiſh'd a Cruſado in 1224, of which *Frederick* was declar'd General, in order to recover that Kingdom from the Infidels.

A. 1224.

Treaty betwixt the Emperor and the K. of Sicily.

Sad Catastrophe of the K. of Sicily.

Emperor Frederick *inveſted in both* Sicilys.

His Coronation and Marriage.

A Cruſado for a War againſt the Infidels.

WHILE

Hen. III. WHILE the Emperor was preparing for this Expedition, certain Towns of *Italy* revolted from him; and as he did not care to leave that Country in Trouble during his Abſence, he reſolv'd before he went, to reduce thoſe Towns. But *Gregory* IX. Succeſſor of *Honorius*, preſs'd him very earneſtly to go, on pretence that the Croiſes cou'd no longer be without their General; but probably his ſecret Reaſon was a deſign to take advantage of the Emperor's Abſence to foment the Revolt of *Italy*. Be this as it will, *Frederick* being no longer able to withſtand the preſſing Sollicitations of the Pope, embark'd as if he had a Deſign to make a Voyage to *Paleſtine*; but was no ſooner aboard the Veſſel, than he gave Orders for his being put aſhore again by reaſon of Sickneſs. That was what gave the Pope a handle to excommunicate him, becauſe he declar'd not only that his Diſtemper was feign'd, but alſo that a very great number of the Croiſes who had been actually at the *Holy Land* were return'd home, when they ſaw that the Emperor did not arrive. This Excommunication ſo provok'd the Emperor, that he put himſelf at the Head of his Army, and march'd directly to *Rome*, from whence the Pope was forc'd to depart. Nevertheleſs the Emperor ſet out next Year for the *Holy Land*, where he made great Progreſs, tho he was thwarted by the Knights Hoſpitallers, who had even laid a Plot to deliver him up to the *Saracens*, probably with a View to do the Pope a Pleaſure. For *Gregory* had renew'd the Excommunication of the Emperor, becauſe he ſail'd away before he had made his Peace with the Church. At the ſame time he gave the Command of an Army to *John de Brienne*, in order to go and make himſelf Maſter

Revolt of Towns in Italy from the Emperor.

Pope excommunicates him.

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ſter of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Thus have I trac'd the Origin of this famous War, which coſt *Italy* ſo much Blood, and gave Birth to the two Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, who worry'd each other ſo long, and fill'd that Country with Murders and Maſſacres. *England*, tho very remote from *Italy*, was alſo a Sufferer by it, becauſe that was the very War which furniſh'd the Pope with a pretext for oppreſſing the Clergy. *A.* 1251.

INNOCENT IV. who was Succeſſor of *Gregory* IX. walking in the Footſteps of his Predeceſſor, made all poſſible Efforts to take the Kingdom of *Sicily* from the Emperor, and even to deprive him of the Empire. He ſolemnly excommuuicated him at the Council of *Lyons*, and endeavour'd to arm all the Powers in Chriſtendom againſt him. But notwithſtanding all his Efforts, *Frederick* kept *Sicily* and the Empire to his Death, which happen'd in 1250. Innocent IV. *his Succeſſor alſo excommunicates him.*

THIS Prince having Children by 3 Wives, ſhar'd his Succeſſion among them by a Will. He had given *Auſtria* to *Henry* his eldeſt Son by his Wife *Conſtantia*; *Sicily* on this ſide of the *Fare*, or the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Conrad* his Son, by *Yolante* of *Brienne*; and the Iſle of *Sicily* to *Henry*, whom he had by his third Wife *Iſabella* of *England*, Siſter to *Henry* III. He had likewiſe a natural Son nam'd *Manfred*, to whom he left the Principality of *Tarentum*, with the Regency of the two Kingdoms, *viz.* of that of *Naples* in the abſence of *Conrad*, and of that of *Sicily* during *Henry*'s Minority: *Manfred* having taken poſſeſſion of the Regency of *Sicily*, went to aſſume that likewiſe of the other Kingdom, but the principal Cities refuſing to admit him, he preſs'd *Conrad* to come *Emperor's Diviſion of the* Sicilys *among his Sons.*

Hen. III. in Perſon into that Country, and cauſe himſelf to be recogniz'd there. *Germany* being at that time divided into two Factions, as well as *Italy*, one part of the Princes had elected *Conrad* for Emperor, and the Pope's Party had made choice of *William* Earl of *Holland*. *Conrad* was no ſooner elected than the Pope excommunicated him; but this did not hinder his going to the Kingdom of *Naples*, there to ſupport his Party againſt the Pope, who had caus'd the greateſt Cities to revolt. This War proving very expenſive to the Pope, he endeavour'd to perſuade Prince *Richard*, who was *Henry* the Third's Brother, to accept the Crown of *Sicily*, of which he made him an Offer. *Richard*, who was a Prince of very great OEconomy, had heap'd up vaſt Wealth, while the King his Brother was always in want. 'Twas this that made the Pope caſt his Eye upon him, in hopes that he wou'd be profuſe of his Treaſure in order to procure himſelf a Crown. Indeed *Richard* did not reject the Propoſal, but he inſiſted on ſome Security which the Pope did not like. When he offer'd him the Crown, he thought that he wou'd be content with the bare Title of King of *Sicily*, ſuffer himſelf to be directed by his (the Pope's) Counſels, and make him Maſter of his Purſe. But *Richard* not thinking it fit to be his Tool, the Negotiation broke off.

Conrad *excommunicated.*

Innocent *offers* Sicily *to Pr.* Richard.

His Terms not lik'd by the Pope.

Negotiation is broke off.

Conrad *Conquers* Naples.

MEAN time *Conrad*, who ſtill carry'd on the War againſt the Pope with Vigour, made himſelf Maſter of the City, and almoſt the whole Kingdom of *Naples*. This oblig'd *Innocent* IV. to tack about to the King of *England*, and to offer him the Crown of the two *Sicilys*, provided he wou'd engage to conquer them. But *Henry* refus'd the Preſent, it being a Scruple with

Pope's Offer of the 2 Sicilys *to* K. Henry *alſo rejected.*

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with him to deprive his Nephew *Henry* of the Portion which was fallen to his ſhare. During this, *Conrad* contriv'd to have *Henry* his Brother put to Death, and to make himſelf Maſter of *Sicily*. This Action gave the Pope an occaſion to renew the Excommunication of this Prince, who about 5 Months after dy'd, as 'tis ſaid, of Poiſon given him by his Baſtard Brother *Manfred*, who had always pretended a Devotion both to his Perſon and Service. *A.* 1254. Conrad *charg'd with the Murder of his Brother.* *Excommunicated, and poiſon'd.*

IMMEDIATELY after *Conrad*'s Death, *Innocent* IV. improving the opportunity, made himſelf Maſter once again of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and *Manfred*, tho' he harbour'd in his Breaſt a Deſign to ſeize the two *Sicilys*, feign'd an entire Devotion to him. He knew ſo well how to diſſemble, that the Pope thinking him wholly in his Intereſt, form'd no Reſolution with regard to his new Conqueſt without conſulting him. Mean time as the Pope cou'd not maintain the Army which he had carry'd to *Naples* without a very great Expence, he apply'd once more to the King of *England*, and offer'd him the Crown of *Sicily*, that is to ſay of both Kingdoms, for *Edmund* his eldeſt Son; telling him that ſince the Death of the King of *Sicily* his Nephew, there was no more room for his Scruples. *Henry* was weak enough, inconſiderately to accept of a Preſent which was only ſo in appearance, the Deſign of it being his Ruin. He did not only immediately ſend the Pope all the Money that he cou'd raiſe, but was alſo ſo imprudent as to engage for the Payment of all the Sums which the Pope ſhou'd borrow to place Prince *Edmund* on the Throne of *Sicily*. After he was ſo far engag'd, he was continually preſs'd to ſend Money to *Rome*. But as it was not in his Power to diſpoſe of Innocent *becomes Maſter again of* Naples. Manfred *outwits him.* *Pope offers* Sicily *to* Henry *for Pr.* Edmund. Henry *accepts it.*

Hen. III. the Purſes of his Subjects, as I have already ſhewn, the Pope undertook to put him in a way to raiſe Money; which was by continually impoſing Tenths and other Burdens upon the Clergy of *England*, on pretence of relieving the King in his Neceſſities, but in reality for defraying the Expences of the War in *Sicily*.

Pope's Contrivance to help the K. to Money.

Pope Innocent *farther outwitted by* Manfred.

THO *Innocent* was Maſter of *Naples*, and of the other chief Cities of that Kingdom, yet there was a Party againſt him which was ſupported by the *German* Troops that *Conrad* had brought thither, and which were under the Command of the two Princes of *Bavaria*. *Manfred*, who, as I have already ſaid, had form'd a Deſign to be Maſter of both Kingdoms, had as many Difficulties to cope with, in all appearance, from the Pope, as from the two *German* Princes, who ſupported the Intereſts of young *Conradin* the Son of *Conrad*. But as he was not at that time in a condition to make uſe of Force, he reſolv'd to have recourſe to Fraud; and this was the Stratagem which he try'd for his Deliverance. He perſuaded the Pope, who had no manner of Suſpicion of him, that the City of *Naples* being too much burden'd by the long Stay which the Army had made there, it was neceſſary to eaſe it, by diſperſing the Troops into different places; that moreover it was not for the Pope's Advantage, to let the *Germans*, who were at one of the Extremities of the Kingdom, have the Liberty of extending their Quarters as far as they pleas'd, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary to keep them in awe, by ſending ſome Troops that way. The Pope follow'd this Advice, and diſtributed his Army into ſeveral Quarters. This firſt Branch of the Project being put in execution, *Manfred* conſulted

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sulted how to manage the two Princes of *Bavaria*. For this end he gave them to understand by some secret Emissaries, that tho he feign'd to be devoted to the Pope, it was only that he might make a better use of the Opportunities which shou'd present to serve *Conradin* as he was in Duty bound; but that he saw no prospect of his being able to procure him the Possession of that Kingdom, with the few Troops which the deceased Emperor had left, considering the great Force which the Pope had brought with him; that he advis'd them therefore to go and make new Levies in *Germany*, and that during their absence, he wou'd undertake to provide for the maintenance of their Troops, by putting the Pope in hopes that at the same time he furnish'd them with some Subsistence and a little Money, he wou'd engage them to retire voluntarily; but that he wou'd order it so, that the Negotiation shou'd last till their Return. The two Princes falling into this Snare, set out for *Germany*, and left their Troops without any Person of Distinction at the Head of them, trusting entirely to *Manfred*, who had made them believe that it was a sure way to deceive the Pope. The third thing which *Manfred* had at Heart, was secretly to get assurance of Assistance from the *Saracens*, who were still very numerous in the Kingdom, and Masters of several Places. His Measures being thus concerted, it happen'd that after he had kill'd a Man that had affronted him, he left the Pope's Court upon pretence of absconding from Justice, and retir'd to the little Town of *Nocera*, of which the *Saracens* were in possession. He was summon'd to appear and take his Trial, and upon his refusal the Pope sent a Part of his Army to seize him

A. 1254.

Manfred flys from the Pope's Court for Murder.

The Pope pursues him and is beat.

Hen. III. him in the very place to which he was fled. But *Manfred* who had foreſeen it, and was already prepar'd, went to meet thoſe Troops upon the Road, ſurpriz'd them, and entirely routed them. *Innocent* then open'd his Eyes, and perceiving *Manfred*'s Treachery, it ſtuck ſo much to his Heart, that it carry'd him to his Grave. *Alexander* IV. was his Succeſſor. Mean time *Manfred* keeping his Deſigns ſtill ſecret, openly eſpous'd *Conradin*'s Party, and by this means he diſpos'd of the *German* Troops that were in the Kingdom.

Pope's Death and Succeſſor.

He raiſes an Army againſt Manfred.

THE new Pope being reſolv'd to make War againſt *Manfred*, borrow'd Money every where upon the Account of the King of *England*, who was under an Engagement to pay it; and at laſt he aſſembled an Army of 60000 Men, at the Head of which he put Cardinal *Ubaldini*, an unexperienc'd General, and gave him for Lieutenant the Marquis of *Hoemburch* a *German*, who had faithfully ſerv'd *Innocent* IV. but after that Pope's Death had ſuffer'd himſelf to be corrupted by *Manfred*. The Cardinal being in a readineſs to march with his whole Army againſt *Nocera*, the Marquis gave him to underſtand that the neighbouring Country was deſtitute of Forage and Proviſion; that moreover there wou'd be no great Honour in attacking a paltry Town with ſo great an Army, the rather becauſe while *Manfred* ſhut himſelf up in that City, it was a Token that he was not in a condition for any Enterprize. The Cardinal believ'd what he ſaid, and only march'd with part of his Troops; but *Manfred*, who was quickly inform'd of it, marching out of *Nocera*, met the Enemies Army betwixt *Troya* and *Foggia*, and entirely defeated it. After this, having neither the Pope

Manfred defeats it.

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nor the *Germans* to fear, he took off the Maſque, and caus'd himſelf to be crown'd King of the two *Sicilys*. *A.* 1254. *Is crown'd K. of Sicily.*

THE Pope having loſt the beſt part of his Army, and not being in a condition to raiſe another, made no conſiderable Effort after that time to wreſt the Crown from the Uſurper. Nevertheleſs he made a handle of that War, to draw prodigious Sums from the King, the People, and eſpecially the Clergy of *England*, beſides what he had borrow'd in the King's Name. In order to feed the hopes of this too credulous Prince, he ſent the Biſhop of *Bologna* into *England*, who ſolemnly inveſted Prince *Edmund* in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, by putting a Ring upon his Finger. The King was as much pleas'd to ſee this Ceremony, as if the Prince his Son had thereby been really plac'd upon the Throne of *Sicily*, and did not trouble himſelf ſo much as to inquire into the State of Affairs of that Kingdom; and the Legate was as far from giving him a faithful Account. I have already ſaid, that *Alexander* IV. had loſt all Hopes of diſpoſſeſſing *Manfred*. It cou'd not be done without exceſſive charge, and yet he gave *Henry* to underſtand that the thing was eaſy, and on the point of being executed, provided he wou'd furniſh ſome Money to haſten the raiſing of the Troops, an imaginary Levy which was never made, and for which nevertheleſs *Alexander* drain'd *England* of Money. The extraordinary Methods he made uſe of to draw Money from *England*, is the principal Subject of this Article. I will only mention ſome of them, becauſe it wou'd be too tedious to enter into the Particulars, which if any one has the curioſity to ſee, he need only con- *Pope inveſts Pr. Edmund with Sicily.*

Hen. III. ſult the Hiſtory of *Matthew Paris* relating to the Reign of *Henry* III.

Sends Ruſtand *his Nuncio into* England *with Bulls.*

In 1255, a Nuncio nam'd *Ruſtand* came into *England* with ſeveral Bulls. He immediately produc'd two of them, the firſt of which order'd the raiſing of the Tenths in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the Neceſſities of the King and the Holy See, that is to ſay, for the pretended Conqueſt of *Sicily*, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition whatſoever that cou'd be imagin'd. The ſecond authoriz'd the King to change the Vow which he had made to go to the *Holy Land*, into that of undertaking the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, a Conqueſt which according to the Pope, was more neceſſary, and more advantageous to the Church than that of *Jeruſalem*.

In 1256, 8 different Bulls came abroad, the ſole View of which was to extort Money from the Clergy for the pretended Conqueſt: I will not here mention the Contents of them, becauſe as they are inſerted in the *Fœdera*, they may be found in the Specification of the Acts which refer to this Article. Nothing can be a better Proof of what *Matthew Paris* has writ upon this Subject, notwithſtanding the Attempts made to render his Teſtimony ſuſpicious.

A ſtrange Method us'd by the Pope to get Money from the Clergy.

All theſe Bulls, and the Money which they had produc'd, not being ſufficient to ſatisfy the Pope's Avarice any more than a drop of Water caſt into the Sea, the Clergy of *England* were alſo fain to pay 135540 Marks, which the Pope pretended to have borrow'd for the King. But as the Pope was afraid that while he furniſh'd the King with the means of drawing Money from the Clergy, ſuch Money might be apply'd to any other uſe, by the King himſelf, or by his Miniſters, he obtain'd of the King

in

in the firſt place that all the extraordinary Levies of Money which were made in *England*, ſhou'd be employ'd in the Payment of that Debt. As ſoon as the King had conſented to this, the ways and means of raiſing Money were never wanting; of which this was one of the ſtrangeſt we ſhall read of. The Nuncio *Ruſtand* caus'd a great number of Bonds or Promiſſory Notes for divers Sums to be drawn up, whereby the underwritten own'd they had ſeverally receiv'd by way of Loan from ſuch a Merchant of *Siena* or *Florence*, the Sum of—— which they oblig'd themſelves to pay by ſuch a time, on pain of being excommunicated. After this, he inſiſted that every Member of the Clergy ſhou'd ſign one of thoſe Bonds, as if he had actually borrow'd the Sum therein mention'd. But the Oppoſition which *Ruſtand* met with in his Enterprize, notwithſtanding his Menaces and his Paſſion, was ſo great, that he was forc'd to make a Journey to *Rome* to inform the Pope of it. The Clergy alſo ſent a Deputation on their part, to acquaint the Pope with the reaſons of their Refuſal; but all they cou'd obtain of the haughty greedy Pontiff was, that the Clergy ſhou'd pay the Sums ſpecify'd in the Obligations, on condition of being reimburs'd out of the Tenths which ſhou'd be granted to the King afterwards. This is Tyranny of ſuch a Stamp, that one wou'd hardly credit it upon the Teſtimony of *Matthew Paris*, if it was not confirm'd by a Letter from the Pope to *Ruſtand*, which he has inſerted in his Hiſtory. *A.* 1256.

THO the Money ariſing from the Bonds I have juſt now mention'd, was at firſt deſign'd for the Payment of the Sums borrow'd by the Pope, that was not ſo much as talk'd of as ſoon as the Bonds were ſign'd. The King in-

Hen. III. sisted that the Clergy shou'd be his Security for those very Sums, and that moreover they shou'd consent that the Tenths which had been granted for 3 Years, shou'd be continued for 5 Years longer. The Clergy wou'd fain have withstood this new Demand, but the Pope having spoke in an imperious Tone, they were forc'd to obey, or at least to give such a Sum as the King demanded.

Henry requires the Clergy to be bound for him.

The Pope presses the King for Money.

THE Army which the Pope pretended he was oblig'd to maintain for the Conquest of *Sicily*, subsisted only in his Imagination, and yet he teaz'd the King incessantly to send him Money. He even threaten'd him to give away the Kingdom of *Sicily* to another Prince, because he was so remiss in performing the Articles of their Agreement. But it was not in the King's Power to raise Money upon his People whenever he thought fit. The Barons who did by no means approve of the Engagements into which he was enter'd, were far from supplying him with the Succours he demanded for that chimerical Enterprize. The King excus'd himself to the Pope in the handsomest manner he cou'd, upon the Resistance of the Parliament, and nevertheless in order to satisfy him in some measure, he also sent him 4000 Marks, and caus'd the Conventions I have been speaking of to be ratify'd by Prince *Edward* his eldest Son. But so small a Sum not being sufficient to content the Pope, he again sent fresh Bulls into *England*, which all tended to help the King to Money by oppressing the Clergy.

Pr. Edward *ratifies the Contract relating to* Sicily.

Pope sends fresh Bulls over to raise Money.

IN 1257, which was the Year following, the King demanded a new Supply of the Clergy, still for the Affair of *Sicily*. The Clergy wou'd at first have pleaded Poverty, but *Rustand* oblig'd them by his Menaces to give the King

King 42000 *l. Sterling*. All this Money was carry'd to *Rome*, and yet the Pope was far from being contented with it. *Ruſtand* having made a trip to *Rome*, return'd with a Power in Form to excommunicate the King, if he did not immediately undertake the Conqueſt of *Sicily*. The Pope pretended that the Sums which he had receiv'd were not ſufficient to defray the Expences already incurr'd, and that the King ſhou'd ſend an Army into *Sicily* with a good General, to wreſt that Kingdom from the Uſurper. *Henry* being quite at a loſs which way to turn himſelf, made it his humble Requeſt to the Pope by Prince *Edmund*, that he wou'd pleaſe to abate ſomething of the Rigour of their Conventions. But the Pope returning no Anſwer, *Henry* was at laſt oblig'd to nominate Ambaſſadors to go to *Rome*, to renounce the Crown of *Sicily* in the name of Prince *Edmund*. Such a Renunciation did not pleaſe the Pope for two Reaſons. In the firſt place, he wanted to ſqueeze more Money out of *England*. Secondly, the Grant of *Sicily* made to *Edmund*, was a thing ſo little known in *Italy*, that we meet with no Hiſtorians of that Country who mention it, and that a publick Renunciation wou'd have diſcover'd this Secret, which the Pope had a mind ſhou'd be conceal'd. Among many Hiſtorians of *Naples* and *Sicily* whom I have read, I find but one that mentions *en paſſant* the Grant made by the Pope to a Son of the King of *England*, tho he is miſtaken in the Name of the Prince to whom the Grant was made.

A. 1257

Extorts an Aid from the Clergy.

K. petitions the Pope to ſoften the Terms relating to Sicily.

He offers to renounce that Crown.

ALEXANDER IV. not caring to accept of the Renunciation juſt now mention'd, ſent a new Nuncio nam'd *Arlot* into *England*, with Power to make ſome ſmall Alteration in the

Hen. III. the Conventions. But at the ſame time he made freſh Efforts to engage *Henry* more and more, by granting him new Favours, but ſtill at the Expence of the Clergy.

THO this Affair held a Year longer, I find my ſelf oblig'd to ſtop here, becauſe it was interrupted by the War of the Barons. Moreover the Reaſon which broke it off, has a natural Relation to the Affairs which I am to treat of in the next Article, where we ſhall find the Concluſion of it.

The Acts relating to the Grant of Sicily *are,*

Pope's Letter to Henry. 476. 1. *INNOCENT* IVth's Letter to the King; dated the 3d of the Nones of *Auguſt* in 1252 at *Peruſa*.

'HE deſires him to exhort *Richard* his 'Brother to accept of the Grant of the King-'dom of *Sicily*.

Grant of Sicily *to Pr.* Edmund. 502. 2. AN Act whereby the Notary *Albert* grants the Kingdom of *Sicily* in the Pope's Name to Prince *Edmund*, ſecond Son of *Henry* III. dated the Day before the Nones of *March* 1254. at *Vendoſme*.

Bull to borrow Money for the War of Sicily. 511. 3. A Bull which gives a Power to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to borrow Money in *England* for the War of *Sicily*; dated the 2d of the Ides of *May* 1254, at *Aſſiſio*.

Grant of Sicily. 512. 4. ANOTHER of the ſame Date, which confirms the Grant of the Kingdom of *Sicily* to Prince *Edmund*.

Pope's Letter to the K. 513. 5. A Letter from *Innocent* IV. to the King; dated the Ides of the ſame Month at *Aſſiſio*.

'HE exhorts *Henry* to accept of the King-'dom of *Sicily* for *Edmund*, and repreſents to 'him that the Death of the King of *Sicily* his 'Nephew ought to remove his Scruples.

6. A

6. A Letter from the Emperor *Conrad* to *Henry* III. *A.* 1255.

Emperor's Letter to him. 514.

'HE notifies to him the Death of *Henry* 'King of *Sicily*, Son to *Frederick* II.

'THO these two last Acts are plac'd after 'the three first of this same Year 1254, one 'wou'd think they ought to precede them, be- 'cause *Henry* III. did not accept of the Grant 'made to *Edmund* his Son, till after the Death 'of the young King of *Sicily*.

7. A Bull which changes the Vow made by *Henry* III. to go to the *Holy Land* into that of undertaking the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Sicily*; dated the 2d of the Calends of *June* 1254, at *Assisio*.

Henry's Vow chang'd. 517.

'THERE is mention made in this Bull of 'the Death of the Emperor *Conrad*.

8. THE King's Letters Patent, whereby he gives his Consent to the Grant of the Principality of *Capua*, which was made by *Edmund* his Son to Count *Thomas* of *Savoy*; dated at *Bourdeaux* the 3d of *October* 1254.

Count of Savoy made Pr. of Capua. 527.

9. *INNOCENT* IVth's Letter to the King; dated at *Naples* the 15th of the Calends of *December* 1254.

Pope's Letter to the K. 535.

'HE orders him to send an Army into '*Apulia*, and threatens him to give *Sicily* to 'some other Prince.

10. A Letter from *Alexander* IV. to the King, notifying his Exaltation to the Pontificate; dated the 11th of the Calends of *January*, 1255.

Another. 536.

'Many Historians have made a long Interval 'between the Death of *Innocent* IV. and the 'Election of *Alexander* IV. but we find by 'the date of these two last Briefs, that *Alex-* 'ander's Election quickly follow'd the Death 'of *Innocent*.

11. A

Hen. III. 11. A Bull of *Alexander* IV. directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; dated at *Naples* the 5th of the Nones of *May* 1255.

Pope's Bull to the Abp of Canterbury. 547.

'He authorizes the Archbiſhop to change 'the King's Vow as above.

K. of Norway's Vow chang'd. 549.

12. Another which authorizes the King of *Norway* to change his Vow of going to the *Holy Land*, into that of aiding in the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Sicily*; dated at *Naples* the 4th of the Ides of *May* 1255.

'This was going a great way off for Suc-'cours for the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, but Money 'was good from whenceſoever it came, and 'nothing elſe was minded.

Conditions of the Grant of Sicily. 893.

13. *ALEXANDER* IVth's Confirmation of the Conditions upon which *Innocent* IV. had granted *Sicily* to Prince *Edmund*; dated the 5th of the Ides of *April* 1255 at *Naples*.

'This Act which ought to have been in-'ſerted among thoſe of the Year 1255, ha-'ving been omitted there, is plac'd at the end 'of this Volume in pag. 893.

Theſe are the Terms.

'That *Edmund* ſhall perform Liege Ho-'mage to the Pope.

'That *Sicily* ſhall be no longer divided, 'and that the two Parts ſhall be under the Go-'vernment of one and the ſame King.

'That the King ſhall make the Pope 'every Year an Acknowledgment of 2000 'Ounces of pure Gold.

'That he ſhall ſend 300 Horſe for 3 'Months to ſerve the Church in caſe of need.

'That the Churches of *Sicily* ſhall enjoy 'their Liberties, and that the Pope ſhall qui-'etly poſſeſs his Rights to thoſe ſame Churches.

'That

'THAT *Edmund* and his Succeſſors, when *A.*1256.
'they pay their Homage, ſhall ſwear that
'they will never conſent to be choſe Em-
'perors, on pain of loſing their Crown, and
'being excommunicated.

'THAT the Church ſhall keep poſſeſſion of
'the Duchy of *Benevento*.

'THAT *Edmund*, when he comes to the
'Age of 15, ſhall perform his Homage in Per-
'ſon, and that till then the King his Father
'ſhall pay it for him. The Form of the Ho-
'mage is here inſerted, *&c.*

'THAT it ſhall be at the Pope's Choice
'whether he will have Homage paid him by
'*Edmund* and his Succeſſors, either in Perſon,
'or by Proxy.

'THAT *Edmund* ſhall confirm and main-
'tain the Grants made by his Predeceſſors to
'the Family of *Hoemburch*.

'BESIDES theſe Conditions, there was a
'neceſſity for other Conventions concerning
'the Expences requiſite for putting *Edmund*
'in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom.

13. A Brief of *Alexander* IV. to the King; dated the Nones of *Feb.* 1256, at the *Lateran*. *Pope's Letter to the King.* 581.

'HE demands of him the Payment of the
'Sums advanc'd by the Holy See for the Con-
'queſt of *Sicily*; and threatens him, that in caſe
'of Refuſal, he will give this Kingdom to
'another.

14. THE King's Prohibition to all the Cler- *K's Order to the Clergy.* 582.
gy his Subjects to go to *Rome*, before they have taken an Oath that they will not ſollicit a-gainſt the King in the Affair of *Sicily*; dated the 15th of *February* 1256, at *Woodſtock*.

15. A Letter from the King to *William Bon-* *King's acknowledgment of his Debt to the Pope.* 583.
quer, whereby he owns himſelf the Pope's Debtor in the Sum of 135501 Marks.

16. PRINCE

Hen. III. 16. PRINCE *Edward*'s Letter to the Pope.
'HE approves of the Grant of the Kingdom of *Sicily* to *Edmund* his Brother.

Bull taxing all the Bishops. 595. 17. A Bull which taxes all the Bishops of *England* for the Affair of *Sicily*, notwithstanding all Privileges, *&c.* dated on the Ides of *July* 1256. at *Anagnia*.

Pope's Order to fix a Day for the K's Departure for the Holy Land. 605. 18. AN Order from the Pope to the Bishop of *Winchester*, to fix a Day for the King's Voyage to the *Holy Land*; dated the 4th of the Nones of *September* 1256. at *Anagnia*.
'PROBABLY the Money not arriving 'from *England* as speedily, or in as great a 'quantity as the Pope wou'd have had it, he 'pretended that the Alteration of the King's 'Vow was null, because the Terms of it were 'not executed.

Prelates not paying Tenths excommunicated. 607. 19. A Bull which excommunicates all the Prelates who have not paid the Tenths; dated the 10th of the Calends of *October* at *Anagnia* in 1256.

Clergy of Scotland *tax'd.* 608. 20. A Bull which orders a Subsidy to be levy'd upon the Clergy of *Scotland*, for Payment of the Debts contracted for the Affair of *Sicily*; dated the 5th of the Calends of *October* 1256, at *Anagnia*.

Time allow'd the K. to pay off his Debt to the Pope. 611. 21. A Bull which gives 6 Months time for the Payment of the Money due from the King to the Pope; dated the 20th of the Nones of *October* 1256, at *Anagnia*.
'THE Pope orders the King in this Bull 'to send an Army into *Sicily*, on pain of Ex-'communication and Interdict.

Pope's Menace of the K. 624. 22. A menacing Letter from *Alexander* IV. to the King, upon his Negligence in the Affair of *Sicily*; dated the 3d of the Nones of *June* 1257, at *Viterbo*.

23. A Commiſſion from the King to the Archbiſhop of *Tarentum*, and other Ambaſſadors, nominated to go and renounce the Kingdom of *Sicily*; dated the 28th of the ſame Month at *Windſor*. *A.* 1258. *King's Commiſſion for renouncing Sicily.*

24 INSTRUCTIONS to the Ambaſſadors.

25. A Brief from *Alexander* IV. to his Official the Archdeacon of *London*; dated the 3d of the Nones of *December* 1258. at *Anagnia*. 630. *Pope's Letter to the Archdeacon of London.* 670.

'HE orders the Debtors of the *Florence* Merchants to be excommunicated, if they don't pay by a certain Time.

ARTICLE II.

The Barons War.

FROM the very beginning of this Reign, or at leaſt from the Death of the firſt Regent, Complaint was made of the Government. I have already ſhewn that the Barons by extorting the two Charters ſo often mention'd from King *John*, had Views which extended farther than the Age in which they liv'd. Their Aim was to ſap the Foundations of Deſpotick Government, and to put it out of the King's Power to deprive either themſelves or their Poſterity, of the Fiefs which their Anceſtors had receiv'd as Gifts from *William* the Conqueror, and to prevent him from impoſing what Taxes he thought fit upon thoſe Fiefs without conſulting them. That was the Ground of the War which they carry'd on againſt King *John*, in which they wou'd undoubtedly have ſunk, if it had not been for the aſſiſtance of *France*. After that War was happily determin'd by the good Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Barons continually had an Eye upon the Behaviour of thoſe who *The ground of the Barons War.*

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Hen. III. who were intruſted with the Government, during the Minority of *Henry* III. for fear of loſing the Privileges which they had preſerv'd, or rather acquir'd with ſo much Hazard and Toil. *Hubert de Burgh*, and the Biſhop of *Winchester*, looking upon thoſe Privileges as extorted, were for advancing the Royal Prerogatives, and that convinc'd the Barons of the neceſſity they were under to be upon their Guard, in order to hinder them from putting their Deſign in Execution. The Barons complain'd, but as what they ſaid was not very much regarded, they made uſe of the ordinary Method to ſupport themſelves againſt the Regal Power, by fomenting Diſcontents among the People, and endeavouring to engage them in their Intereſt by continually alarming them with the proſpect of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power. The young King's firſt Miniſters took no care to prevent thoſe Intrigues by a juſt Government. On the contrary, they ran into ſuch Lengths as began to deprive the King of the Affection of his People, a Loſs which in the end ſeldom fails of producing fatal Effects.

Henry's *ill Conduct.* *HENRY* III. who was a Prince of a mean Genius, and commonly acted more from Caprice than from Reaſon, gave even a greater handle than his Miniſters for the Diſcontent of his Subjects. He not only revok'd the Charters of the King his Father, but afterwards when he was often compell'd by the want of Money to promiſe that he wou'd reſtore them, and cauſe them to be obſerv'd, he always broke his word. And above all, he was ſo imprudent as to ſhew no regard to the City of *London*, but always treated it on the contrary with a great deal of Severity. On the other hand, the Conſent which he gave tacitly or

or expreſly to the Extortions of the Court of *Rome*, drew upon him the Contempt and Hatred of the Clergy, who finding themſelves without Protection, were as impatient as the reſt of the Subjects to ſee the Government in other hands. Thoſe were the general Cauſes of the War betwixt the King and the Barons, which is to be the Subject of this Article. It is needleſs to repeat the particular Reaſons here, becauſe I have already treated of them in the foregoing Articles. I wou'd only have it obſerv'd, that the pretended Grant of *Sicily*, in order to drain all the Money out of the Kingdom, forc'd the Barons as it were to ſeek a Remedy for this Evil, of which they ſaw no end; all the ready Caſh of the Kingdom flowing into *Rome*, as into a Gulph, from whence it never return'd. *A.* 1256.

IN 1256, the King having conven'd the Parliament, deſir'd a Subſidy of them for maintaining an Army, which the Pope requir'd him to ſend to *Sicily*. The Parliament flatly refuſ'd what the King demanded, and preſented an Addreſs to him, to acquaint him with the Reaſons of their denial. Theſe Reaſons were, 1. The Poverty of the Kingdom. 2. The Difficulty or rather the Extravagance of ſuch an Undertaking. 3. The Danger there was in ſending Forces out of the Kingdom, to a Country ſo far diſtant. 4. That the King had engag'd in this Affair without conſulting his Parliament. 5. That by the Conventions which he had ſign'd, the Pope reſerv'd to himſelf the Power of retracting, whereas the King had made no ſuch Stipulation for himſelf. The King was oblig'd to ſit ſtill, his Poverty putting him out of a condition to undertake any *Parl. refuſes him Money, and why.*

Hen. III. thing in order to force the Parliament to grant him his Demand.

THIS Poverty of his was occaſion'd in the firſt place by the unhappy Affair of *Sicily*, which ſwallow'd up all the King's Revenues, and whatever elſe he cou'd rake together by extraordinary Methods. 2. By his Brothers of the Mother's ſide, and by thoſe of the Queen, who were always begging Money of him. The King was ſo eaſily led away by them, that not being able to content them, he ſuffer'd them to pillage the Kingdom as they thought fit, and even without fear of Puniſhment; becauſe he had expreſly forbad the Chancellor to iſſue out any Writ that might be prejudicial to them. The great Influence of theſe Foreigners was to the Barons a moſt intolerable Grievance, becauſe they were in poſſeſſion of the beſt Offices, and almoſt all the Governments in the Kingdom.

King's profuſeneſs to his half Brothers.

TO compleat the People's Miſery, in 1257, Prince *Richard*, the King's Brother, after having heap'd up immenſe Wealth, was choſe King of the *Romans*, by the Intrigues of the Pope, who aim'd at ſetting him in oppoſition to the King of *Caſtille*, who was elected by another Party, and he went to *Germany* with all the ready Money that he cou'd amaſs, as well to reward thoſe who had elected him, as to defray the Charges of his Coronation, which was perform'd at *Aix la Chapelle*.

Pr. Richard *choſe K. of the* Romans.

IN 1258, the King finding himſelf teaz'd by the Pope for Money to that degree, that he threaten'd him to give away *Sicily* to ſome other Prince, reſolv'd at laſt to reaſſemble the Parliament, tho he was not very well pleas'd with the laſt Seſſion. Immediately he made a freſh Demand of Money for the War of *Sicily*:

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But he was quickly made to ſee that he had not tim'd it well. The Lords had already reſolv'd between themſelves, in their ſecret Conferences, to reform the Government, and to continue ſtrictly united together, in order to execute their Deſign. Conſequently the Parliament inſtead of granting his Demand, preſented an Addreſs to him, which contain'd very mortifying Reproaches of him for his Conduct, and eſpecially for the Breach of his Promiſes; and gave him to underſtand very plainly, that they had reſolv'd in ſpite of him to endeavour the Eſtabliſhment of better Government in the Kingdom. The Lords having already concerted Meaſures for executing their Deſign, and the King not having made any preparation, he try'd again to amuſe them with general Promiſes, and an Acknowledgment of his Faults; but nothing wou'd pacify them. All that he cou'd do was to adjourn the Parliament to *Oxford*, to gain a little time. But he cou'd not get the Conſent of the Lords to this Adjournment, without giving a Writing under his Hand, by which he engag'd to agree that the Government ſhou'd be reform'd by the Advice of 24 Lords, of whom he ſhou'd name 12, and the Parliament the other 12.

A. 1258.

Barons Project for reforming the Government.

Parl. adjourn'd to Oxford.

K. agrees to the Reformation by 24 Commiſſioners.

THE Barons were ſo diffident of the King, that they repair'd to *Oxford* with a great number of armed Men, and a firm Reſolution to execute their Project whatever it coſt them, ſo that the King cou'd not find one Pretext to evade his Promiſe. Therefore they proceeded immediately to the Choice of the 24 Commiſſioners, who not long after deliver'd in a Regulation conſiſting of 6 Articles, to which the Parliament, in their Approbation of them, reſerv'd to themſelves the Liberty of adding

Hen. III. from time to time what they thought fit. Theſe 6 Articles, which were call'd the *Proviſions* or *Statutes* of *Oxford*, were in ſubſtance as follows.

The Regulation by them propos'd call'd the Proviſions or Statutes of Oxford.

1. THAT the King ſhou'd confirm *Magna Charta*.

2. THAT the Office of Chief Juſticiary ſhou'd be confer'd on a good Man, approv'd by the Parliament.

3. THAT the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and the Judges of the Realm, ſhou'd be appointed by the 24 Commiſſioners.

4. THAT all the ſtrong Places ſhou'd be put into the Hands of the 24 Commiſſioners, who ſhou'd appoint ſuch to be Governours as they thought fit.

5. THAT it ſhou'd be High Treaſon to oppoſe the Orders of the 24 Commiſſioners directly or indirectly.

6. THAT the Parliament ſhou'd meet at leaſt once a Year, to make ſuch Statutes as ſhou'd be thought neceſſary.

THERE were twelve Deputies of the Commons in this Parliament; but whether they ſat in it by Right, or by an extraordinary Favour, is what I ſhall not venture to determine, becauſe the *Engliſh* themſelves are not agreed in this point. All that I ſhall add upon this Head is, that if the Commons were call'd to the Parliament before that time, 'tis very ſtrange that on this ſingle occaſion Hiſtorians ſhou'd agree to take notice of this Circumſtance, which on ſuch a Suppoſition ſeems very unneceſſary. But 'tis the general Opinion, that the Lords who aim'd to ſecure the People in their Intereſt, hop'd by this Condeſcenſion to gain their Suffrage for the Change which they were reſolv'd on *.

* SEE the Note in p. 41, of Vol. I. of *Acta Regia*.

THE Statutes of *Oxford* at firſt met with ſome Oppoſition: Prince *Edward*, tho he had ſign'd the Engagement above mention'd with the King his Father, ſtudy'd what ſhifts he ſhou'd make uſe of to come off. *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, abſolutely refus'd to approve of an Alteration of ſo great Conſequence, made in the abſence of the King his Father. But they were roundly given to underſtand, that their oppoſition wou'd be to no purpoſe, and that a Method wou'd be taken to oblige them to conform to the Reſolutions of the Parliament. On the other hand, the King's Brothers by the Mother's ſide, and the Queen's Relations, openly proteſted, that they wou'd quit neither the Offices nor the Governments of which they were in Poſſeſſion. But they cou'd not ſtand their Ground againſt all the Barons confederated againſt them, and at laſt were glad to deſire Paſſports to retire out of the Kingdom. *A.* 1258. *Oppoſition to the Oxford Statutes.* *Foreigners expell'd the Kingdom.*

THIS done, the Lords made an Aſſociation with one another, which was confirm'd by a ſolemn Oath, to maintain the Statutes of *Oxford*. Afterwards the Parliament broke up, leaving the Government in the Hands of the 24 Commiſſioners, at the Head of whom was the Earl of *Leiceſter*, either by Election in quality of Preſident, or by the Superiority of his Genius. Theſe Commiſſioners quickly abus'd their Power. They gave all the Offices, and the beſt Employments to their Friends and Kindred, on pretence of putting them in ſure Hands; and whereas the End of their Eſtabliſhment was only to moderate the Power of the King, the Royal Authority was run down to nothing. But as the King was neither belov'd nor eſteem'd, few People were concern'd *Barons Aſſociation.* *Ill Conduct of the 24 Commiſſioners.*

Hen. III. at the Injuſtice which was done him. On the contrary, the City of *London* enter'd into an Aſſociation with the Barons, and the next Parliament made an Act for the eternal Baniſhment of thoſe Foreigners, whom the Barons of their own Authority had expell'd out of the Kingdom.

London enters into the Barons Aſſociation.

Barons Letter to the Pope in their own Vindication.

THE King being no longer conſulted in the Affairs of Government, the Barons wrote a long Letter to the Pope ſign'd by all their Names, to juſtify their Conduct in three things eſpecially. 1. Concerning their Refuſal to aſſiſt the King for the Conqueſt of *Sicily*. 2. Concerning the Statutes of *Oxford*. 3. Concerning the Baniſhment of the Biſhop of *Winchester*, for whom the Pope might have a particular Regard. The Pope defer'd his Anſwer to this Letter for a while, and gave the King ſecret Aſſurance of his Protection. At the ſame time he preſs'd him upon the Affair of *Sicily*, as if the King had been in a condition to furniſh him with the Money he demanded, and which he pretended to have borrow'd for him of certain Merchants of *Italy*. But the Times being chang'd, it was not in the King's Power to ſatisfy him.

The Pope continues to preſs the King on the Affair of Sicily.

K. of the Romans declares againſt the Oxford Proviſions.

MEAN while the King of the *Romans* after his Coronation, having an Inclination to return to *England*, wrote to the Barons *Anno* 1259, and offer'd them his Aſſiſtance for appeaſing the Troubles of the Kingdom. But the Twenty four ſent Deputies to him, to acquaint him that they wou'd not ſuffer him to ſet Foot again in the Kingdom, if he did not promiſe to ratify the Statutes of *Oxford*. *Richard* anſwer'd thoſe Deputies very haughtily, that he thought it very ſtrange that ſuch great Alterations ſhould be made in his Abſence, and without

without his Participation, and he proteſted that he wou'd not take the Oath which they thought to extort from him. But afterwards when he heard that a Fleet was equipping to hinder his Return, he relax'd, and promis'd to ratify the Statutes, as he effectually did in *Dover Church*, in preſence of the King, Prince *Edward*, and a great number of the Barons. *A.* 1259. *But is forc'd to ſwear to them.*

THE 24 Commiſſioners actually exerciſing the Royal Functions without Controul, judg'd that in order to keep Poſſeſſion of their Authority, it was neceſſary to ſecure *France* in their Intereſt, becauſe that was the only Quarter from whence they cou'd apprehend any Diſturbance. They therefore reſolv'd to make a Treaty with that Crown in the King's Name, in which it ſhou'd find an Advantage, in order by that means to engage it to ſupport the Government newly eſtabliſh'd in *England*. According to this Scheme the Earl of *Leiceſter* went to *Paris* and made a Treaty there with the King of *France*, by which *Henry* quitted all his Pretenſions to *Normandy* and *Anjou*, and *Lewis* IX. on his part yielded up to him the *Limouſin* and *Perigord*, with all that *France* poſſeſs'd beyond the *Garonne*. This Treaty being concluded, *Henry* was oblig'd to go and meet *Lewis* at *Abbeville*, where the General States of the Kingdom were aſſembled, and there to ratify the Treaty. *Barons diſadvantageous Treaty with* Fran.

WHILE the King was in *France*, the Twenty four order'd all that farm'd the Benefices of Foreigners, to depoſite the Money which they were to pay to the Proprietors, in the hands of certain Receivers, who were ſettled in every Province. By this means the Kingdom was at laſt clear'd of a great number of *Italian* Leaches, that had ſuck'd it a long time. *Foreigners depriv'd of the Revenues of their Benefices.*

Hen. III. *Anno* 1260. THE Earl of *Leiceſter*, who, as I have already ſaid, was at the Head of the 24 Commiſſioners, aſſum'd a Preheminence over his Collegues, which made ſome Lords of that Party jealous. The Earl of *Gloceſter*, above all the reſt, not being able to endure that Superiority, ſtudy'd how to ruin it, by ſpreading a Report that he was enter'd into an Alliance with Prince *Edward*, to place him upon the Throne during the Life of the King his Father. But the Prince eaſily acquitted himſelf of this Charge, which had no manner of Foundation. The Earl of *Gloceſter* miſcarrying this way, attack'd the Earl of *Leiceſter* directly, and after having accus'd him of ſeveral Miſdemeanors, demanded that he might have a Day appointed him to exhibit his Proofs. But when that Day came, ſeeing that *Leiceſter* boldly made his Appearance to anſwer the Charge, he let it drop upon ſome Pretext or other, and at laſt the King of the *Romans* found means to reconcile them together, at leaſt to outward appearance.

E. of Gloceſter *jealous of the E. of* Leiceſter.

He raiſes a falſe Report of Pr. Edw. *who clears himſelf.*

Glouceſter *attacks* Leiceſter *directly, but drops his Accuſation.*

THIS Broil betwixt two of the moſt powerful Barons, having put the King in hopes that he ſhou'd gain ſome Advantage from it, he made haſte before it was decided, and requeſted the Pope that he wou'd pleaſe to abſolve him from the Oath which he had taken, with reſpect to the Statutes of *Oxford*. At the ſame time, as he did not doubt but the Pope wou'd grant him his Requeſt, he recall'd the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to make uſe of his Counſels when it was time for Action. But this Prelate dy'd as he was on the Road for *England*. This did not hinder *Henry* from purſuing his Point. *Alexander* IV. readily granted him his Requeſt, but that Pope dying before the Bull was

B. of Wincheſter's *Recal and Death.* Henry *is abſolv'd by the Pope from his Oath relating to the* Oxford *Statutes.*

was dispatch'd, he was oblig'd to wait for a new Pope. This happen'd to be *Urban* IV. who not being more scrupulous than his Predeceſſor, caus'd the Diſpenſation to be diſpatch'd. *A.* 1260.

As ſoon as the King was furniſh'd with this Bull, he went to the Parliament, and there openly declar'd that he wou'd no longer obſerve the Statutes of *Oxford*. The Reaſon he alledg'd for it was, that the Promiſe made to him had not been kept, which indeed was true; but he did not mention a word about the Pope's Diſpenſation. After this, repairing to the *Tower*, the Governour of which he had gain'd to his ſide, he turn'd out all the Magiſtrates eſtabliſh'd by the Twenty four, and nam'd others in their room. This caus'd extraordinary Confuſion in the Kingdom, ſome being for Obedience to the Magiſtrates eſtabliſh'd by the Twenty four, and others for obeying thoſe of the King, ſo that Juſtice cou'd not be adminiſter'd but with great difficulty. The Barons immediately reſolv'd to preſent an Addreſs to the King, in which they deſir'd him to remember his Oath, but he deferr'd his Anſwer, on pretence that he expected the Return of the Prince his Son, who was gone into *France*. *Edward* hearing what had paſs'd in *England*, return'd thither forthwith, and contrary to the King's Expectation publickly blam'd him for having broke his Word. That was a mortifying Stroke to the King; but he ſoon met with another more fatal Blow, in a Reconciliation, which was more hearty than the former, between the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, upon whoſe Diſagreement he had founded his Hopes. This Reconciliation having left him no Remedy, he reſolv'd to ſue to the Barons for an Accommodation;

He tells the Parl. he will obſerve the Oxford Proviſions no longer.

He retires to the Tower, and turns out all the Officers.

Barons addreſs the K. who returns no Anſwer.

Pr. Edw. blames him.

E's of Leiceſter *and* Gloceſter *unite.*

Hen. III. dation; and the ſame was actually ſet on foot: But the King, who thought to render his Cauſe the better, being ſo weak as to ſhew the Bull which he had obtain'd from the Pope, the Negotiation broke off, becauſe the Barons found that they cou'd depend no longer upon the King's Engagements. Not long after, they endeavour'd to ſeize the King, who was gone to *Wincheſter*, but he had the good Luck to be inform'd of their Deſign early enough to ſecure himſelf in the *Tower*. All things tending manifeſtly to a Civil War, the Governours of the Cinque Ports eſpous'd the Barons Party, and caus'd 50 Ships to be fitted out, as they were oblig'd by their Charter, pretending that it was for the Service of the King, tho the Fleet was intended to ſerve againſt him.

An Accommodation ſet on foot with the Barons, broke off by the K's Folly.

They try to ſurprize him.

Cinque Ports declare againſt the King.

K. promiſes to confirm the Oxford *Proviſions.*

AT length in 1262, the King of the *Romans* perceiving the King his Brother in a very unhappy Situation, found means to induce him to promiſe that he wou'd confirm the Statutes of *Oxford*, and engag'd the Barons to give up thoſe Articles which were of moſt Prejudice to the Regal Authority.

PROBABLY the Power of the Twenty four was aboliſh'd, or at leaſt limited by this Accommodation, which entirely diſunited the Barons Party, ſome of whom accepted it for preventing a Civil War, and others entirely rejected it. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was one of the latter, and retir'd to *France*, that he might not remain expos'd to the King's Reſentment. But the Calm which this Accommodation procur'd was of no long Continuance.

Leiceſter *retires into* France.

NOR is it unlikely, that the King who only conſented to the Peace for the ſake of gaining Time, had no Deſign to keep his Word, becauſe he ſet out for *Guyenne* without having confirm'd

Henry *paſſes over to* Guyenne.

confirm'd the *Oxford* Statutes, tho the Barons on their part had executed their Engagements with very great Exactneſs. This Non-obſervance on the part of the King alarms the Barons. They who had not ſign'd the Accommodation, made thoſe uneaſy who had accepted it, by perſuading them that it was only a Snare to ſurprize them, and an Artifice to break the Aſſociation. The Earl of *Gloceſter* dying while theſe things were tranſacting, his Son *Gilbert* went to *Guyenne* to wait upon the King, in order to receive the Inveſtiture of the Fiefs which had been in the Poſſeſſion of the Earl his Father, and return'd very much out of Humour with the King, becauſe he was forc'd to pay a great Sum of Money in order to obtain it. At length the Earl of *Leiceſter* being inform'd of the Diſpoſition of the Barons, return'd immediately to *England*, and was extraordinary ſollicitous to feed the Flame which began again to break out. *A.* 1263. Leiceſter *returns.*

IN 1263. *HENRY* hearing of what paſs'd in *England*, ſet out thither immediately, but came too late. The Barons had already concerted Meaſures to put themſelves in ſuch a condition, that they might have no further occaſion to truſt to his Promiſes. He was no ſooner arriv'd, than they ſummon'd him to perform his Engagements concerning the Statutes of *Oxford*. But the King inſtead of returning a ſoft Anſwer as they expected, treated them as Rebels, and threaten'd to puniſh them. He was embolden'd to do this, becauſe while he was gone to *Guyenne*, he had gain'd the Prince his Son, and the King of the *Romans*, and engag'd them in his Intereſts. *Edward* had actually rais'd ſome Troops in *France*, and ſent them into *England*, on pretence of making *And the K. likewiſe.* *Barons call upon him to perform his Engagements, but he threatens them.* *He gains his Son* Edw. *and the K. of the* Romans.

War

Hen. III. War upon the Prince of *Wales.* Tho the War in *England* ſeem'd unavoidable, yet it did not begin as ſoon as was believ'd. Neither of the Parties had as yet made any Preparation, therefore both ſides endeavour'd to amuſe each other with Negotiations which only tended to give each of the two Parties time to make their Preparations; for indeed Troops were openly rais'd on both ſides, and the Barons had already made choice of the Earl of *Leiceſter* for their General. While the Negotiations were ſtill kept on foot, tho without much appearance of Succeſs, the People were incens'd againſt the Foreigners, who were become odious, becauſe of the Preference which the King gave them before his own Subjects. A great number of them were very ill treated, while the Earl of *Leiceſter* on his part caus'd the Eſtates of the King's Favourites and Counſellors to be plunder'd without Mercy. At length the City of *London* openly eſpous'd the Barons Party againſt the King, who ſhut himſelf up in the *Tower* till his Troops were ready; for the Levies that were made for him were not ſo ſoon compleated as thoſe for the Barons.

Barons chuſe Leiceſter *their General.*

Foreigners ill treated.

London *declares for the Barons.*

THO a War was reſolv'd on both ſides, yet the two Parties temporiz'd. Each wanted his Enemy to ſtrike the firſt Blow, becauſe the main point in View was to gain the common People, who on ſuch Occaſions ought by no means to be neglected. It was with this View that the Barons caus'd a very reſpectful Petition to be preſented to the King, wherein they offer'd their Conſent that a free Parliament ſhou'd reform the Statutes of *Oxford*, on condition that the King's Miniſters ſhou'd be choſen out of Perſons who were Natives of the Kingdom, as was the Practice every where elſe.

Barons petition the King.

The

The King return'd no Anſwer to this Petition, tho he was cloſely block'd up in the *Tower*, becauſe he hop'd that the Prince his Son wou'd ſpeedily come to his Relief. But the Barons being encamp'd at *Thiſtleworth*, ſtop'd up the only Avenue thro' which the Prince muſt paſs, and thereby broke his Meaſures as well as the King's. The King, upon the failure of this Reſource, was oblig'd to ſignify to the Barons, that he wou'd confirm the Statutes of *Oxford*. Tho the Barons did not place abundance of Confidence in his Promiſes, yet they were afraid to reject this Offer, becauſe it was all that they wanted; and their Refuſal might have given cauſe for a ſuſpicion that they were reſolv'd upon a War without any Neceſſity. A Treaty was therefore made containing theſe 4 Articles. 1. That the *Oxford* Statutes ſhou'd be inviolably obſerv'd. 2. That all the ſtrong Places ſhou'd be put into the Hands of the Barons. 3. That all Foreigners, except ſuch as ſhou'd be allow'd by the unanimous Conſent of the Barons, ſhou'd be baniſh'd the Kingdom. 4. That the Adminiſtration of Affairs ſhou'd be committed to natural born *Engliſhmen*, approv'd of by the Barons. The King ſign'd this Treaty without any Deſign, as far as appear'd, to put it in execution, his Aim being only to extricate himſelf from that unhappy Situation in which he was plung'd. An Inſult committed by the Populace upon the Queen, as ſhe paſs'd in a Boat under *London-Bridge*, furniſh'd the King with the Pretext which, in all appearance, he wanted. He began therefore to fortify the Places which he had in his Hands, and which according to the Treaty he ſhou'd have deliver'd up to the Barons; and by that means he plainly let them ſee

A. 1263.

Henry *agrees to a Treaty.*

Articles of it.

An inſulted as ſhe ſhot London-bridge.

Henry *exerts himſelf.*

Hen. III. ſee that it was too ſoon to disband their Troops.

THO a Peace was made, yet the Jealouſy on both ſides was ſo great that the Treaty cou'd be deem'd no other than a bare Interruption of the War. Prince *Edward* plainly foreſeeing that it wou'd not be long before the Sword wou'd be drawn again, ſeriouſly apply'd himſelf to ſtrengthen the King's Party, by furniſhing *Briſtol-Caſtle* with all manner of Proviſions. But the people of *Briſtol* being deſirous to ſhift off the Yoke which was prepar'd for them, block'd up the Caſtle ſo cloſely, that *Edward*, who went thither to give the neceſſary Orders, was forc'd to make uſe of a Stratagem to come back again. He ſent word to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, that his Deſign was to go and wait upon the King, in order to exhort him to give the Barons entire Satisfaction; but that not being able to ſtir out of the Caſtle, he deſir'd him to be his Security to the Citizens of *Briſtol*, and to accompany him to *London* to be Witneſs of his Conduct. The Biſhop having done as *Edward* deſir'd, the Blockade was rais'd, and they both ſet out for *London*; but when they came near *Windſor*, the Prince ſuddenly clap'd Spurs to his Horſe, rid away from the Prelate without taking leave of him, and went and ſhut himſelf up in his Caſtle of *Windſor*. The Barons, who were encamp'd at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, having Intelligence how he had impos'd upon the Biſhop, march'd immediately and beſieg'd *Windſor*, which was too ill provided for a long Reſiſtance. This was the reaſon that *Edward* in hopes of amuſing them, reſolv'd to go out with a ſmall Retinue to negotiate with them. But he was taken Priſoner, and forc'd to deliver up his Caſtle

Pr. Edw. *block'd up in* Briſtol-Caſtle.

His Stratagem to get off.

He ſhuts himſelf up in Windſor-Caſtle.

Is ſeiz'd at a Conference, and forc'd to deliver it up.

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Caſtle to them, before he cou'd obtain his Liberty. *A.* 1264.

Anno 1264. MEAN while, as the King was not yet ſufficiently prepar'd to execute his Deſigns, he ſent to the Barons to deſire a Truce, which was granted him, and was follow'd with a Peace on the ſame Conditions as the former. But the King broke it altogether as ſoon as the other, by a fruitleſs Attempt which he made to take *Dover-Caſtle* by ſurprize. This Proceeding loſt him all the Confidence of the Barons, who now thought of nothing but War. The Earl of *Leiceſter* having enter'd *London*, ſo fortify'd himſelf by the Aſſiſtance of that great City, that the King was oblig'd once more to deſire an Accommodation. But as all Treaties hitherto had been to no purpoſe, they agreed at laſt to make the King of *France* Mediator, and to ſubmit themſelves to his Award. *Lewis* having accepted the Office of Arbitrator in this Affair, pronounc'd a Sentence which was altogether in the King's Favour. But becauſe in that ſame Sentence he declar'd that he did not intend to offer any Prejudice to the lawful Privileges of the *Engliſh*, the Barons rejected it, pretending that there was a manifeſt Contradiction in it, becauſe the Statutes of *Oxford*, which were repeal'd by the Sentence, were only made to maintain them in their Privileges.

Truce between the K. and the Barons.

K. breaks it.

K. and the Barons refer their Quarrel to the K. of France.

Lewis's Sentence rejected by the Barons.

THE Hoſtilities being renew'd on both ſides, the King, who by the Care of the Prince his Son, and of the King of the *Romans*, had aſſembled a very numerous Army, had at firſt very fortunate Succeſs. He made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Places, during which the Barons were afraid to come in ſight of him. At laſt he reſolv'd to march directly to *London*, in hopes that

The War renew'd in which the K. gains ſeveral Advantages.

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Hen. III. that the City wou'd be ſo diſpirited as to open its Gates to him, and that by that means the Barons Party wou'd be entirely ruin'd. But the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was got into the City before him, ſo exaſperated the Citizens, by repreſenting to them the Terrors of being at the King's Mercy, that they offer'd him a Body of their Militia to go and fight the Royal Army. *Henry* being inform'd of this Reſolution, did not think fit to give Battle at the Gates of *London*, but retir'd into the County of *Suſſex*, and went and encamp'd at *Lewes*, where the Earl of *Leiceſter*, being reinforc'd by the Militia of *London*, arriv'd almoſt at the ſame time. The two Armies being ſo near one another, that it was in a manner impoſſible to avoid a Battle, the Barons caus'd a very ſubmiſſive Petition to be preſented to the King, in which they pray'd him to act in Conjunction with them for reforming the Abuſes in the Government, in order to prevent the Effuſion of *Engliſh* Blood. But this Petition was receiv'd with ſo much Diſdain and Contempt, that the provok'd Barons publickly renounc'd their Obedience to the King, and declar'd him and his Adherents Enemies to their Country.

He approaches London.

Retires to Lewes.

E. of Leiceſter *follows him, and preſents a Petition.*

Which is haughtily rejected.

Barons renounce their Fealty.

Battle of Lewes.

ALL hopes of Peace being vaniſh'd by this Declaration, the two Armies rang'd themſelves in order of Battle, to decide the Quarrel by the Sword. Prince *Edward*, who commanded the right Wing of the King's Army, charg'd the Militia of *London*, who were poſted over againſt him on the Left of the Enemies Army, with ſuch Vigour and Succeſs, that he forc'd 'em to give Ground; but purſuing them too far, he found as he return'd to the Field of Battle, that the Royal Army was put to the Rout, and

Edw. *beats the* Londoners, *and purſues too far.*

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and the King his Father, and the King of the *Romans* taken Priſoners. The Barons Army being diſorder'd in purſuit of the flying Enemy, Prince *Edward* wou'd fain have attack'd them immediately with the victorious Body under his Command. But he did not find Reſolution in his Troops to make the Onſet ſoon enough; and while he miſs'd the critical Juncture in perſuading them, the Earl of *Leiceſter* rallied his Forces with all poſſible Diligence, and in order to gain time, caus'd Propoſals of Accommodation to be made to Prince *Edward*, who was ſo weak as to ſuffer himſelf to be amus'd, while his Enemy at the ſame time that he prolong'd the Negotiation, had thereby an opportunity to ſend Detachments from all Quarters to cut off his Retreat. To be ſhort, *Edward* found himſelf in that unhappy Situation, as to be able neither to fight nor retreat without manifeſt Danger. For this Reaſon he was forc'd at laſt to accept of the Terms which the Earl offer'd him. It was agreed therefore betwixt them, that the Statutes of *Oxford* ſhou'd be amended by 4 Biſhops, and 4 Barons to be choſe by the Parliament; and that in caſe thoſe Commiſſioners cou'd not agree, the matter ſhou'd be referr'd to the Arbitration of the Earl of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*, aſſiſted by 4 *French* Noblemen; and that till every thing was ſettled by the Parliament, *Edward*, and *Henry* Son to the King of the *Romans*, ſhou'd remain as Hoſtages in the Hands of the Barons. This is what was call'd *la Miſe*, or the Agreement at *Lewes*, which was never executed.

A. 1264. Hen. *and the K. of the Romans made Priſoners.* *Pr.* Edw. *returning from the purſuit, is amus'd by* Leiceſter. *He can neither fight nor retreat.* *Accepts of* Leiceſter's *Terms.* *The* Miſe *of* Lewes.

THE Earl of *Leiceſter* having the King, and almoſt all the Royal Family in his Power, made uſe from thenceforth of the King's Name

Leiceſter *makes uſe of the K's Name againſt the K. himſelf,*

Hen. III. and Authority, and challeng'd all Obedience to himſelf. He made the King his Priſoner iſſue Orders to his own Creatures to deliver up the Places which they had in their Power, and treated thoſe as Rebels who refus'd implicit Obedience to the King, from the time that he was his Priſoner. Not long after, the Barons form'd a new Plan of Government, and were reſolv'd to get it approv'd by the Parliament. In order to render this Aſſembly, from which they propos'd to exclude all the King's Party, the more numerous, and the more ſolemn, they eſtabliſh'd in every County 4 Officers, to whom they gave the Title of *Conſervators*, with a very great Authority. They afterwards procur'd an Order from the King, directed to thoſe Conſervators, to make choice of 4 Knights of their Diſtrict to ſit in Parliament. There are many who found the Origin of the Commons Right to ſit in Parliament by their Deputies, on this Inſtance. Others think the ſaid Right of the Commons much more antient. However it be, this Parliament thus compos'd, approv'd of the Barons new Plan; which contain'd in Subſtance,

Barons new Plan of Government.

Summon a Parliament.

Conſervators eſtabliſh'd.

Four Knts for each Shire to ſit in Parliament.

The Barons Plan approv'd by the Parl.

'That the Parliament ſhou'd nominate three 'great Commiſſioners who ſhou'd have the 'Power of chuſing nine Counſellors, to whom 'the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs ſhou'd 'be committed. That if two thirds of the 'nine were not of one and the ſame Opinion, 'the Affair in Diſpute ſhou'd be referr'd to 'the three great Commiſſioners. That the 'King, with the conſent of the three great 'Commiſſioners, might caſhier or alter the 9 'Counſellors, or part of them, and alſo the 'three Commiſſioners with the Approbation 'of the Barons. That the publick Offices 'ſhou'd be at the Diſpoſal of the nine

'Coun-

'Counſellors.' It wou'd be eaſy to ſhew that this new Plan was altogether in favour of the Earl of *Leiceſter*. But I don't think there's any manner of neceſſity for inſiſting on this matter. The King and the Prince were oblig'd to approve of this new Form of Government. *A.* 1264. *K. and Pr. forc'd to conſent to it.*

WHILE theſe things paſs'd in *England*, *Urban* IV. had appointed for his Legate in this Kingdom, *Guido*, Cardinal of St. *Sabine*; who on his arrival at *Paris*, receiv'd a Letter from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, acquainting him that he wou'd not be receiv'd in *England*. Notwithſtanding this the Legate proceeded as far as *Boulogne*, from whence he ſummon'd all the Biſhops of *England* to come to him, in order to give an Account of their Conduct. But the Biſhops did not think fit to obey this Summons. When the Affairs of the Government were regulated after the manner above mention'd, the Barons thought it neceſſary to give ſome Satisfaction to the Legate, by ſending him 4 Biſhops to juſtify their Conduct. But thoſe Deputies found him ſo incens'd, that inſtead of hearkening to Reaſon, he charg'd them with an Order in Writing, to excommunicate the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, and to put their Eſtates, and the City of *London* under an Interdict. The Deputies having ſent an Account to *England* of the Order which was given them in Charge, met a Ship at Sea, as they were returning home, the Commander of which pretending to be a Pirate, took away their Papers, together with the Legate's Order, and threw them over-board. The Legate ſeeing that this was not a time of Day to aſſert or exert the Authority of his Maſter, return'd to *Rome*, where he was ſoon after elected Pope by the Name of *Clement* IV. *Barons refuſe to admit a Legate.* *His Reſentment.* *The Legate choſe Pope.*

Hen. III. NOT long after this, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was perplex'd on a ſudden with two Affairs, which made him uneaſy. The Queen had rais'd an Army in *France*, and ſent it to *Gravelin*, in order to go on board there for *England*; while on the other hand ſome Lords took Arms for the King in the Counties which border'd upon *Wales*. The Earl's good Fortune gain'd him a happy Deliverance. In the firſt place he prevented the Rebels, by engaging *Llewellin* Prince of *Wales* in his Intereſt, on whoſe Aſſiſtance they had depended: after which he beat them, and forc'd them to lay down their Arms. On the other hand, the *French* Troops were ſo long wind-bound, that the Queen was oblig'd to disband her Army, having no more Money to ſubſiſt it.

Revolt of ſome Engliſh *Lords againſt the Barons Government.*

Leiceſter *reduces them.*

THIS Perplexity was follow'd by another in 1265, the Conſequences of which were much more fatal to the Earl of *Leiceſter*. He had been ſuſpected for ſome time of Views too ambitious, and of no leſs a Deſign than to pave his own Way to the Throne. This Suſpicion was principally founded upon his detaining in Priſon Prince *Edward*, who according to the Agreement at *Lewes*, ought to have had his Liberty, becauſe he was only a Hoſtage till the Government was regulated; which Regulation was already made. The Earl of *Leiceſter* being conſcious that his Conduct was cenſurable upon that Head, endeavour'd to blind the Publick, by pretending to reſtore that Prince to his Liberty, and keeping a Guard upon him all the while. For this purpoſe he call'd a Parliament, and gave out that it was to find out ways and means to ſet the Prince at Liberty. Upon this occaſion every County had Orders to depute two Knights, and every City

Leiceſter *ſuſpected of aſpiring to the Crown.*

Leiceſter *willing to ſet* Edw. *at Liberty, calls a Parl. for it, to which are ſummon'd 2 from each Shire, and 2 from each Borough.*

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City two Burgeſſes to ſit in Parliament; which 'tis pretended was the firſt time that the Towns ſent Deputies to Parliament. But without entring here into ſo difficult a Queſtion, I ſhall only ſay that from the time of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Adminiſtration, the Right of the Commons to ſit in Parliament was never once diſputed. This Parliament, which was almoſt entirely at the Earl's Devotion, order'd that the Prince ſhou'd be ſet at Liberty, and that he ſhou'd always continue with the King his Father, to obey him in all things. But as the King was a Priſoner, this was ſtill leaving the Prince in the Cuſtody of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who indeed caus'd him to be very narrowly watch'd.

A. 1265. *Remark on it.*

Edw. *deliver'd to the K. who ſtill continues a Priſoner.*

THIS Proceeding only ſerv'd to confirm the Suſpicion of the Publick, and particularly of the Earl of *Gloceſter*; who not thinking ſuch Satisfaction ſufficient, took Arms, and drew in a great number of Men to his Party. The Earl of *Leiceſter* being unwilling to give him time to make himſelf formidable, caus'd him to be proclaim'd a Traitor; and putting himſelf at the Head of the Army, march'd directly to *Hereford*, that he might be at hand to attack him, taking along with him the King and the Prince, who were both well guarded. But his Precautions were in vain. *Edward* having found means to eſcape, went to meet the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who yielded the Command of his Troops to him, after he had made him take an Oath that he wou'd do his utmoſt, to put the antient Laws in force, to reform Abuſes, and that he wou'd remove Foreigners from the King's Perſon.

E. of Gloceſter *turns againſt* Leiceſter.

Leiceſter *proclaims him a Traitor.*

Pr. Edward's *Eſcape. He joins the E. of* Gloceſter, *who makes him ſwear to redreſs Grievances.*

THE Prince's Eſcape was a mortal Blow to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who nevertheleſs diſſembled

Leiceſter *hides his Concern.*

Hen. III. bled his uneaſineſs as much as poſſible, always acting as if his Affairs were not in the leaſt affected by that Event. It was at the ſame time that by virtue of a Commiſſion from the King, he ſolemnly renounc'd for the King and Prince *Edmund* all Pretenſions that they might have to the Kingdom of *Sicily*: after which he caus'd the ſaid Renunciation to be notify'd to the Pope by a Letter from the King.

He renounces the Pretenſions to Sicily.

Edward's Forces increaſe.

A s ſoon as Prince *Edward* was at the Head of an Army, the number of his Troops increas'd ſo conſiderably, that he was ſoon in a condition to go in queſt of the Earl of *Leiceſter*; who finding himſelf inferior, retired from place to place to advantageous Poſts, in order to avoid a Battle. He waited with impatience for the Succours which *Simon de Montfort* his Son was bringing to him from *Kent*, which actually arriv'd about a Day's Journey from *Eveſham*, where the Father was encamp'd.

Leiceſter flys before him.

Edw. defeats Simon Montfort,

But *Edward*, who had been inform'd of *Montfort*'s March, met and entirely defeated him. Immediately after this Victory, he return'd back, and fell upon the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who had not yet receiv'd the News of his Son's Defeat. In this Battle, which was fought juſt by *Eveſham*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* was kill'd, his Army put to the Rout, and the King whom he carry'd along with him, recover'd his Liberty.

And the E. of Leiceſter *his Father near* Eveſham, *and ſets* Henry *free.*

HENRY was no ſooner free, but he reſolv'd to be reveng'd of his Enemies, and by that means made ſome of them deſperate. *Simon de Montfort*, who had the King of the *Romans* under his Care in *Kenelworth-Caſtle*, ſet him at Liberty without requiring any Ranſom, in hopes of engaging that Prince to be his Pro-

Protector. But this Protection not being ſufficient to procure him the King's Pardon, he quitted *Kenelworth*, after having left a good Gariſon there, and retir'd to the Iſle of *Axholm* in the Shire of *Lincoln*. There it was that he rallied the ſcattered Remains of his Father's Army; and as that Iſland might eaſily be guarded, he gave the King occaſion to repent of his too great Severity. *A.* 1266. Simon de Montfort's *Retreat to the Iſle of* Axholm.

IN the beginning of the Year 1266, the Queen and Prince *Edmund* arriv'd from *France*, to which Kingdom they retired after the Battle of *Lewes*. They were ſoon follow'd by a Legate from *Clement* IV. Succeſſor to *Urban* IV. who excommunicated the Earl of *Leiceſter*, tho dead, with all his Adherents, whether dead or alive. Then he notify'd to the King a Bull from *Urban* IV. which revok'd the Grant of *Sicily* to Prince *Edmund*. This Bull was hitherto kept ſecret, becauſe the Court of *Rome* had been in Treaty upon this very Affair with *Charles* Earl of *Anjou*, Brother to the King of *France*, to whom *Clement* IV. gave this very Year the Inveſtiture of *Sicily*, on condition that he ſhou'd diſpoſſeſs *Manfred*, who till then had kept poſſeſſion of it. *The Q. arrives from* France *follow'd by a Legate who excommunicates all the Rebel Barons dead or alive, and revokes the Grant of* Sicily.

SIMON de Montfort growing every Day more and more formidable in the Iſland of *Axholm*, *Edward* caus'd the Army to march that way: and at laſt, tho with very great difficulty, he oblig'd *Montfort* to ſurrender, and to promiſe to deliver up *Kenelworth-Caſtle*. But it was not in his power to perform his Contract, the Governour of the Caſtle refuſing to obey his Order. In a little time after, *Edward* found a way by fair means to reduce the Cinque Ports to the King's Obedience. Simon de Montfort *ſurrenders. He promiſes to deliver up* Kenelworth-Caſtle, *but cannot.* Edw. *reduces the Cinque Ports.*

Hen. III. While the Court thought they had nothing more to do than to reduce the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, ſome of the Malecontents made themſelves Maſters of the Iſle of *Ely*, where their Party grew ſo ſtrong, after being join'd by a great many others that took Refuge there, that this became a very momentous Affair, by reaſon of the Situation of the Iſland, which had formerly given *William* the Conqueror a great deal of Trouble. Nevertheleſs it was thought fit before all things to beſiege *Kenelworth-Caſtle*. But as that Place was ſtrong and well provided, the King was oblig'd to turn the Siege into a Blockade.

Kenelworth beſieg'd.

Parl. held there.

Anno 1267. It was during this Blockade, and in the very Town of *Kenelworth*, ſituate below the Caſtle, that the King aſſembled a Parliament, which offer'd very advantageous Terms to the Rebels of *Ely*: but they did not think fit to accept them for Reaſons which we ſhall ſee preſently. In fine, the Gariſon of *Kenelworth* capitulating, after having ſuſtain'd a long Blockade, the King immediately thought of Methods to humble the Rebels of *Ely*. But new Troubles aroſe, which he did not foreſee. After the Battle of *Eveſham* he ſteer'd his old Courſe; and thinking that he had nothing more to fear, he carry'd his Authority as far as ever he had done, without being much concern'd for either the Laws or Privileges of the People. Even *Edward*, tho engag'd by Oath with the Earl of *Gloceſter*, took not one Step to perform his Promiſe. The Earl of *Gloceſter*, provok'd at this Conduct, was reſolv'd to make both the King and the Prince ſenſible that he was not to be deſpis'd with Impunity. Beſides, he found by their Conduct, that if the Rebels of *Ely* were once oppreſs'd, it wou'd be too difficult

Terms offer'd to the Rebels of Ely, *who reject them.*

Kenelworth taken.

E. of Gloceſter takes meaſures againſt the King.

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ficult to confine the Royal Authority to the Bounds which he desir'd. Therefore he sent early Notice to the Rebels of *Ely*, that he was coming to their Assistance; and indeed he made Preparations which gave the King Umbrage: and as he cou'd not tell what to think of it, he sent to him to know what was the Motive of his Arming. The Earl answer'd, that 'twas only to defend himself against *Mortimer* his Neighbour and Enemy; and gave a Writing sign'd with his own Hand, whereby he promis'd never to bear Arms against the King. This Promise laid the King asleep; who fearing nothing more on that side, went to *Cambridge* with his Army, in order to go and besiege *Ely*. The Earl of *Gloceſter* was no sooner inform'd that the King was gone from *London*, but he march'd in all haste to that City, where he was agreeably receiv'd by the Inhabitants: after which he sent a Summons to the Legate to deliver up the *Tower* to him, of which the King when he went away, had made him Keeper. The Legate pretended at first, that he wou'd stand a Siege, but in a few Days he surrender'd. This done, the Earl publish'd a Manifesto, in which he said that he had taken Arms to oblige the King and the Prince to the better performance of their Engagements.

A. 1267.

He becomes Master of London *and the* Tower.

Publishes a Manifesto against the King.

As the King knew not what Course to take to get out of the Broil occasion'd by this fresh Rebellion, he saw no other way than to recal the Prince his Son, who was employ'd in some other Expedition. *Edward* having join'd the King's Army with the Body under his Command, and having sent for more Troops thither from other Parts, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, whose Force was very inferior, and durst not venture out of *London*, was at length reduc'd to

Edw. *joins his Father.* Gloceſter *makes his Peace.*

desire

Hen. III. desire a Peace; which was very easily granted him, and the City of *London* was actually included in the Treaty. The Rebels of *Ely* having now no Remedy left, were at last forc'd to surrender, without being able to obtain any other Terms than the sparing of Life and Limb. Thus ended the War of the Barons, which was really fatal to those that liv'd in that Age; but was however the means of procuring to their Posterity, and to all the People of *England*, the Enjoyment of the Privileges contain'd in the Great Charter. The Successors of *Henry* III. chose to submit to this Yoke, rather than expose themselves to the same Risk as he did, when he endeavour'd to free himself from it.

Ely *Rebels surrender.*

The Acts which relate to the preceding Article are,

K. of the Romans *Coronation.* 622. 1. A Letter from *Richard* King of the *Romans* to Prince *Edward* his Nephew, to give him Advice of his Coronation; dated at *Aix la Chapelle*, *March* 18. 1257.

Henry's *Submission to the* 24 *Commissioners.* 654. 655. 2. *HENRY*'s Letters Patent, whereby he submits himself beforehand to whatever shall be regulated by the 24 Commissioners who are to be elected, and to meet at *Oxford*; dated *May* 2. 1258. at *Westminster*.

Barons Letter to the Pope. 660. 3. A Letter from the Barons of *England* to the Pope, without a Date.

'THEY justify what pass'd at *Oxford*, and 'complain very much of the Bishop of *Win-*'*chester*.

K. to the Isle of Oleron. 663. 4. THE King's Letter to the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Oleron*; dated *July* 11. 1258. at *Winchester*.

'HE orders them not to consent that his 'Son *Edward* shou'd sell that Island.

5. *ALEX.*

5. *ALEXANDER* IVth's Letter to his Official, the Archdeacon of *London*; dated the 3d of the Nones of *December* 1258. at *Anagnia*. *A.* 1258.

'HE orders him to excommunicate the 'Debtors of the *Florence* Merchants, if they 'don't pay by a certain Time.

Debtors of the Florence Merchants excommunicated. 670.

6. AN Act whereby the King insists that the King of the *Romans* ought to take an Oath concerning the Statutes of *Oxford*; dated *Jan.* 23. 1259. at *Canterbury*.

K. of the Romans required to swear to the Oxford Statutes. 671.

7. AN Act for treating of a Marriage betwixt *Beatrix* the King's Daughter, and *John* eldest Son to the Duke of *Bretagne*; dated *May* 10. 1259. at *Windsor*.

Marriage Treaty of Beatrix. 675.

8. A Treaty of Peace between *Lewis* IX. King of *France* and *Henry* III. dated at *Westminster*, *May* 20. 1259.

Henry's *Treaty with* Fran. 675.

'THIS Treaty was negotiated by the Earl 'of *Leicester*.

9. A Letter from the Grand Master of the Templars to *Henry* III. dated at *Acre* the 4th of *April* 1260.

Grand Master of the Templars Letter to Henry. 699.

'HE demands Succours of him for the *Holy* '*Land*.

10. PRINCE *Edmund*'s Letter to the *Sicilians*; dated the 13th of the Calends of *April* 1261. at *Windsor*.

Prince Edmund *to the* Sicilians. 720.

11. A Bull which annulls the Association of the Barons touching the Statutes of *Oxford*; dated the 3d of the Calends of *May* 1261. at *Rome*.

Bulls for annulling the Barons Association. 722.

12. ANOTHER on the same Subject; dated in the Nones of the same Month at *Viterbo*.

13. THE King's Letters Patent, whereby he refers himself to the Arbitration of *Margaret* Queen of *France*, concerning his Difference with the Earl and Countess of *Leicester*; dated

King's Difference with the Earl and Countess of Leicester. 724.

Hen. III. dated the 20th of *July*, 1261. at the *Tower* of *London*.

'THE Counteſs of *Leiceſter* was the King's 'Siſter.

Hugh le Bigod *threaten'd with Excommunication.* 726.

14. THE Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Letter to *John Maunſel* Treaſurer of *York*, giving him an account of a Brief from the Pope, which orders the Excommunication of *Hugh le Bigod*, if he refus'd to ſurrender the Caſtles of *Scarborough* and *Pickering* to the King; dated the 8th of *Auguſt* 1261. at *Windſor*.

Bigod's *Defence.* 727.

15. *MAUNSEL'S* Anſwer to the Archbiſhop; dated the 3d of the Calends of *September* 1261. at *Hilburg*.

'HE tells him that *le Bigod* makes Anſwer, 'that as he holds thoſe Caſtles of the King 'and the Barons, he cannot ſurrender them, 'but by order of the King and the Barons 'jointly, or of the majority of the Barons.

Queen of France *owns the Receipt of Jewels.* 730.

16. AN Acknowledgment from *Margaret* Queen of *France*, that ſhe has receiv'd from the King of *England* certain Jewels by him depoſited in the Temple of *Paris*; dated at St. *Germain en laye*, the *Tueſday* after Pentecoſt, 1261.

Henry's *Letter to the K. and Queen of* France. 730.

17. *HENRY* IIId's Letter to the King and Queen of *France*, and to the Queen of *Navarre*, without a Date.

'HE deſires them to intercede for him to 'the Pope, to the end that he may ſecure the 'Right to the Kingdom of *Sicily* to *Edmund* 'his Son.

To Urban IV. 736.

18. THE King's Letter to *Urban* IV. dated *Jan.* 1. 1262. at *Weſtminſter*.

'HE deſires him to confirm the Repeal of 'the *Oxford* Statutes which was made by his 'Predeceſſor.

To the Cardinals, 737.

19. THE King's Letter to the Cardinals, of the ſame Date.

'HE

'HE vindicates *Maunſel* from the Accuſa- *A.* 1263.
'tion enter'd againſt him at *Rome*, that he is
'the Cauſe of the diſagreement betwixt the
'King and them. This *Manſel* alone was
'poſſeſs'd of above 300 Benefices.

20. THE Award of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, without a Date. *K. of the* Romans *Award.* 738.

'HE had been choſe Arbitrator betwixt
'the King and the Barons, to decide whether
'the King might make Sheriffs of Counties,
'and change them, without Conſent of the
'Barons. The Award is in the King's Fa-
'vour.

21. A Bull which canonizes *Richard* Biſhop of *Cheſter*; dated at *Viterbo*, the *Monday* after the Feaſt of the Purification 1262. *Canonization of the Biſhop of* Cheſter. 740.

22. *URBAN* IVth's Bull, which annuls the Oath taken by the King, Queen, and Prince *Edward*, relating to the *Oxford* Statutes; dated the 5th of the Calends of *March* 1262. at *Viterbo*. *K. Q.* &c. *abſolv'd from their Oath relating to the* Oxford *Statutes.* 742. 746.

23. THE King's Proclamation to notify that he is abſolv'd by the Pope from his Oath, with regard to the Statutes of *Oxford*; dated *May* 2. 1262. at *Weſtminſter*.

24. THE Summons of *Richard*, and of the King of *Caſtille*, to *Rome*, to adjuſt their Diſpute concerning the Title of the King of the *Romans*, by the Pope's Authority; dated the 2d of the Calends of *September* 1263. at *Orvieto*. *Summons of the Ks of the* Romans *and of* Caſtille *to* Rome. 762.

'Here we have the Pleas on which the two
'Competitors for the Title founded their
'Claim.

25. *URBAN* IVth's Bull, which revokes the Grant of *Sicily* that was made to *Edmund*; dated the 5th of the Calends of *Auguſt* 1263. at *Orvieto*. *Revocation of the Grant of* Sicily. 769.

26. THE

Hen. III. 26. THE Act by which Prince *Edward* refers himself to the Judgment of *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, and of the Count *de Warren*, touching his Difference with the Barons; dated on the *Saturday* after the Feast of the Assumption 1263.

Prince Edward's Reference to Arbitration on his Quarrel with the Barons 773.

27. St. *Lewis*'s Decree of Arbitration on the Differences betwixt the King and the Barons; dated at *Amiens*, the Day after the Feast of St. *Vincent* 1264.

St. Lewis's Award on the King's Quarrel with the Barons. 776.

'THE Statutes of *Oxford* are annull'd without prejudice of the Charters, and the Liberties which the *English* enjoy'd before that time. *Nolumus autem nec intendimus per præsentem Ordinationem, derogare in aliquo, Regiis Privilegiis, Chartis, Libertatibus, Statutis & laudabilibus Constitutionibus Regni Anglie, quæ erant ante tempus Provisionum ipsarum.*

Bull for confirming it. 781.

28. *URBAN* IVth's Bull confirming that Decree; dated the 17th of the Calends of *April* 1264. at *Orvieto*.

For Punishing the Infringers of it. 782.

29. ANOTHER to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, relating to the Punishment of the Infringes of the Decree; dated the 16th of the Calends of *April* 1264. at *Orvieto*.

For dissolving Confederacies against the King. 785.

30. ANOTHER, which dissolves all the Confederacies form'd against the King; dated the 12th of those Calends 1264, at *Orvieto*.

The Acts which follow are from the time of the Battle of Lewes, *and while the King was a Prisoner.*

Conservators established. 792.

1. THE King's Order for establishing Wardens, or Conservators of the Peace, in the Counties; dated *June* 4. 1264, at St. *Paul*'s *London*.

2. AN

2. AN Agreement made after the Battle of *Lewes*, which was to continue during the Lives of the King and *Edward*. *A.* 1265. *Agreement of* Lewes. 793.

3. AN Order from the King for the Payment of the Tenths; dated *Sept.* 1. 1264. at *Canterbury*. *Order for the Tenths.* 795.

4. ANOTHER to the Archbiſhop of *York* on the ſame Subject; dated the 3d of the ſame Month at *Canterbury*. Ibid.

5. A Commiſſion from the King, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and other of the Barons to the Biſhop of *London*, &c. to treat of a Peace with the King of *France*; dated on the *Thurſday* after the Nativity of the Holy Virgin, 1264, at *Canterbury*. *Peace with* France. 796.

6. THE King's Full Power on the ſame Subject; dated at *Canterbury* the *Saturday* following. *Full power for it.* 797.

7. AN Order from Cardinal *Guido* the Pope's Legate, to the Suffragans of *Rheims*, for publiſhing the Excommunication and Interdict againſt the Barons of *England*, who refus'd him Entrance into that Kingdom; dated at *Heſdin*, the 13th of the Calends of *November* 1264. *Excommunication of the Barons.* 798.

8. THE Summons of a Grand Council conſiſting of the Biſhops, Barons, Abbats, Proctors, and Deputies of the Towns and Counties, to conſult Ways and Means for reſtoring Prince *Edward* to his Libertys; dated at *Worceſter*, *Dec.* 14. 1264. *Council ſummon'd for enlarging Prince* Edward. 802.

9. A Prohibition to the Nobility to appear at the Tournament at *Dunſtable*; dated *Feb.* 16. 1265, at *Weſtminſter*. *Nobility not to go to the Tournament.* 806.

'THIS Tournment was propos'd by the 'Enemies of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, in order to 'cabal there againſt him.

10. THE King's Grant of the Earldom of *Cheſter* to *Simon de Montfort*; dated *March* 20. 1265. at *Weſtminſter*. *Grant of the Earldom of* Cheſter. 807.

11. AN

Hen. III. 11. AN Order to raiſe an Army againſt Prince *Edward*; dated *May* 30. 1265. at *Hereford.*

Order to arreſt his Adherents. 811. 12. AN Order to take up the Adherents of Prince *Edward*; dated *June* 7. 1265. at *Hereford.*

To excommunicate him. 812. 13. AN Order to the Suffragan Biſhops of *Canterbury*, to excommunicate Prince *Edward*; dated at *Hereford*, *June* 8. 1265.

Renunciation of Sicily. 815, *&c.* 14. A Commiſſion to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, &c. to renounce the Grant of *Sicily* in the name of Prince *Edmund*; dated *June* 26. 1265. at *Windſor.*

Bulls againſt the Earl of Leiceſter. 817. 15. SEVERAL Bulls from *Clement* IV. againſt the Earl of *Leiceſter*; dated the Ides of *September* 1265, at *Peruſa.*

Abſolution of Earl of Gloceſter. 825. 16. A Bull directed to *Ottoboni* the Legate, for abſolving the Earl of *Gloceſter*; dated the 8th of the Calends of *October*, 1265. at *Peruſa.*

'THIS was after the Earl of *Gloceſter* de-'clar'd for the King.

The following Acts bear Date after the time that the King was ſet at Liberty.

Repeal of Acts while the King was a Priſoner. 826. 1. A Repeal of all the Acts paſs'd in the King's Name during his Captivity; dated *October* 1. 1265, at *Windſor.*

Earl of Leiceſter's *Eſtate granted to Pr.* Edm. 841. 2. LETTERS Patent, whereby the King grants to Prince *Edmund* all the Eſtate which belong'd to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and makes him Great Seneſchal or High Steward of *England*; dated *October* 26. 1265. at *Canterbury.*

3. A Convention betwixt the King and the Earl of *Gloceſter*; dated at *Stratford*, *June* 16. 1267.

'THEY refer themſelves to the Pope's 'Judgment, touching the Sufficiency of the

'Security which the Earl is to give to the 'King for the Payment of 20000 Marks, if he 'ever bear Arms againſt him more. *A.* 1268.

ARTICLE III.

Affairs which relate to the reſt of Henry IIId's *Reign, after the End of the Civil War.*

FROM the end of the Barons War, to the Death of *Henry* III. we don't meet with any Affair of Conſequence in the Hiſtory of that Prince, which requires much Explanation; therefore in this Article I ſhall only briefly relate the moſt conſiderable Tranſactions during that Interval, in the Order of Annals.

Anno 1267. AFTER *Henry* had reduc'd the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and the Rebels of *Ely*, he was reſolv'd, before he diſbanded his Army, to chaſtize the Prince of *Wales*; who during all the late Troubles, had aſſiſted the Barons, and diſcover'd an extraordinary Zeal upon all Occaſions to foment Diviſion among the *Engliſh*. With this Deſign he advanc'd as far as *Montgomery*, whither *Llewellin* ſent Ambaſſadors to him, to deſire a Peace, offering him at the ſame time to do him Homage for his Dominions, and to pay him 25000 Marks of Silver. But *Henry* was reſolv'd to have ſome Caſtles into the Bargain, which might facilitate his Entrance into *Wales*, in caſe that *Llewellin* ſhou'd ever revolt. And upon that Foot a Peace was concluded, by the Mediation of Cardinal *Ottoboni*, who was Legate in *England*. *Henry's Convention with the Prince of Wales.*

IN 1268, the Parliament being aſſembled, the Legate ſignify'd to them, that the Pope had a deſign to publiſh a Cruſado againſt the Infidels; and at the ſame time he exhorted the *Pope deſigns a Cruſado.*

Hen. III. *Engliſh* not to ſlip this Opportunity of meriting Paradiſe, by ſerving God and the Church. Prince *Edward*, *Henry*, Son to the King of the *Romans*, many Earls and Barons, and above ſixſcore Knights, beſides a great number of the common People, receiv'd the Croſs from the Hands of the Legate, who ſoon after return'd to *Rome*.

Vacancy of the Papal See 3 Years.

CLEMENT IV. dying that very Year, the Papal See remain'd vacant for three Years.

Fr. King's Negotiation for the Cruſado.

THO St. *Lewis* had ill Succeſs in a former Expedition which he undertook againſt the Infidels, yet he engag'd in this new Cruſado, of which he was to be the Commander in Chief; and as he knew that *Edward* had alſo taken up the Croſs, he deſir'd him to come and ſee him at *Paris*, in hopes of inclining him to join with him. *Edward* deſir'd nothing better than to go and ſerve under ſo great a Prince, but he gave him to underſtand that the want of Money hinder'd him from ſetting out ſo ſoon as he wiſh'd. To remove this Obſtacle, *Lewis* lent him 30000 Marks of Silver; for the Payment of which Sum, *Edward* mortgag'd his Revenues of *Bourdeaux* to him for 7 Years. Beſides this, the Parliament granted the King a conſiderable Sum, part of which was deſign'd for the Prince to ſupport the Charges of his Voyage.

He lends the Prince Money for it.

Subſidy granted for it.

Proceſſion with the Shrine of St. Edw.

THE Year 1269 offers nothing remarkable, but the Tranſlation of the Corps of *Edward* the Confeſſor, to the new Church of *Weſtminſter*, which was juſt finiſh'd. The King himſelf, the King of the *Romans*, and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Lords, carry'd the Shrine of that Saint upon their Shoulders.

Anno 1270. ST. *Lewis* after he left *France*, inſtead of going directly to *Syria*, was perſuaded

ſuaded by the new King of *Sicily*, his Brother, to make a Deſcent with his Army upon *Africa*, in order to oblige the King of *Tunis* to pay him a certain Tribute, which he had uſually paid to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, at the time that the *Greeks* were Maſters of *Sicily*. *Edward*, who was not able to ſet out ſo ſoon, went to take up his Princeſs at *Bourdeaux*, and proceeding from thence to *Aigues Mortes*, he there embark'd, and went to join the King of *France*, who was encamp'd near *Tunis*, where he ſtay'd for the Execution of a Treaty he had made with the *Mooriſh* King. Notwithſtanding all that *Edward* cou'd urge to engage *Lewis* to proceed on his Voyage to *Paleſtine*, he cou'd not poſſibly prevail on him to ſail before the Treaty was executed. For this reaſon, ſince he had no Quarrel with the King of *Tunis*, he retir'd to *Sicily*, there to ſpend the Winter till *Lewis* was ready. But not long after, he heard that this Prince dy'd of the Plague in his Camp. The Apprehenſion he was under that his Son *Philip* III. who ſucceeded him, and was return'd from the Camp to *France*, might make ſome attempt upon *Guyenne*, made him take the Precaution to ſend *Henry* his Couſin, Son to the King of the *Romans*, into that Province. But this Prince as he paſs'd thro' *Viterbo*, was murder'd in a Church, by *Guy de Montfort*, Son to the late Earl of *Leiceſter*.

A. 1271.

St. Lewis *lands in* Africa *before he proceeds to the* Holy Land.

Is join'd by Prince Edw.

Makes a Treaty with the King of Tunis.

St. Lewis's *Death.*

K. of the Romans *Son murder'd in a Church.*

Anno 1271. *EDWARD* arriving at *Acre*, was not able, with the few Troops he had, to make any conſiderable Progreſs againſt the Infidels. Nevertheleſs, whether his Fame was already fled into that Country, or whether perhaps the Memory of *Richard* I. his great Uncle was not yet extinct, he was ſo formidable to them, that they choſe to free themſelves

Edward's *arrival in* Paleſtine.

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Hen. III. from their Fears by an Act of Treachery. A Ruffian who was hir'd to aſſaſſinate him, having found means to be introduc'd into his Chamber, on pretence of communicating a Secret to him, offer'd to run a Dagger into his Breaſt. But *Edward* parry'd the Blow with his Arm, in which he was dangerouſly wounded. The Aſſaſſin was going to redouble his Blow, when *Edward* prevented him by giving him a Kick in the Breaſt, upon which he fell to the Ground, and ruſhing upon him at the ſame time, he wreſted the Dagger from him, and kill'd him. The Wound which he had receiv'd in the Arm was very dangerous, becauſe the Dagger was poiſon'd. But a skilful Surgeon put him out of Danger. Some have aſcrib'd his Cure to the Princeſs his Spouſe, who undertook to ſuck all the Venom out of the Wound. This Princeſs was brought to Bed at *Acre* of a Daughter, who was chriſten'd *Joanna*, and ſurnam'd *D' Acre*, from the place of her Birth.

Kills an Aſſaſſin who came to murder him;

But is wounded with the Ruffian's poiſon'd Dagger.

Anno 1272. WHILE *Edward* was in that Country, *Theobald*, Archdeacon of *Liege*, who had accompany'd him thither, was choſe Pope, and took the Name of *Gregory* X.

Pope Gregory X. *choſe.*

EDWARD perceiving that with the few Forces he had, and which even diminiſh'd every Day by reaſon of Sickneſs, he was not able to make any great Conqueſt over the *Saracens*, concluded a Truce with them for 10 Years and return'd to *England*. While he was upon the Road, his Uncle the King of the *Romans* dy'd, whoſe Death was ſoon after follow'd by that of *Henry* III. who finiſh'd his Race at the Age of *66*, after having reign'd *56* Years and ſome Days.

Edward's 10 *Years Truce with the Sultan.*

Death of the K. of the Romans.

And of Hen. III.

The

The Acts which relate to the third Article are,

1. A Treaty of Peace betwixt *Henry* III. and *Llewellin* Prince of *Wales*; dated at *Montgomery* the 3d of the Calends of *October* 1267. *Peace with Prince of* Wales. 844.

2. A Treaty of Alliance between *Henry* III. and *Magnus* King of *Norway*; dated at *Winchester* the *Wednesday* after Assumption Day in 1269. *Alliance with the K. of* Norway. 857.

3. CONVENTIONS betwixt St. *Lewis* and *Edward*, concerning the Voyage to the *Holy Land*; dated at *Paris* the *Tuesday* after the Festival of St. *Bartholomew* 1269. *Conventions for the Crusado.* 858.

4. THE Ratification of those Conventions by *Henry* III. dated at *Winchester*, the *Tuesday* before the Festival of St. *Michael* 1269. *Ratification.* 859.

5. AN Act whereby *Edward* leaves his Children, during his Absence, to the Guardianship of the King of the *Romans* his Uncle; dated at *Winchester Aug.* 2. 1270. *Guardianship of* Edward's *Children.* 862.

6. A Letter from the King to his Son *Edward*; dated *Feb.* 6. 1271. at *Westminster*. *K's Letter to Pr.* Edward. 869.

'HE acquaints him that he is dangerously ill, and orders him to return to *England*.

7. A Letter from *Charles* of *Anjou* King of *Sicily* to *Edward*; dated at *Viterbo March* 13. 1271. *K. of* Sicily's *Letter about the Murder of* Henry. 870.

'HE informs him of the Death of his Cousin *Henry*, who was kill'd at *Viterbo* by *Guy de Montfort*.

8. An Act whereby *Henry*, who was now recover'd, takes up the Cross; dated *April* 16. 1271. at *Westminster*. Henry *takes up the Cross.* 871.

9. A Brief from *Gregory* X. to the King; dated the 4th of the Calends of *April* 1272. at the *Lateran*. Gregory's *Letter.* 879.

Hen. III. 'HE acquaints him of his Exaltation to the 'Papal Throne.

Henry's to Philip of France. 883. 10. *HENRY* IIId's Letter to *Philip* III. King of *France*; dated *May* 20. 1272. at *Weſtminſter*.

'HE excuſes himſelf that he is not able to go and pay him Homage by reaſon of his illneſs.

Edward's Teſtament. 885. 11. *EDWARD*'s laſt Will and Teſtament made at *Acre*, *June* 18. 1272.

'THIS Will is in *French*.

Time of Henry's *Death.* 888. 12. A Memorandum which certifies the time of *Henry* IIId's Death, which happen'd on *Wedneſday*, being the Feſtival of *Edmund* the Confeſſor.

Barons Letter on it. 888. 13. A Letter from the Barons of *England* to *Edward*; dated *Nov.* 23. 1272. at the *New Temple*.

'THEY acquaint him of the Death of the 'King his Father, and pray him to return with 'Diligence.

Order for proſecuting Guy de Montfort. 890, 891. 14. TWO Bulls or Briefs from the Pope for ordering the Proſecution of *Guy de Montfort*; dated the Calends and the Nones of *March* 1273. at *Orvieto*.

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